

Chapter 9

INTEGRATION

While their language, their churches and their contiguous land holdings tended to identify the Bethania Germans as a distinct community, in the economic or livelihood parts of their lives referred to in previous chapters they were not much distinguished from the rest of the population of the colony. To take up their land and later subdivide parts of it they had to deal with officials as did British settlers, though with the mediation of Hausmann. In acquiring and disposing of produce they had to deal mainly with British agents and customers. There were a variety of other political and social influences which contributed further to their integration into the British population of the Logan district of Queensland.

It was a condition for receiving their second land orders that the German settlers become British subjects, and those who came on the *Susanne Godeffroy* did so soon after arrival in the colony. On 17 May 1864 Carl Tesch, Gottlieb Schneider, Christian Berndt, Andreas Holzheimer and Friedrich Ebert took the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.¹ Others followed, and members of the next generation who had been born in Germany took their oaths when they came of age. As naturalised British subjects they then had the same entitlements as natural-born British subjects in such matters as the right to vote or to be elected or appointed to public office.

The introduction to the English language for the Germans who settled in the Logan district was undertaken by the Hinchcliffe sons, Matthew and Verdon, 'who held night school in three centres of their encampments.'² They established an evening class at Holzheimer's house and later in the church, 'where we not only learned to read, write and speak the English language, but did a great deal to complete our schooling generally.'³ According to the 1922 Reminiscences paper this lasted for several years, but a 1914 account of one of the Hinchcliffes suggests a lesser period. 'Differences arose amongst the Lutheran family themselves as to the advisability of learning the English language, and it was agreed to discontinue the teaching to the great disappointment of many.'⁴ According to another Hinchcliffe account Thumm was the only one of the German settlers who could speak English,⁵ although Eppinger had also arrived from England. In the church histories and other stories of the area it was never mentioned that two of the early settlers might have acted as interpreters or translators.

1. Queensland State Archives, file SCT/CT 2, 912-6.

2. *Becauesert Times*, 7 November 1924, 'A Logan Pioneer,' obituary of Verdon Hinchcliffe.

3. Reminiscences of the Pioneering Days on the Logan, p. 2.

4. *Becauesert Times*, loc. cit.

Thumm died in July 1865 but Eppinger retained his property at Bethania until 1875. However they did so, some of the Germans must have acquired an adequate ability in the English language to take part in local government without the aid of interpreters when it was introduced in 1880.

The first local 'political' activity in which the Bethania Germans were involved concerned the provision of a government school. As noted in a previous chapter, because they had their own congregational school at the time, the Bethania Germans did not support the first attempt to set up a national school in 1866. In subsequent attempts to have a national school in the area, it appears that the British residents made a conscious effort to involve the Germans, probably because they needed numbers of pupils and also financial support.

The move for a government school was revived in 1869. Beetham's school was regarded as a Catholic school and residents approached the Board of Education for a non-denominational government school. At a meeting held at Schneider's home and attended by Henry Jordan, M.L.A., it was announced that a qualified teacher sent by the Board of Education was present, a selector, Mr. Wilson, had offered a place suitable for opening a school on his property (between the German Pocket and the surveyed township of Waterford), and the district was being canvassed for subscriptions with apparent success.⁶ The patrons elected by the subscribers included an Episcopalian, a Catholic, a Presbyterian, a Wesleyan and three Lutherans.⁷ Pending completion of all the requirements for a national school, a school was opened in a temporary building in June 1869 and was known as the Logan Provisional School.⁸ There were no Germans among the nine pupils enrolled on the first day, but by the end of the year the enrolment included pupils with surnames of Richter, Willert, Huth, Schilling, Kroning, Schubel, Muchow, Thumm and Radke, with residences in the 'German Pocket'.⁹

The Germans were involved in the controversy about the site for the national school, although not as leaders of either faction. The district divided between a site in the township of Waterford, which was said to suit both sides of the river, and a site a mile away selected by a surveyor, closer to the homes of the majority of the children (the Germans) but 'on some back, barren ridges, where there is neither water nor a speck of ground fit for a garden.'¹⁰ A meeting held at Holzheimer's home supported the

5. *Brisbane Courier*, 30 May 1914, p. 17,

6. *Brisbane Courier*, 26 June 1869.

7. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z2867, School file Waterford 1869-1938, Letter 16 November 1869 from Geo. Richardson to Board of Education.

8. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z2867, letter 31 August 1869 from Board of Education.

9. Register of Logan Primary School 1869, Waterford State School Centenary 1869-1969, p. 3.

surveyor's site and entrusted Pastor Hausmann with the list of subscribers' names. Germans as well as British residents subscribed. Hausmann, Holzheimer, Berndt, Ebert, Kleinschmidt, Lobegier, Rehfeldt, and Sommer each subscribed £5, and Schneider, Tesch, Lotz and other Germans lesser amounts.¹¹ (The connection between this and the earlier subscription list is not clear). In November 1869, from a public meeting held in the temporary school, a petition to the Board of Education signed by sixty-four residents including a number of Germans requested that the question of the site for the school be referred to an independent referee.¹² The decision of the Board to erect the school on the township site followed the report of inspectors, and a national school was opened in January 1871 under the name of Waterford Primary School.¹³

By the time the national school was opened the Bethania Germans had their own congregational school. In 1871 the only children from the German Pocket to be enrolled were three of the Thumm family.¹⁴ After a temporary closure of the school, the eighteen signatories in August 1872 requesting that it be reopened included C. Berndt.¹⁵ It is not possible to draw a clear picture from the damaged pages of the admissions registers of the national school which have been preserved, but it appears that Germans who took up land farther from the original settlement and the church were less likely to send their children to the congregational school. What can be read of the admission registers supports the statistical returns and indicates that from 1884 all the new enrolments were to the national school, and when the congregation revived a full-time school in 1904 about half the Lutheran children in the area remained with the state school.

The parents of the few German children who attended the national school in the 1870s were not included in school committees. Records are incomplete, but no Germans were included in the school committees of 1873, 1876 and 1878 and Gottfried Tesch was the only German member of the 1880 committee.¹⁶ However, in 1914 after the full-time congregational school had ceased, all members of the Waterford State School Committee except one had German names.¹⁷

10. *Brisbane Courier*, 22 October 1869, 5 November 1869.

11. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z 2867, 'Subscription List towards the Erection of a Schoolhouse and Residence for the Schoolmaster at the Logan River.' The note '31.10.70 Waterford' was apparently entered later and appears to be incorrect.

12. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z 2867, Petition to Board of Education, 10 November 1869.

13. *Waterford State School Centenary 1869-1969*, p. 4.

14. Register of Waterford Primary School 1871.

15. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z 2867, Letter to Board of Education, 1 August 1872.

16. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z 2867, Letters to Board of Education dated September 1873, 1 August 1876, 11 February 1878, 7 July 1880.

17. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 January 1914, p. 8.

For the local Road Board, at a meeting at Drynan's farther up the Logan in June 1868, John Hinchcliffe and two other wealthier landowners were elected.¹⁸ After the initial elections almost nothing was reported on Road Boards. Apparently no Germans were ever elected to the Board whose area included the German pocket, and German representation had to await the introduction of local government.

In the early 1870s the main political activity in the district was directed to having a bridge erected across the lower Logan. None of the Bethania Germans appear as leaders but some of them probably attended meetings and became signatories to petitions supporting Waterford as the site. After the government announced that money would be provided, deputations representing residents of Waterford urged the Minister for Works to have the bridge across the Logan erected at Waterford, and deputations representing residents of Beenleigh and other places along the southern road presented their claims for the erection of the bridge at Loganholme.¹⁹ In the 1875 election for the Legislative Assembly, John Hinchcliffe offered his name as a candidate. He then proposed that on the promise of the government that the bridge across the Logan would be erected at Waterford, he would withdraw, and the people of Waterford would vote in favour of Black the government candidate. Black defeated his opponent Lennberg by five votes.²⁰ When at a meeting in Beenleigh in June 1875 it was suggested that money provided for bridges might be better spent on roads, Hinchcliffe told the meeting that 'the question of the construction of the bridge across the Logan had been settled by the adoption of the Waterford site.'²¹ Deputations and petitions for an alternative site continued even after construction had commenced.²² In one deputation 'The Hon. J. C. Heussler, M.L.C., on behalf of the German residents in the neighbourhood of Waterford, spoke in favour of the bridge being proceeded with at the present site,' and in another case it was argued that the bridge was 'intended for the benefit of the whole district, and not for the few residents of the German pocket.'²³ At the official opening of the Waterford road bridge in August 1876 a German choir organised by Berndt sang the 'English National Anthem' and some German songs, and Hinchcliffe, one of the speakers, alluded to the progress of the German community since their arrival on the *Diamond* twelve years earlier.²⁷

18. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 June 1868.

19. *ibid.*, 2 June 1876.

20. *ibid.*, 2 June 1876.

21. *ibid.*, 16 June 1875.

22. *ibid.*, 18 September 1875, 29 May 1876, 31 May 1876, 2 June 1876.

23. *ibid.*, 30 May 1876, 31 May 1876, 2 June 1876.

24. Diary of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt 1876-92, handwritten, copy in Oxley Library, 16 August 1876.

A railway to the Logan became the subject of agitation before the road bridge had been opened. A meeting in Beenleigh in June 1876 to consider the state of roads in the district resolved that provision should be sought for a railway into the district. The delegation to the Minister for Works included some Germans but none from Bethania.²⁵ In June 1877 a 'unanimous and enthusiastic' meeting in Beenleigh urged the immediate construction of a railway to the district.²⁶ By 1877 the railway lines which had commenced at Ipswich in 1864 had been extended into western Queensland, but the Logan district lacked a rail link to the capital twenty miles away. Some absurdity was seen in residents applying for a railway when their district was 'intersected by navigable rivers' with steamers supplying transport for heavy goods to the capital, but it was argued that steamers' movements were irregular and uncertain and did not provide a convenient delivery of goods to Brisbane.²⁷ There were surveys for crossings of the Logan River at Loganholme, Waterford and Logan Village, and delegations and petitions were organised by supporters of each of the crossing points.²⁸ Few names were mentioned among the supporters of Waterford, none of them German, but in a letter to the *Brisbane Courier* on behalf of the farmers of the German Pocket, C. Kelk expressed a fear that 'the old settlers and the true farmers of the place will be overlooked,' and supported Waterford. 'We who live in the German Pocket count about sixty families, and, with our wives and children, nearly three hundred people. We are some of the oldest farmers in Queensland, and perhaps some of the most flourishing, because we all work ourselves and our families, and so make our farms pay, and want a means of getting our crops to market.'²⁹ The route eventually selected from the terminus in South Brisbane crossed the Logan River downstream from Waterford township and the road bridge. The construction of the line and its importance to the economy of the district are considered in a previous chapter.

With the introduction of local government to the Logan district in 1880 the Bethania Germans were drawn into another aspect of life in the British community. The *Local Government Act* of 1878 and the *Divisional Boards Act* of 1879 empowered the Governor-in-Council to apply local government to any area of Queensland without consulting the residents.³⁰ The boundaries of each local government Division were proclaimed in the *Government Gazette*. Divisional boards received grants from the Queensland Government and raised some money from rates levied on property

25. *Brisbane Courier*, 10 June 1876.

26. *ibid.*, 28 June 1877.

27. *ibid.*, 1 December 1877.

28. *ibid.*, 28 June 1877, 21 July 1877, 24 April 1878.

29. *ibid.*, 11 July 1877.

30. Gordon Greenwood and John Lavery, *Brisbane 1859-1959, A History of Local Government*, City of Brisbane, 1959, pp. 211, 238.

valuations. A voter had to be a natural-born or naturalised ratepayer, either the owner or occupier of rateable property. Plural voting and plural membership of boards were permitted.³¹ The boundaries of the Division of Waterford were notified in November 1879, and the Division consisted of three Subdivisions all on the right bank of the Logan River.³² It covered thirty-five square miles with a population of 600 including 114 ratepayers in 1883.³³ The voters in each Subdivision were to elect three members. One of the three members retired each year, with an election to fill the vacancy. In 1903 under the *Local Authority Act* of 1902 the Waterford Division became the Shire of Waterford, and the former Subdivisions became Divisions of the Shire.³⁴ This does not appear to have changed administration. In 1906 part of the neighbouring shire on the left bank of the Logan was included in the Waterford Shire.

As the residents had not petitioned for an election for members of the first Waterford Divisional Board a public meeting was held for nominations. The nominations included Andrew Holzheimer and Carl Kelk for Subdivision 2, (including the German Pocket), and Wilhelm Schilling for Subdivision 3, but Kelk was not included in the names gazetted, and no explanation for this has been found.³⁵ It was reported for the Logan district 'that in the appointment of the first boards there has been a desire to avoid contests, and altogether such a display of an amiable arrangement of a fair representation of the various corners of the divisions that augers well for the future.'³⁶ In the next year, for the first election of all nine members of the Board in February 1881 the *Brisbane Courier* reported: 'The Divisional Board elections are the chief feature of interest all through the district.'³⁷ In Subdivision 2, C. Schilling and W. Sommer were elected. C. Kelk was an unsuccessful candidate for Subdivision 2 and W. Schilling and A. Oppermann were unsuccessful in Subdivision 3, but in August, W. Schilling was elected to fill a vacancy.³⁸ Kelk and Oppermann were elected in later years.

After the first enthusiasm there was no great interest in the annual Board elections and in some years members had to be appointed. In the extreme case in 1895 no candidates nominated and all three vacancies were filled by appointment.³⁹ There

31. *ibid.*

32. *Queensland Government Gazette*, Vol. XXVII, No. 11, 16 July 1880. p. 126.

33. *Pugh's Queensland Almanac* 1884, p. 393.

34. *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, 2 October 1902, pp. 741-751; Home Secretary, *Queenslander*, 11 October, 1902, pp. 839-40; Minutes of Waterford Divisional Board, 7 April 1902.

35. *Brisbane Mail*, 14 February 1880, 28 February 1880.

36. *ibid.*, 14 February 1880.

37. *Brisbane Courier*, 22 January 1881.

38. *ibid.*, 3 February 1881, 22 August 1881.

39. Minutes of Waterford Divisional Board, 5 February 1885, 5 March 1885.

were no recorded complaints of a 'German vote,' either among electors or among Board members. As the area occupied by Germans expanded representation by Germans increased, but it also fluctuated. In 1901 seven of nine members of the Board had German names, in 1907 only four of the nine councillors.⁴⁰ Elected Germans and non-Germans succeeded each other without any apparent pattern. John Hinchcliffe had a leading role in local government, in some years as a Board member and sometimes as auditor, and also as a member of the Beenleigh Board, but in an election for a casual vacancy in June 1886 Hinchcliffe was defeated by C. Willert,⁴¹ perhaps a break by the Germans from following Hinchcliffe. Most German members served for only a few years. However the longest serving German member of the Board was J. G. Schneider who was a member from 1884 to 1903.⁴²

The chairman was elected for a one-year term by members of the Board, in early years in rotation among representatives of the Subdivisions, but later chairmen were elected for succeeding years. J. G. Schneider was the first German elected chairman and held that office from 1892 to 1894 and in 1899, 1901 and 1902. Other German chairmen were C. Willert in 1903-4, W. Richter in 1905, M. T. Schneider in 1907 and C. Goll in 1910.⁴³ It was perhaps indicative of a lack of fluency in written English that the only German to be secretary to the Board or Council was T. D. Schneider from 1914 to 1917.⁴⁴ At first the Waterford Board met at the state school after school hours, but then used the same office in Beenleigh and employed the same clerk as the Beenleigh Board.⁴⁵ In 1907, M. T. Schneider, then chairman of the Council, donated an allotment at Waterford as a site for council offices.⁴⁶ This was later exchanged for another block in Waterford. The most difficult problem for the Board and Council was the maintenance of the Waterford road bridge, which was eventually replaced with a concrete structure in June 1916.⁴⁷ The most common activity of the Board and Council was the maintenance of roads. German residents competed with others for the minor contracts, providing their own labour and horses and wagons for work on roads, culverts and fences. The Bethania Germans were represented in all aspects of local government administration.

Further evidence of the integration of the Bethania Germans into the British community was given by the appointment of three of their number as Justices of the

40. Minutes of Waterford Divisional Board, 14 February 1901, 5 February 1907.

41. Minutes of Waterford Divisional Board, 9 July 1886.

42. Minutes of Waterford Divisional Board, various years.

43. Minutes of Waterford Divisional Board and Waterford Shire Council, various years.

44. Minutes of Waterford Shire Council, 10 February 1914, p. 194; 6 November 1917, p. 498.

45. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 December 1881, 17 December 1881, Minutes of Board 7 December 1881

46. Minutes of Waterford Shire Council, 3 December 1907.

Peace. J. G. Schneider was appointed a J. P. in 1886, Andrew Holzheimer in 1889, and William Richter in 1895.⁴⁸ Their J. P. activities were probably confined to witnessing documents for fellow citizens. Other J. P.'s. were appointed from among the Bethania Germans in the next century.

For relief after the 1887 flood the Bethania Germans were treated similarly to other residents in the Logan district. Assistance to Logan residents who had suffered losses was handled by the Beenleigh Relief Committee set up for that purpose. Committee members included J. G. Schneider as one of the representatives for the Waterford Divisional Board, and also other Germans of the Logan district. The Beenleigh Committee collected donations from those who could afford to help the relief fund and prepared detailed lists of losses for the Central Committee. It was also responsible for distributing relief supplies.⁴⁹ Newspaper reports show that the Committee accepted or rejected applications for assistance on their merits as seen by the Committee without any apparent distinction between German or British victims of the flood. As mentioned in a previous chapter, victims included the farmers of the German Pocket whose properties had been under water.⁵⁰ In 1893 floods devastated Brisbane and towns to the north but did relatively little damage on the Logan. A relief meeting was held in Beenleigh to arrange collections for the Central Flood Relief Fund to assist Brisbane and other areas affected, and in effect repay some of the help received in 1887. J. G. Schneider was appointed as collector for the Waterford subscription list.⁵¹

Bethania Germans became participants in politics at the colonial level from the 1860s. Their names first appeared on a Queensland electoral roll in 1867-68 when the 'freeholders' of Bethania were enrolled in the electorate of East Moreton.⁵² This was probably at the instance of John Hinchcliffe as four members of the Hinchcliffe family were also enrolled for the first time in that year. At electoral meetings on the Logan for the East Moreton electorate Hinchcliffe supported the candidacy of Francis, an advocate of electoral reform including increased representation for the Logan.⁵³ An electorate for Logan was created for the next election.

47. Minutes of Waterford Shire Council, 2 May and 6 June 1916.

48. *Queensland Government Gazette*, Vol. XL, No. 1, 1 January 1887, p. 12; Vol. XLIX, No. 1, 1 January 1890, p. 9; Vol. LXV, No. 12, 17 January 1896, p. 113.

49. *Logan Witness*, 12 February 1887.

50. *Logan Witness*, 19 February 1887; 26 February 1887; 5 March 1887; 12 March 1887,

51. *Logan Witness*, 18 February 1893.

52. Roll of Electors of East Moreton 1867-8, pp. 8 - 27.

53. *Brisbane Courier*, 15 September 1868.

There are only sparse references to involvement of Bethania Germans in electoral nominations and meetings. An 1875 request to Adam Black to nominate was signed by C. Willert and August Tesch among others.⁵⁴ The votes of the Bethania Germans were recorded with others at the Waterford polling booth. Voting was not compulsory and it is not possible to tell who voted, or for whom, but the votes counted at Waterford booth are probably indicative of the Bethania German vote. In 1873 and 1874 elections votes cast at Waterford were in favour of Henry Jordan, owner of a sugar plantation and former immigration agent in Britain, but Jordan was an unsuccessful candidate.⁵⁵

There were seven elected German members of the Queensland Legislative Assembly at various times during the nineteenth century, Kates, Horwitz, Feez, Isambert, Lissner, Stumm, and Unmack. Heussler was a nominated member of the Legislative Council.⁵⁶ There was never a German elected for the Logan electorate, but George Appel, grandson of Pastor Hausmann, was elected in February 1908 for the neighbouring electorate of Albert, and became Minister for Works and Mines and later Home Secretary.⁵⁷ In 1875 Theodor Lenneberg, a storekeeper of Pimpama, contested the Logan electorate, and appealed to the electors in the German language in the *Brisbane Courier*. Votes at the Waterford polling booth favoured his opponent, who, as stated above, had promised a bridge at Waterford, and Lenneberg was narrowly defeated.⁵⁸ The only Bethania German to contest a Queensland Election was M. T. Schneider in 1908. For this election the *Brisbane Courier* published a parliamentary review in the German language.⁵⁹ Schneider stated he had nominated so that the Logan would be represented by a local man. He was described as a Kidstonite or Kidston-Socialist but had received no endorsement from Kidston, who became Premier after the election. According to the *Brisbane Courier*, at his inaugural meeting at Waterford 'he was accorded a good reception,' but at a meeting in Beenleigh 'his method of dealing with the great questions before the country was somewhat vague and contradictory.'⁶⁰ From the 1820 electors on the roll, Schneider received 414 votes, his opponent 882, and Schneider received a majority at only two polling booths including Waterford.⁶¹

54. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 April 1875.

55. *ibid.*, 6 December 1873, 10 June 1874.

56. Tom Watson, 'The Influence of German-born Politicians upon Queensland's Educational Policies in the Nineteenth-Century,' in Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill (eds.), *The German Presence in Queensland*, U. of Q., St. Lucia, 1988, p. 174.

57. *Brisbane Courier*, 30 October 1908, p. 5; 28 January 1910, p. 5.

58. *ibid.*, 14 April 1875, 17 April 1875.

59. *ibid.*, 24 January 1908, p. 12, 'Parlamentarische Rundschau.'

60. *ibid.*, 12 January 1908, p. 2; 4 February 1908, p. 6.

61. *ibid.*, 6 February 1908, p. 6; 7 February 1908, p. 5.

In the 1878 election the *Brisbane Courier* discerned a distinctly German vote in the Logan electorate, arising from dissatisfaction with remarks about Germans made in the House by the sitting member Walsh. His opponent McLean sought the German vote and there is a newspaper reference to 'Mr. McLean's German supporters.'⁶² In the election result the vote for McLean was almost double that for Walsh, with at Waterford forty-seven votes for McLean to seven for Walsh.⁶³ After McLean was appointed to the ministry, in the subsequent contest between McLean and Fryar, both candidates 'made a direct set for the German vote,' and the *Brisbane Courier* questioned whether McLean was acting with judgment and discretion. 'The Germans of the Logan and Albert are a well-doing portion of the community, and live on the best of terms with their neighbours, but this continuously reminding them of their distinct nationality and making them believe ... that their interests are opposed to those of other people, are demoralising, to say the least.'⁶⁴ It was argued that McLean was merely trying to counter misinformation to German electors from his opponents.⁶⁵ This incident was unusual and there was no further attempt to identify a distinctly German vote in the Logan diatriet until the 1918 election after the second conscription referendum.

Two of the main political issues of the late nineteenth century in Queensland were of little concern to the Bethania Germans. Land legislation was intended for other later-settled areas. As the Bethania Germans did not employ farm labour they were not affected by legislation to control or restrict the employment of Islanders. They did however have an opportunity to interest themselves in and vote on the federation question, although again one cannot be quite certain how much interest they took or how they voted. A branch of the Queensland Federation League was formed at a meeting in Beenleigh in May 1899.⁶⁶ No Germans were mentioned among those attending the meeting. The Anti-Convention Bill League opposing federation was also active in Queensland and T. Unmack, one of the German M.L.As, took its message to a meeting in Beenleigh in August 1899.⁶⁷ During that month there were other meetings in Beenleigh where speakers in favour of federation disagreed with Unmack.⁶⁸ The four southern colonies voted on the Federation Enabling Act in June 1899, Queensland in September. Of the colonies voting, Queensland had the smallest majority in favour of federation. According to Ross Fitzgerald, in south Queensland 'industrialists and farmers, anticipating vigorous competition from other states, voted against

62. *Brisbane Courier*, 16 November 1878.

63. *ibid.*, 2 December 1878.

64. *ibid.*, 18 December 1878.

65. *Brisbane Courier*, 20 December 1878, letter from E. Thorne of the *N. A. Zeitung* office.

66. *Brisbane Courier*, 30 May 1899, p. 5.

67. *ibid.*, 31 August 1899, p. 5.

68. *ibid.*, 12 August 1899, p. 7; 28 August 1899, p. 6

Federation.⁶⁹ In the Logan electorate only a few more than half the enrolled electors voted, and those voted two-to-one against federation. Of the 1208 electors on the roll, 257 voted for acceptance of the federation constitution and 514 voted for rejection.⁷⁰

Producers' organisations appeared from time to time, usually centred on Beenleigh, many of them short-lived. Reports in the press on these organisations are incomplete and discontinuous, but for four of them there is evidence that the Bethania Germans had opportunities to participate, but again the extent to which they did so is not clear. The longest-lasting of these organisations was the Agricultural and Pastoral Society of Southern Queensland, otherwise known as the Beenleigh Show Society, which came into existence in 1872 with John Hinchcliffe as its first secretary.⁷¹ Bethania Germans attended the annual shows but were not among the prize-winners. Germans from other areas in the Logan appeared on the executive, but no Bethania Germans until 1911 when M. T. Schneider was appointed to the committee.⁷² The Logan Farming and Industrial Association was formed in 1896. Its varied activities included arranging lectures on topics of interest to primary producers, advocating erection of silos, introducing pure-bred bulls, arranging displays at the Brisbane exhibition, supporting the South Brisbane Farmers' Market, and opposition to bringing farmers under the Wages Board Bill.⁷³ In September 1898 a public meeting at the 'German school' was called to form a branch of the Association. Support was promised but nothing further was reported of a Bethania or Waterford branch of the Association.⁷⁴ However in 1907 M. T. Schneider and J. Radke were Waterford representatives on the executive of the Association.⁷⁵ More overtly political was the Queensland Farmers' Union, of which branches were formed in the Logan district during 1912. At a conference of delegates at Beenleigh in December 1912 a district union of branches was formed. The movement was mainly in response to the general strike of 1912 in which, among other things, transport of produce was interrupted, and the branches agreed to support Liberal candidates in the 1913 election. It was reported that 'on the Logan the German farmers have heartily supported the movement,' but there was no specific reference to Bethania.⁷⁶ There was also a references to the formation of

69. Ross Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1915, A History of Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1982, p. 297..

70. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly 1899*, Vol. 1, p. 753, Statement by Returning Officer showing result of poll under Australasian Federation Enabling Act.

71. *Brisbane Courier*, 5 October 1910, p. 8, letter from F. W. Hinchcliffe.

72. *Brisbane Courier*, 20 September 1911, p. 20; 20 January 1912, p. 39; 7 April 1914, p. 10.

73. *Queenslander*, 21 July 1900, p. 14; 8 February 1902, p. 229; 23 May 1908, p. 32; 8 May 1909, p. 35; *Brisbane Courier*, 14 May 1908 p. 5.

74. *Queenslander*, 1 October 1898, pp. 662-3

75. *Brisbane Courier*, 30 January 1907, p. 2.

76. *Brisbane Courier*, 10 May 1913, p. 5.

a Logan and Albert Cane Growers' Association in 1908, and although cane-growing was declining in the Bethania area, A. Radke was a local representative on the committee of this Association.⁷⁷

The Bethania Germans had opportunities to participate in sport together with British settlers in the Logan. Horse racing was the main sport among the wealthier British settlers in the early years, and stories passed down suggest that the Germans were no more than spectators at races in Waterford. The Governor attended the races at Hinchcliffe's plantation, Broomhill, Waterford, at Easter in 1872. There were no horses entered by the Bethania Germans, but a horse named 'Deutscher' was entered by an English settler, and there were entries from two Germans of Beenleigh, C. Palm and C. Dauth.⁷⁸ In 1880 a Mr Lubach had an entry in the pony race at the Waterford Easter races, but no other entries by Bethania Germans were reported.⁷⁹ In later years horse races in the Logan were conducted at the more populous centres, Beenleigh, Logan Village and Beaudesert and less frequently at Waterford, but at a race meeting at Waterford in 1899 Lotz and Mollenhagen were among the owners of placed horses.⁸⁰ Boys who attended the government school learned to play cricket but it was only in 1883 that the first Bethania German, A. Lubach, was reported as a member of the Waterford cricket team. The next was F. Lietzow in 1888.⁸¹ In 1890 five members of the team were German,⁸² and subsequent teams all had German representation. Among the German living in Brisbane rifle shooting was regarded as a traditional sport on such occasions as the celebration of New Year. At a rifle shooting match in 1888 all the members of the team of the Waterford Rifle Club except one were Germans.⁸³ In 1889 eleven of the fifteen members of the club were German, and the club continued to have a majority of German members.⁸⁴ The teams with which the Waterford team competed had mainly British members. In 1907 M.T. Schneider and J. Radke were the Waterford representatives to the Logan and Albert Rifle Clubs Association, and in 1909 Schneider became vice-president of the Association.⁸⁵

The few reports of social activities show that the Bethania Germans could participate with the rest of the community, in some cases with recognition that they were German. The celebration of the Queen's birthday at Waterford in 1894 was

77. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 April 1908, p. 5.

78. *ibid.*, 6 April 1872.

79. *Logan Witness*, 3 April 1880.

80. *Beaudesert Despatch*, 29 December 1899.

81. *Logan Witness*, 19 May 1883; 3 March 1888.

82. *ibid.*, 18 January 1890.

83. *ibid.*, 11 August 1888.

84. *Logan Witness*, 12 October 1889; *Brisbane Courier*, 27 August 1907, p. 2.

85. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 July, 1907, p. 2; *Queenslander*, 27 March 1909, p. 36.

arranged 'with a view to providing enjoyment for both young and old.' The festivities included a shooting match of the Waterford Rifle Club and a Sunday School treat. The concert at night included recitations of the Rev. Suelmann, and items from various members of the Schneider family and the Misses Muchow, Lietzow and Goll, in addition to contributions from other members of the community. The concert terminated with the singing of *Die Wacht am Rhein* and 'God Save the Queen.'⁸⁶ At a supper following the 1909 annual meeting of the Farmers and Industrial association the toasts 'The King' and 'The Kaiser' were honoured.⁸⁷ For Coronation Day in June 1911 pupils of all the schools in the Logan assembled at the Beenleigh school grounds for a sports programme. The flag was saluted, and 'God Save the King' was sung, followed by *Die Wacht am Rhein*, and proceedings were closed by the singing of 'The Empire Flag.'⁸⁸

The integration of the Bethania Germans into the wider community occurred quite quickly and appears to have been problem-free. They were naturalised as British subjects soon after arrival and were then eligible to be treated officially as other British subjects. Local British residents included them in moves for the formation of the national school. They were able to participate in local government. They also had the opportunity to participate in other political activities of concern to the local area or to the colony or state, and they did so, although the extent of their participation is often difficult to determine. Their churches and the German language tended to keep them somewhat different from the rest of the community. As indicated in a previous chapter the attempts to maintain the German language were not intended to be exclusive but rather to develop a bi-lingual community, and English became for them the more important language. Apart from the churches they did not develop social institutions which would have separated them further from the rest of the community. Again the extent of their participation is not always clear, but it appears that over time they participated more fully with the rest of the community in producers' organisations and in sport and social occasions. Stated more briefly and in another way, the Bethania Germans experienced no official discrimination and any social discrimination depended mainly on their willingness to participate. However, after fifty years the settlers and their descendants were still identified as 'German.' In electoral politics and in some social activities there was a recognition of their being German, or at least of some of them using a separate language. That recognition began to disappear after war broke out in 1914.

86. *Queenslander*, 2 June, 1894, p. 1013.

87. *Queenslander*, 8 May 1909, p. 35.

88. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 June 1911, p. 6.

Chapter 10.

ASSIMILATION

The fiftieth anniversary of the arrival in Moreton Bay on the *Susanne Godeffroy* of the first Germans settlers for the Logan district was celebrated at the Bethania church on Sunday 18 January 1914.¹ The celebration was attended by 'about 400 to 500 guests' including the President of the Synod and eight other visiting pastors, the German Consul, and the Member of the Legislative Assembly for the district.² The proceedings, except for the address of the M.L.A., were in the German language, and a new church organ was dedicated. The previous night a 'great national concert' at the *Turn Verein* in Brisbane to celebrate the founding of the German Empire was attended by the Governor of Queensland.³ Ten days later there was a concert at the Lutheran Church in Wickham Terrace, Brisbane to celebrate the birthday of the German Emperor, at which there were toasts to the Emperor and also to King George, while the singing of *Die Wacht am Rhein* closed the celebration.⁴ Seven months later Australia was at war with Germany.

In October 1914 in the *War Precautions Act* the Commonwealth parliament gave the government wide powers, including a dragnet provision to 'make regulations for securing the defence of the Commonwealth.'⁵ In October the Commonwealth government began interning German nationals of military age, and then all enemy subjects whose conduct seemed suspicious.⁶ At the outbreak of the war there were demonstrations against Germans and German property, including one by a mob of several hundred at the Brisbane *Turn Verein*.⁷ However, with calls for restraint, references to 'fellow colonists,' and reminders of a history of trouble-free relations between Australians of British and German origins,⁸ Australians of German ancestry at first experienced few difficulties. This harmony was of short duration. Stories of wartime atrocities published in the newspapers produced a hostile reaction of a racist kind.⁹ Government attempts to mobilise support for the war aroused anti-German feeling among the public. Everyone of German extraction was doubted, whether

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1. *Brisbane Courier*, 19 January 1914, p. 8; F. O. Theile, *One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland*, United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, Brisbane, 1938, p. 179
 2. *Brisbane Courier*, 19 January 1914, p. 8.
 3. *ibid.*, p. 7.
 4. *Brisbane Courier*, 28 January, 1914, p. 4.
 5. Ian Turner, '1914-19,' in F. K. Crowley (ed.), *A New History of Australia*, Heinemann, Melbourne, 1974, p. 318.
 6. Ian Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-8.
 7. Raymond Evans, *Loyalty and Disloyalty, Social Conflict in the Queensland Homefront 1914-18*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1987, p. 43.
 8. Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens, Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-1920*, U. of Q., St. Lucia, 1989, p. 15.
 9. Raymond Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

German nationals, naturalised, or Australian-born. In the early stages of the war applications to enlist by men with German names were refused, but then it was claimed that Germans took the jobs of men who enlisted. Germans lost their jobs when workmates refused to work with them.¹⁰ Governments responded to anti-German public attitudes. From May 1915 German clubs were closed and German language newspapers were suppressed by the Commonwealth.¹¹ In Brisbane publication of the market report in the German language (*Markt Bericht*) in the *Brisbane Courier* ceased in 1915, but the German supplement (*Deutsche Beilage*) of the *Queenslander News-Budget* lasted a little longer until 1916. In June 1915 the Queensland government effectively made teaching of the German language by the Church more difficult.

In the latter part of 1915 the war situation became much worse for the Australian public and the government. Lists of casualties were published almost continually, wounded were being brought home, and in December, Gallipoli was evacuated. Enlistments were no longer adequate to maintain the Australian forces overseas, and the government tried through committees, meetings and appeals to persuade young men to enlist.¹² The situation of Germans and German descendants in Australia deteriorated. Powers of internment were extended to cover natural-born British subjects of enemy descent.¹³ The defeat of the first conscription referendum in 1916 was followed by a search for scapegoats, one of which was thought to be a 'German vote.'¹⁴ The Commonwealth government reacted by banning from voting in the 1917 election a naturalised subject born in an enemy country, and from voting in the second conscription referendum an Australian-born child of a person born in an enemy country.¹⁵

Theile claimed that the Lutheran church in Queensland was treated with contempt during the war years. 'Lutheran was generally taken as synonymous with German and the members of the Lutheran Church were treated as though they were German nationals and therefore the natural enemies of the British and of the Australians.'¹⁶ From early in 1916 nine Lutheran pastors in Queensland were interned, and so too was Niemeyer the leader of the Apostolic Church.¹⁷ Three Lutheran church buildings were vandalised, at Charters Towers in August 1915, and at Maryborough and

10. Ernest Scott, *Australia During the War*, U. of Q. St Lucia, 1989, p. 112; R. Evans, op. cit. p. 50.

11. Raymond Evans, op. cit., p. 52.

12. Ian Turner, op. cit., p. 324.

13. Ernest Scott, op. cit., p. 110.

14. Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Collins, Sydney, 1980, p. 167.

15. *ibid*, pp. 167-173.

16. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 43.

17. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p.44; Raymond Evans, op. cit., p. 60.

Toowoomba on Armistice night.¹⁸ There were defections from Lutheran churches by those who wished to avoid the German association for business or social reasons. Theile also stated, 'The worship in Lutheran Churches, though it was carried on in the German language, was nowhere interfered with, but the religious instruction of the children, even when carried on in the English language, was greatly hindered.'¹⁹ Throughout the war years the government accepted German as a church language. When the federal cabinet in August 1918 after four years of war prohibited the speaking of German in public places, the embargo did not apply to places of public worship or to the teaching of the German language in schools as approved by State education authorities.²⁰

The Bethania Germans appear to have escaped most of the disabilities of Germans in Australia during the war years. There were no stories handed down of problems with officials or social disadvantages during the war. In other parts of the Logan district there were some internments, but none among the Bethania Germans. Some former Bethania Germans who had gone to other districts and descendants in other districts enlisted in the armed forces, but none of the Germans resident in the Bethania area. There were no war memorials or rolls of honour in Bethania or Waterford but in 1927 a Soldiers' Memorial was erected at the Methodist church at Loganlea.²¹ The war memorial in Beenleigh has the names of Germans from the Logan district but none identifiable with Bethania.

In Queensland as in the other states German place names were changed. In the Logan district the change from 'Gramzow' to 'Carbrook' was permanent. 'Steglitz' gave way to 'Woongoolba' but later reappeared with the spelling changed to 'Steiglitz,' and both names were accepted for adjacent localities.²² 'Bethania,' although taken from the name of the German Lutheran congregation, was basically a biblical name and was not changed. The *Government Gazettes* show that in Queensland at least six men with German names were discharged from Commissions of the Peace for 'disloyal conduct,' but none from the Logan district.²³ The government did not remove the names of other Germans from the list of Justices of the Peace as long as their loyalty remained unquestioned. Closer to Bethania, in March 1916 in a response to the federal law relating to the holding of shares by enemy aliens, G. F. Dauth of Beenleigh did not seek

18. Raymond Evans, op. cit., pp. 56, 149.

19. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 44.

20. *Brisbane Courier*, 1 August 1918, p. 6.

21. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 January 1927, p. 13; 29 March 1927, p. 7.

22. *Pugh's Queensland Almanac*, 1916, pp. 209, 221; 1917, pp. 188, 212.

23. *Queensland Government Gazette*, 31 October 1914, p. 1582; 19 December 1914, p. 2120; 7 August 1915, p. 401; 3 June 1916, p. 1913; 8 July 1916, p. 104; *Brisbane Courier*, 2 June 1916, p. 6.

re-election to the board of the Kingston Butter Factory, 'rather than allow any feeling to crop up in the district.'²⁴ In August 1916 the Waterford Shire Council protested against inclusion in the agenda paper of the Local Authorities' Conference of an item dealing with the disenfranchisement of naturalized subjects of enemy origin.²⁵

In only one instance was there a published allegation likely to reflect on the loyalty of the Bethania Germans. The *Brisbane Courier* complained that the war and conscription, although not state matters, had affected the result of the Queensland state election in 1918, and that the majority of German electors had transferred their support to candidates of the anti-conscription Caucus party. According to the counts published by the newspaper, the Waterford polling booth, at which the Bethania Germans voted, was one of a number of booths in six electorates in which the vote in 1915 had favoured the Liberal candidate but in 1918 had swung in favour of the Caucus candidate.²⁶ The paper identified 'German-Australian reactionaryism' in the Queensland community 'in which the social atmosphere is tolerant of slacking the war effort.'²⁷ Nothing came of the newspaper's allegations, which were not taken up by either the federal government or the new Queensland government of the victorious Caucus party.

The situation of the Bethania Germans during the war was similar to that referred to in an article by Gerhard Fischer covering the internment of enemy aliens in Queensland:

Farmers ... and generally people living on the land, who were self-employed and who enjoyed a comparatively greater degree of autonomy, had a better chance to survive the war without being challenged or bothered by the authorities, provided they kept a low profile - which almost all of them did - and provided they were lucky enough not to become the subject of denunciations by jealous neighbours.²⁸

According to Theile, at Bethania the Great War caused 'less disorganisation ... than in many other congregations.'²⁹ The first Anzac Day commemoration in 1916 was given a place in the service for the annual confirmation examination at the Bethania church on that date.³⁰ Lutheran pastors were not included in the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the beginning of the Protestant Reformation held in the Exhibition Hall

24. *Brisbane Courier*, 14 March 1916, p. 7.

25. Waterford Shire Council Minutes, 1 August 1916, p. 401.

26. *Brisbane Courier*, 19 March 1918, pp. 6-7.

27. *Brisbane Courier*, 13 May 1918, p. 6.

28. Gerhard Fischer, 'The Darkest Chapter, Internment and Deportation of Enemy Aliens in Queensland, 1914-1920,' in Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill (eds.), *The German Presence in Queensland*, U. of Q. 1988, p. 24.

29. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 179.

30. Waterford Shire Council Minutes, 2 May 1916, p. 373.

in Brisbane on the night of 31 October 1917, but on the same night a celebration service in the Bethania Lutheran Church was conducted by Pastor Theile.³¹ While church services in the German language continued without interference during the war years, teaching the language was more difficult.

Queensland's Education Act of 1875 provided among other things for compulsory education, but the provisions for compulsory school attendance were not proclaimed until 1900.³² Until the war, attendance by children of German parentage for one day a week at instruction under a German pastor was recognised as a valid excuse for absence from the state school.³³ In 1915 thirty-six Lutheran pupils from the Waterford State School attended German school at Bethania every Tuesday, about the same number as had attended the full-time congregational school in 1909, and eleven attended confirmation class for half a day each Monday.³⁴ Theile's students at Bethania were taught biblical history, Lutheran catechism, singing sacred songs and the German language.³⁵ In August 1915 instructions were issued by the Department of Public Instruction to headmasters of twelve state schools including Waterford that such reasons for absences were no longer regarded as valid.³⁶ An approach by Theile as secretary of the denomination to the Minister for Education was unsuccessful. Theile's letter to the Minister explained the reason for teaching the German language:

We have ... never upheld our German Schools for the German Empire's sake. No Pangermanic or Imperialistic ideas caused us to uphold the German language, but solely our religion. Just as the Jews all over the world try to teach their offspring some Hebrew for their Jewish religion's sake, thus we teach the German language for our Lutheran faith's sake, for it is our firm conviction that the faith of our fathers is best taught in the language of our fathers.³⁷

Under a 'Bible in State Schools' policy of the Queensland government ministers of religion were allowed one hour per week for religious instruction in state schools during school hours.³⁸ Any instruction in the German language had to take place on Saturdays

31. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 October 1917, p.7; 12 November 1917, p. 8.

32. A. G. Austin, *Australian Education 1788-1900, Church State and Public Education in Colonial Australia*, (3rd ed.), Pitman, Carlton, 1972, p. 24.

33. *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, 26 August 1915, p. 441, Secretary for Public Instruction, answer to Mr. May.

34. Queensland State Archives A/15984, European War Batch re German Schools 1913-1919, letter dated 8 September 1915 from Alf. Thompson, Head Teacher Waterford State School to Education Office No. 31671.

35. Queensland State Archives A/15984, letter dated 30 August 1915 from F. Otto Theile to Minister for Education No. 30-959.

36. Queensland State Archives A/15984, Secretary for Public Instruction; *Brisbane Courier*, 8 October 1915, p. 7.

37. Queensland State Archives A/15984, letter from F. Otto Theile.

38. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 October 1915, p. 10.

or in the evenings, an almost impossible task for the pastor and his wife as teachers when there were three congregations in the parish.

The various 'patriotic' activities during wartime tended to involve the German community and bring it into touch with the wider community. Federal and state governments worked through the local government, and during each of the war years 1914 to 1918 six or seven of the nine members of the Waterford Shire Council were German descendants, T. D. Schneider was the shire clerk until 1917 and his brother M. T. Schneider became chairman in 1918. Following a 'patriotic meeting' in September 1914 the Council set up a Waterford and District Patriotic Fund to arrange collections for the Red Cross and other patriotic purposes, and the Council itself contributed £15, while the first individual subscribers included a number of Germans.³⁹ For the state-wide Patriotic Day in August 1915 the councillors of Division 2 which included Bethania and Waterford arranged a house-to-house collection with a dance at night.⁴⁰ Spectators at the function in Kingston included some Bethania Germans.⁴¹ A local Recruiting Committee formed in January 1916 was based on Council members, and while nothing is reported of its activities it continued until at least July 1918.⁴²

Waterford was no more than a village, and it appears that patriotic activities involving Waterford and Bethania residents were mainly centred on the township of Beenleigh. A Logan Patriotic Fund was inaugurated in Beenleigh in September 1914 and the little written about it includes comments that it was supported by Germans in the district.⁴³ At the celebration of the 1915 Patriotic Day in Beenleigh 'a fine spirit of enthusiasm and patriotism pervaded the whole gathering, and those of German nationality vied with the others in making the day the success it was.'⁴⁴ The Waterford Shire Council responded to requests such as those for Mascot Day and the War Nurses Fund in October 1917 by calling public meetings.⁴⁵ The Council appears to have grown weary of the requests made, and in response to a request in November 1917 for assistance in getting the local public to collect for the Heroes Day Fund the Council decided to support sports arranged in Beenleigh.⁴⁶ The Bethania Germans and other Germans in the Logan district participated in patriotic activities and do not appear to have been regarded as distinct from other members of the wider community.

39. *Brisbane Courier*, 15 September 1914; Waterford Shire Council Minutes, 6 October 1914, p. 241.

40. Minutes of Waterford Shire Council, 6 July 1915, p. 286; 3 August 1915, p. 294.

41. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 August 1915, p. 9.

42. Waterford Shire Council Minutes, 4 January 1916, p. 338; 2 July 1918, p. 29.

43. *Brisbane Courier*, 11 September 1914, p. 8; 9 September 1915, p. 7.

44. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 August 1915, p. 9.

45. *Brisbane Courier*, 2 October 1917, p. 49.

46. Waterford Shire Council Minutes, 6 November 1917, p. 498.

In 1921 the United German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of Queensland and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Queensland, the two bodies formed in 1885, united to form the Queensland District of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, the united synod also including previously separate synods in South Australia and Victoria.⁴⁷ However the Lutheran churches in Queensland remained divided. From 1897 the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia had been active in Queensland and in 1909 organised a Queensland District of that Synod.⁴⁸ This synod was sometimes labelled 'Missouri' from its association with a Lutheran Synod in America. The two synods U.E.L.C.A. and E.L.S.A. remained separate until 1956. This division was of little consequence in the Logan district where all of the congregations including Bethania belonged to the U.E.L.C.A., but efforts to re-arrange the congregations were not successful,⁴⁹ and in Beenleigh, for instance, two congregations remained separate. When the new U.E.L.C.A. established Immanuel Seminary in Adelaide it was no longer necessary to send Australians to Germany or America for theological training, and from 1925 Queensland was supplied with pastors who were Immanuel graduates.⁵⁰

In the decades following the Great War the Lutheran Church gradually ceased to be the driving force for maintaining the German language in the congregations. In the view of Glen L. Williams, 'The First World War hastened the anglicizing of Lutheran public worship, both by creating a climate of public opinion in which German-language worship could not easily survive, and by effectively preventing the teaching of the German language.'⁵¹ In the early years after the war bi-lingual pastors were required. Many of the adults were German and preferred German in the churches, but English was necessary for the growing generation. For the annual synod conventions the official language was German as most of the delegates were older members of their congregations. As time went on the delegates included younger men who could understand German but could express themselves fluently only in English. According to Theile, 'It became necessary that all reports of committees and officials had to be presented in the two languages, German and English.' The minutes and extracts for congregations had also to be presented in two languages, a practice officially confirmed at the Synod convention of 1929. Again according to Theile not long afterwards the congregations abandoned German services and 'almost unnoticed English became the only language used at the Annual Convention of the Synod.'⁵² Theile's view reflected

47. F. O. Theile, *One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland*, pp.46-50.

48. *ibid.*, p. 33.

49. *ibid.*, p. 54.

50. *ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

51. Glen L. Williams, 'The German Language and the Lutheran Church in Queensland,' in *Queensland Heritage*, Vol. 2, No. 8, 1973, p. 32.

52. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

that of the denomination, and his view in 1915 that the German language was best for Lutherans was no longer held when he wrote in 1938:

The language has changed but the message is the same. The sound may be different, but the rhythm beats true. On the membership lists of the Lutheran congregations are the same names which were there fifty years ago; the same Word of God is being preached, the same hymns and the same tunes are being sung, the members confess their faith with the same three articles of the Apostolic Creed, they bring their children to the same Sacrament of Holy Baptism and at the altar they receive the same Holy Supper. But the language used is no longer the German. It is the language of the country - English ... The Lutheran faith, the faith of the fathers, is not bound to the German language only. Lutheran doctrine and teaching and form of worship can well be rendered and practised in the English language.⁵³

In 1936 only one-sixth of the Lutheran church services held in Queensland were in the German language, and in all but two congregations (of which Bethania was one) the number of English services far exceeded the number in German.⁵⁴

The decline in the use of German in the Bethania Lutheran congregation was similar to that in the denomination as a whole. English services were conducted occasionally during Pastor Theile's pastorate which ended in 1923 and there were several confirmations in English.⁵⁵ Pastor Theile was succeeded by Pastor R. B. Reuther who had been born in Australia and educated in South Australia, and had received his theological training at the Wartburg Seminary in America. Bethania was his first parish after his return from the seminary.⁵⁶ In 1924 Logan Reserve congregation joined Bethania, Eagleby and Beenleigh 'To the Cross' in the parish.⁵⁷ Pastor R. B. Reuther was succeeded in 1936 by one of his elder brothers. Pastor A. R. Reuther was also Australian-born but had been trained at Neuendettelsau in Germany. He had arrived in Queensland in 1913 and was stationed at Highfields until 1936 when he came to Bethania where he was the pastor until his retirement from the full-time ministry in 1959. Pastor A. R. Reuther was the Secretary of the Queensland Synod of the U.E.L.C.A. from 1923 to 1928 and President from 1928 to 1940.⁵⁸ His successors as pastor to the Bethania Lutheran congregation were Australian born and educated and trained in Australia.

53. *ibid.*, p. 99.

54. Glen L. Williams, *loc. cit.*

55. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

56. *ibid.*, p. 161.

57. *ibid.*, p. 184.

58. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 152.; *Queensland Lutheran*, February 1963, pp. 7-12.

The Lutheran church statistics did not record German and English language services at Bethania separately until 1928 when there were twelve English and twenty-four German preaching services and twenty-eight German lay reading services.⁵⁹ In 1933 the congregation resolved that English morning preaching services alternate with German.⁶⁰ German services continued for special occasions, but 1936 was the last year in which there were more German than English preaching services,⁶¹ and the seventy-fifth anniversary celebrations in 1939 were in English except for one sermon and one hymn.⁶² German preaching services declined to eleven in 1940 and one in 1941.⁶³ From 1940 English lay reading services were conducted alternately with German,⁶⁴ and German services ceased within three years.

The Radke family was the last to retain a capability in the German language, partly from the association of its members with the church and the German dominated Lutheran mission in New Guinea. August Radke was an elder of the Bethania Lutheran congregation and in the 1930s its lay reader in German. I remember him about 1940, speaking *Plattdeutsch* with my father, but with some English words. He died in 1943 aged eighty-seven years.⁶⁵ His son Ernst Radke attended Immanuel College and Seminary in Adelaide in the 1920s⁶⁶ but did not complete seminary studies. Another son Theodor (Ted) joined the Lutheran Mission in New Guinea in 1922. He died in 1944 during the Japanese occupation of New Guinea.⁶⁷ August Radke's daughter Anna married Wilhelm Schulz, a South Australian, and accompanied him to the mission in New Guinea. Ill-health forced their return with their family in 1932 to take up a farm at Bethania.⁶⁸ The elder members of the Schulz family were the last children at Bethania to be able to converse in German. The last to be confirmed in German were grandchildren of August Radke.

After the congregational school ceased and the one-day-a-week absence from the state school for religious instruction was no longer permitted the Sunday School in the German language became more important to the congregation. Later organisations were developed for devotions and social activities among young people who had been

59. 'Statistics of the Lutheran Church in Australia for the year 1928' in *Lutheran Herald*, 27 May 1939, p. 173.

60. Minute Book, Evangelical Lutheran Church Bethania, 1904-1969, 7 January 1933.

61. 'Statistics of the Lutheran Church ... 1936,' in *Lutheran Herald*, 24 May 1937, p. 172.

62. Minute Book, op. cit., 29 January 1939.

63. 'Statistics of the Lutheran Church,' in *Lutheran Herald*, 7 July 1941, p. 217; 23 May 1942, p. 217.

64. Minute Book, op. cit., 6 January 1940.

65. Queensland Lutheran, 12 February 1944, p. 6, Lutheran Parish Messenger, February 1944.

66. Brisbane Courier, 2 February 1925, p. 11.

67. Brisbane Courier, 4 September 1922, Queensland Lutheran 8 June 1944, p. 7, Lutheran Parish Messenger, June 1944, July 1944.

68. Lutheran Parish Messenger, November 1932, June 1933.

confirmed. Among the laymen of the congregation Ben Holzheimer had a leading role in the transition of the Bethania Lutheran congregation to the English language. He commenced an English language Sunday School in 1926,⁶⁹ initially in addition to the German language Sunday School which it soon replaced, and two years later he commenced an English language young people's organisation in the congregation. In 1940 Ben Holzheimer also became the first English language lay-reader. There are no records of the early women's organisations within the congregation, but from the late 1930s the Lutheran Women's Guild conducted its proceedings mainly in English.

German as the language of confirmation in the Bethania Lutheran church was abandoned slowly. The first confirmation in the English language was conducted by Pastor Theile in December 1918. For the rest of his pastorate and during the pastorate of Pastor R. B. Reuther there were confirmations in both German and English with those in German becoming less frequent.⁷⁰ It was recognised that such instruction in the German language as could be provided outside school hours was inadequate for the children when German was not spoken in the home. The last attempt to teach the German language in Saturday morning classes was made by Pastor R. B. Reuther in 1935.⁷¹ It was more difficult for children who had not attended a German Sunday School to proceed to confirmation instruction in German. After Pastor A. R. Reuther became Bethania's pastor in 1936 there were only two confirmations in the German language, Ruth and Herman Radke in August 1937 and their cousins Emma and Adele Schulz in October 1939. Younger members of the Schulz family were confirmed in English.⁷²

Congregational records show the passing of the German language. The congregation marriage register of the Bethania Lutheran church was written in the German language and script until the time of Pastor Theile, and during his pastorate in the German language with Latin script. The transition to the English language was made by Pastor R. B. Reuther. The first notation of a marriage in English was made in 1923, after which there were only six marriages in the German language, the last noted in 1930.⁷³ In 1931 the minutes of the annual general meeting of the congregation were recorded in English for the first time.⁷⁴

69. Bethania Lutheran Sunday School Roll.

70. Confirmation Register of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Bethania 1885-1974.

71. My recollection as an early drop-out.

72. Confirmation Register, *op. cit.*

73. Church Register of Bethania Lutheran Parish.

74. Minute Book, Evangelical Lutheran Church Bethania, 1904-1969, 18 January 1931.

The names given to children also showed the transition from German. English first names were given to a few of the children of the Bethania Germans in the early 1900s, some with German second names. In 1905 of the twelve children christened in the Bethania Lutheran Church nine were given English first names. There were some German and some English names every year until 1917 when all thirteen first names were English, and from then on German first names were rare.⁷⁵

The Waterford Community of the Apostolic Church has not existed as an organization for over fifty years and little of its history has been traced, but its experience of the decline in using the German language appears to have been similar to that of the Bethania Lutheran congregation. From the first World War the Apostolic Church no longer had the word 'German' in its name, and from the 1920s conducted services in English. After the departure of Priest H. Dargusch in 1917 the Waterford Community was served by visiting priests and by deacons appointed from the Waterford members. Priest C. Beutel held the Priest Office from his ordination in 1932 until his death in 1941. The Community was then again served by deacons and visiting priests. The Community was never very large and as members had left the district, by 1947 'not many members were left,' and the church building was moved to serve members at Ipswich.⁷⁶ By then the German language was no longer used by the members of the denomination remaining in the Bethania area.

Between the two world wars there appears to have been almost no identification with German institutions or culture among the Bethania Germans apart from that through the church. Up to the time of the first World War all Germans including naturalised Germans in Australia, and also descendants of Germans, were generally referred to in newspapers and elsewhere as 'Germans'. That term became unpopular during the war, and between the two world wars such people would never refer to themselves as 'Germans.' (The term 'Australian of German ancestry' would appear only many years after the Second World War, and was rarely used). Associations with German institutions were also not popular between the wars. Bethania Germans were not named in reports of activities of the German Club or other German organizations or in connection with German celebrations in Brisbane, but some of them would have maintained contact with German relatives and friends in Brisbane. When the German cruiser *Karlsruhe* was in Brisbane in January 1934, members of its crew were taken to the 'German districts' of Marburg, Kalbar and Boonah, but not to the Logan. Some

75. Baptismal Register of Bethania Lutheran Parish.

76. *The Apostolic Church of Queensland and Hatton Vale Community Centenary 1883-1983*, History and Souvenir Booklet, pp. 38-9.

Bethania Germans visited the ship and attended the South Brisbane Lutheran church when the ship's band took part in the service.⁷⁷ When the German raider of the First World War, Graf Felix von Luckner, visited Queensland in August 1938 some of the Bethania Germans attended his lecture in Beenleigh.⁷⁸ (I have faint childhood memories of the visit of the *Karlsruhe*, and a clearer recollection of my father bringing home from the Beenleigh lecture pictures of the Count and his ship).

The integration of Bethania Germans into civic and social activities of the wider community continued in the twentieth century. M. T. Schneider was chairman of the Waterford Shire Council in 1918 and 1921 and from 1924 to 1926, and Albert Baumann was chairman from 1932 to 1942.⁷⁹ German descendants were councillors for the Bethania area until the amalgamation of shires in 1949 when the Bethania area was included in the Beaudesert shire. After that the area was no longer represented in local government by German descendants. When after a lapse of some years the Waterford State School committee was revived in 1927 all committee members had German names.⁸⁰ In the 1920s a Bethania tennis club had properly fenced courts with ant-bed surfaces on Ted Tesch's property, and there was also a Bethania cricket club, both with mainly German members. These Bethania clubs took part in local competitions, but do not appear to have survived the twenties. There were also a number of German members of the tennis and cricket clubs at Waterford. The tennis clubs had both men and women members, but little is recorded of women's activities except in relation to dances.⁸¹ A Waterford rifle club with mainly German members was led by M. T. Schneider.⁸² The area was also represented on producers' and farmers' organisations and there were representatives of sports clubs on local associations. Apart from this there was little representation outside the area, but M. T. Schneider was a committee member of the Beenleigh Show Society until he left the area in 1931, and he was also the Treasurer of the U.E.L.C.A. denomination.⁸³

Participation in dances indicated that the Lutheran church did not have as strong a hold on its members as its leaders would have liked. The Lutheran Church discouraged its young people from attendance at public dances, but lacked scriptural authority to enforce a total ban. The Bethania congregation's rules for Sunday School

77. *Courier Mail*, 18 January 1934, p. 13; 22 January 1934, p. 12; 23 January 1934, p. 15.

78. *Courier Mail*, 4 August 1938, p. 4; 15 August 1938, p. 23; 18 August 1938, p. 26.

79. *Waterford State School Centenary 1869-1969 Souvenir Booklet*, p. 9; *Brisbane Courier*, 20 June 1924, p. 14; 7 February 1925, p. 13; 19 July 1926, p. 10.

80. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 October 1927, p. 23.

81. See for example *Brisbane Courier*, 4 November 1921, p. 4; 27 June 1924, p. 9; 3 June 1925, p. 10; 28 October, 1927, p. 12.

82. See for example *Brisbane Courier*, 11 January 1923, p. 8; 23 July 1926, p. 10.

83. *Brisbane Courier*, 28 April 1923, p. 11, 5 August 1925, p. 19.

teachers included a paragraph: 'The teachers of the Sunday School shall be such men who have a good reputation within the congregation, who shall refrain from partaking in or attending worldly amusements especially dancing.'⁸⁴ No local newspapers for the 1920s and 1930s have survived, but in the brief social notes which appeared from time to time in Brisbane newspapers reports of dances in the Waterford area show the surnames of families regarded as Lutheran. It is impossible at this distance in time to identify individuals, but it appears that some were able to attend dances and remain church members.

As in the previous century there were no general attempts at cross-conversions between German and non-German churches. The Apostolic church was able to insist that its members married only church members, and that non-members converted before the marriage. The Lutheran church did not enforce such a discipline. Marriages were generally in the church of the bride's choice, and marriages of Lutheran men not in Lutheran churches are difficult to trace. In three decades from the 1930s there were in the Bethania Lutheran church five marriages of church members to outsiders, and there were a similar number of confirmations of adults married to Lutherans.⁸⁵ In the previous century Germans who married non-Germans did not stay in the Bethania area, but now some of them remained. The Bethania Lutheran congregation was beginning to be less than exclusively German, and this process continued in the following decades. Distinctions between German descendants and others lessened, with some of part-German descent within and some outside the church.

By the time of the Second World War the Germans or descendants of Germans at Bethania no longer appeared as a distinct community of Germans. There were few left who had actually been born in the German states. Those few had migrated as children, and had spent most of their lives in an environment where English was spoken, and were then of advanced age. Descendants of Germans who had been born in Queensland had had all or most of their primary school education in English, and generally could converse fluently in English, although some included translations of German expressions in their English. German descendants in Queensland interned during the war included some from other parts of the Logan district but none from Bethania. Issues of the First World War such as German language schools no longer applied and there were no allegations of disloyalty of the German descendants in Bethania. Together with other citizens in the area they supported the Red Cross and other local patriotic organisations, and while some Logan residents with German

84. Rules for the Sunday School Committee, in typescript and undated, held in Church Register of the Bethania Lutheran Church.

85. Church Register of Bethania Lutheran Parish; Confirmation Register of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Bethania 1885-1974.

surnames had prominent positions in these, none were from Bethania. German descendants with children among the pupils helped to dig slit trenches at the Waterford State School, and Ted Tesch and Ben Holzheimer were appointed air raid wardens. Len Maas was a volunteer recruit for the army, and Ernie Lietzow, Alan Ludwig, Mervyn Noffke, and Gerald Tesch and some others were also in uniform,⁸⁶ but the young men of the area were generally engaged in primary industry and exempted from compulsory military service. As in the First World War people on the land who kept a low profile were generally untroubled by the authorities.

In 1945 the Queensland Division of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia established St. Peter's Lutheran College at Indooroopilly, Brisbane. Only a few Bethania Lutheran parents sent their children to the College as they had to pay Monday-to-Friday or term boarding fees. Although the College taught the German language as a secondary school subject it did almost nothing which might have restored the German identity of the Bethania Germans. For education in a Lutheran college parents would previously have had to send their children to Adelaide, and a College so much closer in Brisbane increased the prospects that Lutheran parents would send their children to a Lutheran school, and that some of the sons would continue their studies in a seminary and become ministers. It was over ninety years from its beginning before the Bethania Lutheran congregation produced a pastor from among the sons of its members. In 1957 Martin the youngest son of the Schulz family who had left Bethania in 1949 was ordained as a Lutheran minister.⁸⁷ Ernst Prenzler and family came to Bethania in 1950 and the two Prenzler sons were ordained in 1965 and 1966.⁸⁸ Their mother was a member of the Haack family identified with Logan Reserve and Beenleigh rather than Bethania. The first descendant of 'old' Bethania Germans who had spent all of his childhood in the Bethania area and became a pastor was Graham Maas, who had been student at St. Peter's College in Brisbane and Immanuel Seminary in Adelaide and was ordained in March 1973.⁸⁹ None of these became the pastor of the Bethania congregation, and neither they nor the College contributed to a German identity.

The Bethania Lutheran congregation generally ceased to make a strong contribution to the identity of a German community in the Bethania area. A separate congregation at Logan Reserve was discontinued in 1972, and after reorganisations of parishes in the Logan district Bethania became the only congregation in the parish. In

86. *Lutheran Parish Messenger*, April 1944.

87. *Queensland Lutheran*, January 1957, p. 3.

88. *Queensland Lutheran*, February 1950, p. 5; February 1965, p. 3; March 1966, p. 5.

89. *Albert News*, 14 March 1977, p. 17.

1969 a congregational primary school was established. While as a church school this was a successor to the school of 1904-9, it was not intended to be a bi-lingual school, or to revive or continue use of the German language. The congregation still conducted its Sunday services in the church building opened in 1872 (although a new worship centre was contemplated), but with a changing population the congregation drew its members from a much wider area than that originally settled by Germans. None of its services were in the German language, and the only members who could converse in German were migrants to Australia. Of the families and individuals listed in the congregation's directory only half had German language names, and of the German names only half were of old Bethania German families.⁹⁰

The descendants of the early Bethania Germans had become less German. Hardly any of them spoke the German language. Apart from the Lutheran church the institutions in which they participated were the same as those of other citizens. The Lutheran church had also changed. It no longer used the German language and its membership was not exclusively German. Not only had the descendants of the early Bethania Germans become less German, but as the economy changed they lost their hold on the area with which their ancestors had been identified.

90. The Evangelical Lutheran Church at Bethania, Parish Directory, 2001.