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The German difference

Hitler's men

A man from the Kimberley missions once told me that 'we were educated by Hitler's men'. One of his teachers had been Fr John **Lümmen** at the Pallottine training centre in Rossmoyne, Perth. Lümmen mused that 'I was somehow seen as authoritarian, but how could it be different when I had been a German officer, trained in a German army'.¹

Certainly, some missionaries in South Africa and New Guinea applauded the Third Reich politics. Christine Winter found that members of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society in Germany became 'intoxicated' with Nazi ideology.² However, Nazi policies rendered it increasingly difficult to carry on mission, and a honeymoon period of collaboration ended in increasing attacks on the mission societies. Restrictions on foreign currency exchange hindered the transfer of funds between countries, and the mission colleges were drained of candidates and teachers who were drafted into the military. The Hitler Government pressured the Protestant

1 John Luemmen and Brigida Nailon, *Led by the Spirit: Autobiography of Father John Luemmen SAC*, Imprinti Potest Provincial of the Pallottines in Australia, Rossmoyne, 1999, p. 57.

2 Christine Winter, 'The NSDAP stronghold Finschhafen, New Guinea', in Emily Turner-Graham and Christine Winter (eds), *National Socialism in Oceania: A Critical Evaluation of Its Effect and Aftermath*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 31–47; Christine Winter, *Looking After One's Own: The Rise of Nationalism and the Politics of the Neuendettelsauer Mission in Australia, New Guinea and Germany (1921–1933)*, Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 2012.

mission societies to join the Reichskirche (State Church), which ended its assemblies with 'Sieg Heil' instead of prayer, and only the Reichskirche was allowed to conduct collections of donations.

This political landscape gave rise to internal tensions that became particularly evident in the Hermannsburger Missionsgesellschaft (HMG). Its director at Hermannsburg, Christoph Schomerus, disagreed with co-director Winfried Wickert, who was based in South Africa. Wickert's mission stations flew the swastika, performed Horst Wessel's Nazi party anthem *Die Fahne hoch* ('The Flag on High') and sent donations to the Volkswohlfart (people's welfare). Wickert promoted shares in the South African Mercedes Benz subsidiary to circumvent the foreign currency restrictions and to promote the economic goals of the Third Reich. Schomerus expressed concern about Wickert's policy. He feared that embracing the Third Reich ideology was dangerous for the HMG's members abroad, such as in Australia. Many German Lutherans of Jewish descent appealed to the HMG for help with emigration, but with a divided leadership the HMG was unable to assist.³ In South Africa, the Lutherans splintered, with the South-West Synod joining the Reichskirche, while the Johannesburg Synod held fast to the Lutheran Freikirche (free church).

Eventually, Schomerus resigned from the Reichskirche senate and Nazi pressure on the HMG increased. The HMG newsletter was subjected to censorship and had to be suspended in 1940. The secret state police (Gestapo) refused permission for the mission festival in 1939 on the grounds that it coincided with the NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party) assembly and had not been applied for 'properly'. The HMG festival was rescheduled and this time the premises that Schomerus requested were refused. On the day when the mission festival was finally held, several HMG students received their military call-up.⁴

The Pallottines suffered far more than such bureaucratic bullying. They evacuated their German headquarters to Switzerland, but in Limburg about 60 Pallottines were arrested for refusing military service and 13 imprisoned at Dachau, where Fr Reinisch was beheaded. By late 1942, 50 Pallottines had died, several in concentration camps.⁵

3 Ernst-August Lüdemann (ed.), *Vision: Gemeinde weltweit – 150 Jahre Hermannsburger Mission und Ev. Luth. Missionswerk in Niedersachsen*, Verlag der Missionshandlung, Hermannsburg, 2000.

4 Lüdemann, *Vision: Gemeinde weltweit*.

5 Brigida Nailon, *Nothing is Wasted in the Household of God: Vincent Pallotti's Vision in Australia 1901–2001*, Spectrum, Richmond, 2001, pp. 129–30.

The Ehrenbreitstein monastery was looted and destroyed and several Pallottine houses, including the motherhouse in Limburg, had been confiscated and occupied by the Gestapo. It is true that the Pallottines who arrived in Australia after the war had been in uniform, including Bishop John Jobst. Much as most Indigenous people had little choice but to participate in Christian missions, the young German men had little choice but to follow the military call-up of the Third Reich.

Many former mission residents used words like ‘strict’ and ‘tough’ to describe their missionaries. In Lümme’s case, even his assistant priest at Riverton, Fr Eugene San (who later rose to Australian Pallottine Regional), ‘found Fr. John to be a tough taskmaster’.⁶ Cecilia Little also described Lümme as strict: ‘although Fr. John was strict, he was more a mentor to the boys and girls [at Rossmoyne] and many maintained their friendship with him throughout his life’.⁷ The Rossmoyne training centre, strongly assimilationist, removed high achieving students from their communities in order to receive training in Perth and produced several students who later rose to prominence as cultural activists: Harold Little became a Western Australian AFL premiership footballer, Peter Yu became chair of the Kimberley Land Council, Jimmy Chi became a well-known playwright, and Steven Albert, also known as actor and musician Baamba, himself became a strong proponent of Aboriginal education – but on the new paradigm of self-determination (see **Lümme**).

Lümme was invited to the premiere of Jimmy Chi’s award-winning 1990 musical *Bran Nue Dae*, a cheeky take on the mission era. One of its central characters, Father Benedictus, was ‘loosely modelled’ on Fr John Lümme, who later recalled Stephen Albert, a main actor in the play, telling him, ‘Pop, if we had not learnt discipline at Rossmoyne by you, we would never have been able to go through the training of this play’.⁸ At Lümme’s funeral in Perth in January 2014, a large delegation from Broome, including Albert and Chi, were present to pay their final respects. This show of respect sits oddly with the ‘Hitler’s men’ comment. Presumably, the comment was more about the strictness and discipline

6 ‘Father John Lümme SAC’, Obituary read by Fr Eugene San SAC, Kimberley Community Profile, April 2014, p. 13, broome-diocese.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/KCP-2014-01.pdf (accessed August 2017).

7 Mark Reidy, ‘Brand New Day for Fr. John Luemmen’, *The Record*, 9 February 2014.

8 Luemmen and Nailon, *Led by the Spirit*, p. 60.

often shown by former military personnel, and often ascribed to Germans, rather than an allegation of adoration of the Führer and national socialist ideas.

German mission culture

A German flavour is undoubtedly present on the missions supervised by Germans, and such traces of German culture are perhaps more recognisable to those who share it, from the boiled and coloured Easter eggs at **Tardun** to the harvest festival at Hopevale, to *Stille Nacht* resounding through Christmas Eve at **Hermannsburg**. At Hermannsburg, we find reference to the mouth organ, violin, clarinet and zither, and the German women baked Lebkuchen and Springerle (ginger bread and rock ammonia biscuits) and the Christmas trees were decorated with toys, biscuits, sweets and treats. At Tardun in the 1950s, the Catholic Schoenstatt Sisters organised the children for processions just like the German Catholic children at home, carrying self-made paper lanterns for St Martin's Day and candles for occasions such as blessing the crops or blessing a new shrine. On 1 May, they wheeled any carts and wheelbarrows – loaded with teddy-bears – around to the workshops for the blessing of the vehicles on St Joseph's Day, Patron Saint of workers. For Advent, they translated and fervently intoned the *Herbergsuch* ('Searching for Shelter') portraying a pauper searching for shelter and being turned away at each door. The Kimberley children probably understood no more about these rituals than did children like myself in the Catholic villages of rural Germany, who focused only on the little flame we carried in our lantern or on the flower petals we gathered for Corpus Christi, which the Sisters turned into artful flower carpets that were as short-lived as a sand painting in the desert. The Brothers at Beagle Bay played the popular card game of Skat,⁹ and Br Johannes **Graf** subjected himself to water cures in the popular tradition of the German Dr **Kneipp**, which seemed radical and harsh to observers. The Brothers in the Kimberley erected Lourdes grottos so popular in German Catholic villages, and built churches on European patterns, in which women sat on one side and men on the other just like at home. The layout of Lutheran missions resembled a German rural village, with the church and public buildings at the centre, surrounded by cottages bordering the fields. The

9 Skat takes its name from the Italian *scarto* because some cards are discarded at the beginning of each round.

Moravian missions may have had less of a German outward appearance, but at **Ebenezer** the colony cottages were getting scrubbed every Saturday (in keeping with the German housewifery routine) and at **Ramahyuck** Hagenauer said grace at mealtimes: 'Komm Herr Jesu sei unser Gast und segne was Du bescheret hast'.¹⁰ Occasionally, the missionaries reverted to speaking German to each other so that mission residents would not understand what they were saying,¹¹ a small privilege most bilingual migrants now and then claim for themselves.

Just like the productive economies of German rural households geared for self-sufficiency, the Lutheran women at Hermannsburg mission baked their own bread, produced Hefekuchen for Sundays and taught the young girls to mend, sew and knit. Cabbages were pickled as sauerkraut; milk from cows, sheep and goats was turned into butter, cheese and quark. From the butchered animals, the men produced mettwurst, leberwurst, blutwurst, speck and schmalz (metwurst, liverwurst, black pudding, smoked ham and drippings).¹² At Beagle Bay, the Brothers competed with each other over who turned out the best sausages.

Another German trait was the practice of homeopathy, a treatment philosophy developed by Dr Samuel Hahnemann in the 1830s, based on the principle *similia similibus curantur* (like cures like). Hermann Vogelsang at Hermannsburg and Pastor Wolfgang Riedel at **Killalpaninna** were practitioners of this self-help appropriate technology, and Pastor Carl Gottfried Hellmuth, Pastor Georg Heidenreich,¹³ Pastor Carl Strehlow and Fr Georg Walter also subscribed to it. Johann Flierl reported that his wife cured an ox with homeopathic medicine, and that Dr Johann Zwar at North Rhine and the Tanunda doctors treated mission staff free of charge with homeopathic remedies.¹⁴ In Germany, chemists (apothecaries) still sell homeopathic medicines along with allopathic ones, and herbal remedies such as those based on the medieval teachings of Hildegard von Bingen also enjoy wide medical credibility.

10 Franz Barfus, 'A visit to the mission station Ramahyuck at Lake Wellington, Gippsland (Victoria)', 1882, MS 12645, Box 348612, State Library of Victoria.

11 Felicity Jenz, *Moravian Missionaries in the British Colony of Victoria, Australia, 1848–1908: Influential Strangers*, Brill, Leiden, 2010, p. 82.

12 Judy Gale Rechner, *GJ Rechner and His Descendants: Rechner, Fischer/Fisher, Stolz and Reuther Journeys*, Rechner Researchers, Adelaide, 2008, p. 234.

13 St John's Lutheran Church, *100 Years of Grace: St John's Lutheran Church, Bundaberg, Qld.: 1877–1977*, the Church, Bundaberg, 1977.

14 Susanne Froehlich (ed.), *Als Pioniermissionar in das ferne Neu Guinea – Johann Flierls Lebenserinnerungen*, 2 vols, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2015, Vol. 1, pp. 150, 188.

Cultural animosities

Cultural differences, of course, went deeper than these visible surface traits, and were not unanimously welcomed. Chapter 2 referred to the Anglo-German bible and mission networks that began to deteriorate from the 1820s and, by the time German-speaking missionaries arrived in Australia after the 1836 Church Act,¹⁵ cultural animosity was already surfacing. Dr Louis Giustiniani commented on the xenophobic colonial society he found at Swan River colony in 1836. He was refused naturalisation and the allocation of mission land, and was driven out of Western Australia in a 'period of intense British nationalism and patriotism'.¹⁶

At Wellington Valley, too, considerable tension developed from the start between the German and Anglo-Saxon staff. The latter made dismissive comments about Germans, or foreigners in general, who resisted submission to a bishop, and Watson himself 'had from observation not much reason to admire missionary zeal in any German with whom [he] was acquainted', meaning Johann **Handt** and Jakob **Günther**.¹⁷ In 1842, the New South Wales governor withdrew financial support from the two German-staffed missions in the colony and redirected funds towards the efforts of English speakers.¹⁸ This does not look like a mere coincidence. J.D. Lang was criticised for importing German missionaries, and their qualifications were later called into question (see **Zion Hill**). Such tensions continued to fester. In the 1890s, the Immanuel Synod accepted the view that the media campaign against Pastor Carl **Meyer** surrounding a 'crimping incident' at **Bloomfield** (see below) was based on anti-German sentiment, and Meyer's successor, Pastor Johann **Hörlein**, felt that much of the resistance from settlers arose because 'the English gentlemen just don't like this German mission, and where they can harm us it pleases them to the utmost'.¹⁹ Acrimonious differences emerged

15 *An Act to promote the building of Churches and Chapels and to provide for the maintenance of Ministers of Religion in New South Wales 1836* (NSW).

16 Lesley J. Borowitzka, 'The Reverend Dr Louis Giustiniani and Anglican conflict in the Swan River Colony, Western Australia 1836–1838', *Journal of Religious History* 35.3 (2011): 357.

17 Third Annual Report of the Apsley Aboriginal Mission, supported & conducted by the Reverend William Watson, 30 December 1843 441898, CSIL, Archival Estrays (DL CSIL/6), cited in Barry John Bridges, 'The Church of England and the Aborigines of New South Wales, 1788–1855', PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 1978, p. 654.

18 Watson's mission replaced the one jointly run with Günther, while Zion Hill mission was disbanded and Handt was snubbed in favour of an English priest at Moreton Bay.

19 Hörlein to Rechner, 30 August 1891, Immanuel Synod, Bloomfield Mission Correspondence, 1887–89 (henceforth Bloomfield Correspondence), Lutheran Archives Australia (LAA).

between Chief Protector Neville and Bishop Otto **Raible** in Western Australia, between ethnographer Baldwin Spencer and missionary Carl **Strehlow** in the Northern Territory, and between the Rev. Nicholas **Hey** and Commissioner Archibald Meston in Queensland.²⁰ The Italian Fr Vaccari fared no better with Bishop Polding in the 1840s, and the Italian Passionists explained the tensions between Polding and Vaccari as cultural differences: Vaccari evidently found it difficult to ‘exercise that patience which is necessary in dealing with English people’.²¹

Cultural discomfort was mutual. Pastor Hörlein had reservations about the English wife of the mission teacher, because Bloomfield mission was ‘supposed to be German Lutheran’ and should not be ‘stained with an English patina’. Pastor Hey, too, commented in retirement about the university-trained ‘English gentlemen’ who had succeeded his Brethren at Weipa. They were ‘very educated but not suitable for the work’ and their wives ‘never went out without gloves for fear of being touched’.²² This comment was after World War I, when several pastors were traumatised by the hostility they had encountered.

An argument often raised during World War I was that the missionaries were spreading ‘German sentiments’. This allegation owed much to the language approach of the German missionaries, who translated their German hymns and rhymes into the local languages, with the result that mission residents learned popular German tunes.²³

Language policy

Most German missionaries felt it best to acquire a local language, for both practical and philosophical reasons. The practical reasons were that most of the newly arriving Germans struggled with English and neither were the mission residents fluent in grammatical English, having become used to the pidgin used in their interactions with colonisers. The common

20 Hey, Annual Report for Mapoon for 1910, MF 186, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (AIATSIS).

21 Barberi in London to Testa in Rome, 4 May 1847, in Osmund Thorpe, *First Catholic Mission to the Australian Aborigines*, Pellegrini & Co., Sydney, 1950, p. 203.

22 Hey to Hennig, 7 October 1920, Missionsdirektion, Personalakten, Nicolaus Hey, MD825, Archiv der Brüderunität (Herrnhut Archives).

23 A.W. Hurley, ‘German-Indigenous musical flows at Ntaria in the 1960s: Tiger Tjalkalyeri’s rendition of “Silent Night,” or what is tradition anyway?’, *Perfect Beat* 15.1 (2014): 7–21.

language was to be the language in which at least most of the mission residents were competent. Competition with English speakers also played into the turn towards the vernacular. Fr Anton **Strele** recommended using a vernacular mission language in the Northern Territory missions because he thought it was just as easy for the Jesuit Fathers to learn a local language than to learn English and ‘(much more important) the way is kept closed to the [Anglican] ministers’.²⁴ Until World War I, most Lutheran missions had a substantial German-speaking staff, so that in many cases separate religious services were held in German, and in Indigenous languages. Schooling, too, was attempted in local languages, and missionaries proudly gathered the evidence of vernacular literacy that their students produced in the form of letters, poems or gifts.

The philosophical reason for the turn towards the vernacular is one that has been much emphasised by the Lutheran Church – that it was a fundamental premise of Lutheranism to make the word of God available to peoples in their own language following the example of Martin Luther, who first translated the Bible into German published in 1534. This Lutheran position was reinforced by the German intellectual tradition of the eighteenth century, to which we will return below.

Despite their fundamental cultural commitment to vernacular languages, the case-by-case review below shows that the implementation of this language policy was uneven among the German-speaking missionaries. Colonial governments did not support these efforts of language maintenance and made it a condition of public funding that schools were conducted in English. Also, in several instances, we see that a lack of English as a *lingua franca* must have made it more difficult for Europeans to start learning a vernacular language.

Lutherans in south-east Queensland and northern New South Wales

At **Wellington Valley**, William Watson and Handt began in 1835 to translate short Bible passages and commenced a Wiradjuri grammar and dictionary.²⁵ However, the school was conducted in English and Watson

24 Strele 1884 in Anton Strele, *Annual Letters from the Jesuit Mission in North Australia 1886–1889*, translated by F. Dennett SJ, Archives of the Society of Jesus, Hawthorn.

25 John Harris, *One Blood: 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope*, Albatross, Sutherland, NSW, 1990, p. 60.

claimed that his German Brother Handt, who was still struggling with English, was ‘desultory’ in language acquisition.²⁶ Presumably learning two foreign languages together (English and Wiradjuri) rendered Handt’s task more difficult. Later in Brisbane, Handt reputedly helped the Zion Hill missionaries to learn Turrbal. Among the missionaries at Zion Hill in the late 1830s, only Christopher **Eipper** spoke English and was able to learn Yaggera while the others were struggling to learn English and took turns to conduct their religious services in German.²⁷ The Italian Catholic missionaries on **Stradbroke Island**, who also lacked English save for the Swiss member Joseph Snell, were unsuccessful in acquiring a local language.

South Australian Lutherans

However, things stood differently with their contemporaries in South Australia. C.G. **Teichelmann** and C.W. **Schürmann** from the Dresden Mission Society arrived with a sound background in languages, including English, and quickly learned Kaurna. Within 18 months of arrival in Adelaide, they published a substantial vocabulary with a sketch grammar and sentences. Teichelmann continued this work with a substantial grammatical manuscript. At the Piltawodli school Schürmann taught in Kaurna (1839), and both missionaries translated German hymns into Kaurna. The governor closed this school in 1845 and transferred the children to the government ‘Native School’ where all instruction was in English (see **Piltawodli**). Subsequently, the Dresden missionaries continued to pioneer language work. Schürmann documented the Parnkalla language at Port Lincoln, and **A.E. Meyer** began work on the Ramindjeri (see **Encounter Bay**). Their linguistic methods employed with Kaurna, Parnkalla and Ramindjeri were adopted by others, including the Lutheran missionaries working on Dieri, and Protector **Matthew Moorhouse** and John Weatherstone working on the Ngayawang language on the River Murray.²⁸ Linguist Rob Amery and his students and colleagues in Adelaide have also put the records of these missionaries to good use. Amery drove the project for language reclamation resulting in

26 Bridges, ‘The Church of England and the Aborigines of New South Wales’, pp. 413–14.

27 Yaggera is also spelled as Jagara, Jagera, Yuggera. Turrbal is spelt as Turrubal, Dyirbal.

28 Rob Amery, ‘Piltawodli’, German Missionaries in Australia, Griffith University, missionaries.griffith.edu.au.

the re-emergence of fluent speakers and the reintroduction of the Kaurna language into public life in Adelaide.²⁹ Amery maintains that ‘The real success of the German missionaries lay in their linguistic work’.³⁰

The Far North

The Italian Catholic Fr Angelo Confalonieri also left a significant legacy for language research. During his short period at Port Essington (1846–48), he began to document the Iwaidja language and translated prayers and parts of the New Testament. He produced a dictionary and a tribal areas map. Many of the terms Confalonieri gathered were actually Macassan words such as Limba Piu for a place the Macassans called Limba Peo (‘mud bay’ – near Cape Don), or Limba Bina for the Macassan Lemba Binangaja (literally ‘river bay’, aka Trepang Bay).³¹ Linguist Nicholas Evans used this work to examine linguistic adaptations of Macassan words and found the Iwaidja languages to be the linguistic equivalent of a well-stratified archaeological site. Evans was able to identify four distinct historical layers in the adoption of Macassan loanwords and suggests that the earliest adaptations occurred before the split between the Mawng and Iwaidja languages, which means over a millenium ago, and well beyond the timeframe of Macassan–Australian contacts currently accepted.³² Like so much early language work, the use to which this work has been put far exceeds the hopes originally invested in it.

Moravian missions in Victoria

The Moravian missionaries worked in association with the Presbyterian Church and spent much less effort on local languages. At **Lake Condah**, formed in 1867, a board teacher arrived in 1871 and taught in English. At Ebenezer, the children of settlers and missionaries attended school together with Aboriginal children, and references to Jardwadjali are scarce. According to Werner, the missionaries instructed in ‘simple English’,

29 ‘Language revival: Securing the future of endangered languages’, University of Adelaide.

30 See Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kaurna! Reclaiming an Australian Language*, Swets & Zeitlinger, Lisse, Netherlands, 2000.

31 Regina Ganter, Julia Martinez and Gary Lee, *Mixed Relations: Asian–Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, UWA Publishing, Crawley, 2006; Stefano Girola, ‘Fr. Confalonieri’s Legacy in the Australian Church’, *L’Osservatore Romano*, Weekly Edition in English, 28 October 2009.

32 Nicholas Evans, ‘Macassan loans and linguistic stratification in western Arnhem Land’, in Patrick McConvell and Nicholas Evans (eds), *Archaeology and Linguistics: Aboriginal Australia in Global Perspective*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997, pp. 237–60.

and Friedrich Hagenauer, Adolf Hartmann and J.F.W. Spieseke collated word lists, but did not embark on translations.³³ However, Spieseke was able to translate a ‘hymn’ composed by Nathanael Pepper (presumably in a Wergaia language, see Chapter 5). At Ramahyuck, the school was conducted on the government curriculum in English and excelled on all registers. At **Mapoon**, Rev. Nicholas Hey published a Nggerikudi grammar in 1903, but the children are reported as learning English hymns in 1893, and the German wife of Pastor Edwin Brown became the government-funded schoolteacher in 1909, which must mean that she also taught in English.

Central Australian Lutherans

At Killalpaninna, all the Lutheran missionaries were expected to learn Dieri (Dyari). Within three years of arrival in 1866, the first HMG-trained missionaries published a tiny reader with catechism for use by the staff, and with the help of this booklet even the lay assistants Heinrich Vogelsang and Ernst Jakob at Kopperamanna and Etadunna outstations held daily prayers and Sunday service in Dieri. Pastor Johann Flierl described Dieri and Aumeni as closely related dialects along Cooper’s Creek, while the languages that the Dieri called Wonkangpara and Wonkanguru (*Wongkan* meaning ‘language’ and *uru* meaning ‘other’) were spoken from Salt Creek and Kalakupa Creek to Lake Eyre and into Queensland. Flierl had a universal primer printed in 1880 with a simplified form of Luther’s small catechism and some Bible stories, including ‘a few songs that had grown out of our sandhills’. It also included a few popular rhymes, such as the children’s evening prayer ‘Müde bin ich geh zur Ruh, mache meine Äuglein zu’, which became ‘Matja ngani mokali, moka turala anai’.³⁴ These efforts produced a generation of literate Dieri speakers. By the time Johannes **Pingilina** left Killalpaninna in 1886, he was perfectly literate in written Dieri.

33 August Bernhard Werner, *Early Mission Work at Antwerp Victoria*, Banner Print, Dimboola, 1959, p. 1.

34 Froehlich, *Pioniermissionar*, Vol. I, p. 225; Everard Leske, *For Faith and Freedom: The Story of Lutherans and Lutheranism in Australia 1838–1996*, Open Book publishers, Adelaide, 1996, p. 98. The well-known children’s evening prayer ‘Müde bin ich geh zur Ruh’ is part of the spiritual opus of Luise Hensel (1798–1876), a well-connected friend of Clemens Brentano.

A complete translation of the New Testament went into print in 1898 (produced by Georg **Reuther** and Carl **Strehlow**), which was the first complete translation of the New Testament into any Australian language. On Sundays, Reuther preached first in Dieri and then in German. The school at Cooper's Creek (later Killalpaninna) included the children of the missionaries and at least some of the instruction was in German until H.J. Hillier became schoolteacher (1892–1905) and, according to Christine Stevens, all classes were conducted in English from then on.³⁵ Linguist Luise Hercus, who engaged in great detail with the Dieri language material produced by the Lutherans, noticed that new words quickly disappear from a language once culture contact is over. For example, the Dieri word for sourdough bread, which was translated as meaning 'eyes locked up', is no longer understood among Dieri speakers.³⁶

It was much the same at Hermannsburg, where Pastor A.H. Kempe in 1875 had settled on Aranda (Arrernte) as the most dominant language around the mission. Christine Stevens claims that when Harry Hillier arrived as teacher at Hermannsburg (circa 1906–10), there was a German classroom and an Aranda classroom, and Aboriginal people learned both German and English.³⁷ Certainly, a separate Sunday sermon was delivered in German for the mission staff.³⁸ However, school instruction for Indigenous children was in Aranda. Kempe had printed an Aranda reader within five years of his arrival, and a decade later (1891) the HMG printed a substantial book with Bible texts, songs, prayers and catechism. Carl Strehlow, who was at Hermannsburg from 1894 to 1922, continued the work of Kempe. Strehlow translated parts of the Bible and produced a complete translation of the New Testament. Strehlow strained to correct the oft-repeated allegation that Aranda children were taught in German and insisted that they were only ever taught in Aranda and English.

35 Christine Stevens, *White Man's Dreaming: Killalpaninna Mission, 1866–1915*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p. 143.

36 Luise Hercus, 'Reuther's Diari: Looking at the Detail', paper presented at 'The German Anthropological Tradition in Australia, Nicolas Peterson and Anna Kenny, ANU, 18–19 June 2015.

37 Stevens, *White Man's Dreaming*, p. 143.

38 On 18 November 1901 (Wettengel to Kaibel), Immanuel Synod, FRM Box 5, Correspondence Wettengel (transcriptions and translations).

North Queensland Lutherans

The Lutheran missionaries in Queensland had much less impact on language conservation. The Danish/German committee in charge of **Mari Yamba** mission near Prosperine insisted on teaching in English (and reporting in German as well as in Danish) while the Lutherans further north struggled against government policy. The missionaries at Hopevale (**Cape Bedford**) and Bloomfield River tried briefly to introduce German and a vernacular as the language of instruction. Pastor C.A. Meyer arrived with the Dieri Johannes Pingilina to help with learning Guugu-Yimidhirr at Hopevale, and subsequently Pingilina taught in Guugu-Yimidhirr with Pastor J.G. Pfalzer. But then Meyer took Pingilina to Bloomfield (1887–92) where he translated some Bible stories into Kuku Yalanji. The Bloomfield school was conducted by lay helper Ernst Jesnowski in English from about 1887 to 1890, in German from about 1891 to 1895, and in English by Pastor Christian Mack from 1895 to 1900.

After Meyer and Pfalzer left Hopevale, Pastors Georg Schwarz and Wilhelm Poland were also teaching in Guugu-Yimidhirr with the help of some older mission girls until the police magistrate threatened in 1890 to withdraw the subsidy unless English was taught. The Hopevale subsidy was indeed withdrawn in 1893 over another policy issue, and this made room to teach in whatever language the teachers saw fit, including German, Guugu-Yimidhirr and English. In 1898, the director of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society received a beautifully composed letter in Guugu-Yimidhirr from one of the mission girls (see Cape Bedford). In 1900, an English-speaking government schoolteacher arrived and the language question was settled.

Catholics in the north

On the **Daly River**, the Austrian Jesuits taught in Malak-Malak for nearly a decade (circa 1886 to May 1895) until the amalgamation of language groups and the shrinking populations of native speakers rendered this unviable. Meanwhile, Fr Nicholas **Emo** compiled a Spanish dictionary and small grammar of the Yawuru of Broome, and the French Trappist Fr Alphonse Tachon, who learned Nyul-Nyul in Derby in 1890, began to preach in Nyul-Nyul at **Beagle Bay**. The German Pallottine Fr Joseph **Bischofs** (who was at Broome and Beagle Bay from 1905 to 1920)

observed that some of the words the Trappists had gathered were not familiar to the Beagle Bay residents and must be from the language of **Disaster Bay**.³⁹

Under the Pallottine watch, the Beagle Bay mission residents sang 'Fürst des Waldes' in Nyul-Nyul and 'Wacht am Rhein' in English, and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (AIATSIS) also holds recordings of German songs with accordion accompaniment from 1910.⁴⁰ Here, too, the language of instruction had shifted to English by the 1920s, under pressure from the government and the force of population changes as children were removed from various language regions to Beagle Bay.

Nevertheless, in the 1930s, Bishop Raible engaged two linguists to support the missionary work in the Kimberley. Fr Ernst **Worms** SAC arrived in November 1930 and began working on the Yawuru language in Broome under the guidance of his mentor Hermann **Nekes** in Limburg. Worms spoke German, English, French and Latin, and was very aware to the cultural influences and dramatic changes being wrought on the Kimberley communities by the lugger industries that brought so many Asians to the northern ports and provided easy mobility for its Indigenous workers. Broome, in particular, had become a second home to many workers from Timor, Roti and other nearby islands.⁴¹ By May 1933, Worms urgently requested a Malay grammar. Dr Hermann Nekes SAC, known for his work in Cameroon on tonology and foreign influences in the Bantu languages, arrived in 1935 and brought with him sophisticated phonographic equipment provided by Dr Marius Schneider from the sound archives of Berlin's ethnographic museum. The Völkerkundemuseum already held prewar recordings from Beagle Bay, and Worms and Nekes sent at least nine more wax cylinders with transcriptions and partial translations of songs to Schneider.⁴²

39 Joseph Bischofs SAC, The Pious Society of Missions, Milwaukee (Wisconsin), to Pater Nekes, 28 November 1927 in Nekes, Hermann (Pater), P1 Nr 16, Zentralarchiv der Pallottinerprovinz (ZAPP).

40 North-West Australian phonograms recorded by Beagle Bay missionaries, 1910. Ellis was informed that the sound recordings held at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin may have been produced by Hermann Klaatsch. Catherine J. Ellis, Report to AIATSIS on research in Germany during study leave 1990, unpublished MS, PMS 4981, AIATSIS.

41 Sarah Yu, 'Broome Creole Aboriginal and Asian partnerships along the Kimberley Coast', in Regina Ganter (ed.), *Asians in Australian History*, *Queensland Review* 6.2 (1999): 49–73.

42 Ellis, Report to AIATSIS on research in Germany during study leave 1990, AIATSIS.

Their language work quickly overtook the purpose intended by Raible. Nekes produced a Nyul-Nyul translation of the Pater Noster and Ave Maria,⁴³ but his energies were vested in a grammar and dictionary of Nyul-Nyul and related languages, and Worms eventually became more interested in ethnography. By April 1939, it already became evident that their large emerging dictionary manuscript of 2,590 handwritten pages, with an etymology of close to 7,000 words, would be difficult to place with a publisher in Australia. Their magnum opus on *Australian Languages* was completed in January 1946, and it took until 1953 for it to appear in microform, and until 2006 to be re-edited and published as a book (with CD-ROM). Nekes conducted his work in German, using German phonetics, and then translated it into English, and his work was not very well-received by Australian scholars. A review of his 1938 article mentioned only that it was a 'long piece' and that his editor, anthropologist A.P. Elkin, corrected Nekes' spelling of Nyol-Nyol to Nyul-Nyul. Worms, too, gradually shifted from the Anthropos alphabet, which was unpopular with English speakers, in order to approximate the forms used by English-speaking anthropologists. Bill McGregor, who carefully edited the 2006 republication, found Worms' spelling to be inconsistent and points out that Worms himself did not master any of the Kimberley languages.⁴⁴

The linguistic efforts of the Catholics in the Kimberley have been substantial. The monastic lifestyle of Catholic orders has always been able to support intellectual and cultural pursuits, and under Bishop Raible the Pallottines had enough Brothers to afford such a division of labour. In the 1950s, Pallottines at **La Grange** mission still tried to engage with local languages. Fr Kevin McKelson translated the Lord's Prayer into five local languages and 'Silent Night' into Njanumada. He also published a booklet of prayers in the local languages, a collection of Bible stories and an outline of the kinship terms in the community languages.⁴⁵ By this time, the faith-based Summer Institute of Linguistics was becoming interested in Pacific languages and has since done an enormous amount of work on Aboriginal languages.

43 Hermann Nekes, Kimberleys language material: Daro, Nol Nol etc., 1931–47, MS 35, AIATSIS.

44 William B. McGregor, 'Frs. Hermann Nekes and Ernest Worms's Dictionary of Australian Languages, part III of Australian Languages (1953)', in Ilana Mushin (ed.), Proceedings of the 2004 Conference of the Australian Linguistics Society; William B. McGregor, 'Frs. Hermann Nekes and Ernest Worms's "Australian languages"', *Anthropos* 102.1 (2007): 99–114.

45 Margaret Zucker, *From Patrons to Partners, A History of the Catholic Church in the Kimberley 1884–1984*, University of Notre Dame Press, Broome, 1994, p. 177.

All of this makes a checkerboard of German approaches to language, arising from denominational differences, but also from the social environment of the missions. Still, in general, German-speaking missionaries were more likely to acquire local languages and promote literacy in vernacular languages rather than English. Lutherans claim a particular reputation for acquiring local languages in order to translate the Bible and other religious texts into Indigenous language, but in fact only two complete translations of the New Testament were undertaken by the Lutheran missionaries in Australia, into Dieri and Aranda. Meanwhile, non-Lutheran missionaries also engaged to significant degrees with Indigenous languages, including partial Bible translations. The German Moravians, who collaborated with the Presbyterian Church, were much less preoccupied with vernacular languages, while the German Catholics were less concerned about Bible translations. In what sense, then, can we speak of a 'German difference'?

German training

Several authors have observed that the German-speaking and Anglophone traditions emerged from vastly different philosophical and cultural assumptions. While British thought was deeply influenced by John Locke and John Stuart Mill, the German-speaking intelligentsia bore the imprint of Kantian idealism, Hegelian metaphysics and cultural romanticism. These broader intellectual traditions favoured an emphasis on philology and linguistics among German speakers, while among English speakers the emphasis was on political economy and utilitarian explanations of culture. The cultural romanticism of Wolfgang von Goethe and Johann Gottlieb Herder emphasised the validity of folk traditions as important cultural phenomena worthy of study and conservation, and inspired important collections of folk songs and folk traditions. Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt formulated the centrality of language in the cultural traditions that are defining features of nations, positing language as the 'soul of the people'. From this arose a strong and lasting philological orientation in German education, and serious academic interest in folk cultures and their regional variations.

These different philosophical traditions were embedded in different political circumstances. Whereas the German Empire referred primarily to forging a nation out of disparate states, the idea of the British Empire referred primarily to colonialism. These settings produced different

imaginaries of the indigenous that are decipherable in the practice of anthropology and particularly in the approach to ideas of evolution. The Anglophone engagement with indigenes was mediated primarily through settler societies, and Paul Turnbull observes that both polygenist and Darwinist approaches to evolution resonated well with that experience in predicting the demise of Indigenous populations.⁴⁶ G.W. Stocking points out that in Germany debates about racial difference acquired their particular salience from debates over the nature of Jews – Europe’s internal Other. The ‘Jewish question’ was how to account for physical, cultural and social differences between Jews and Gentiles. Such questions could not be approached with evolutionary thought, neither did the polygenist explanation of cultural difference gain much traction in Germany.⁴⁷

The production of anthropological knowledge was never a disinterested enterprise but tied to intellectual fashions, religious conversion and administrative governance. Evolutionary thought gripped the Anglo-Saxon intelligentsia after the 1859 publication of Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species*, whereas it did not become as dominant in German-speaking circles. The functionalist explanation of culture in British thought led to a static view of societies, so that most British anthropologists embraced the idea of gradual cultural evolution, whereas German speakers, including missionaries Worms and Strehlow, tended to favour the more dynamic and interactionist *Kulturkreise* (cultural circles) view of cultures promoted by Fr Wilhelm Schmidt as editor of the *Anthropos* journal.

German science contributed a wealth of research, in particular on Indigenous Australian body morphology, life-ways and culture, and to anthropology in general. But rivalry and debate over evolution tended to eclipse the influences of leading figures in Germany like Rudolf Virchow, Adolf Bastian, Ernst Häckel and Hermann Klaatsch. Alfred Haddon’s *History of Anthropology* in 1910 gave short shrift to Virchow and studiously ignored the ‘four-field anthropology’ implemented by Franz Boas in 1899 at Columbia University. German speakers continued to distinguish between ‘anthropology’ arising from medicine and ‘ethnology’ arising from ‘Völkerkunde’ (the study of local folklore). In English usage, on the other hand, ‘anthropology’ became an umbrella

46 Paul Turnbull, ‘British anthropological thought in colonial practice: The appropriation of Indigenous Australian bodies, 1860–1880’, in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard (eds), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940*, ANU E Press, Canberra, 2008, pp. 205–28.

47 George Stocking, *Functionalism Historicized: Essays on British Social Anthropology*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1984, p. 5.

term accommodating both physical and cultural anthropology. Barbara Murray finds that such differences are also discernible in the different instructions to scientific travellers given in German and English in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Susanne Zantop adds that Germans gained particular unpopularity because with a very truncated German colonial period Germans could afford to 'sit on the sidelines' and felt 'free to critique other colonial powers'.⁴⁹

Walter Veit also discerns deep-running cultural differences. He observes that due to significant differences in the hermeneutic conditions of the two language environments, 'German writings are read differently in Australia than in German-speaking countries'.⁵⁰ Veit's edited collections have done much to render the German missionaries interesting in the Australian field, and Anna Kenny followed up with her detailed examination of Carl Strehlow, showing how much Strehlow's work and approach owes to German scientific preoccupations.⁵¹ The same might be said about Ernst Worms, Georg Reuther and Otto **Siebert**.⁵²

And yet, when we look at overall patterns rather than striking instances, the 'German difference' seems to dissipate under the gaze of historical empiricism. In practice, the demands of mission work made it difficult to pursue scholarly interests. First, missions were notoriously underfunded and had to generate income, therefore much of a pastor's attention was directed at productive activities and farm and station management. Chapter 6 showed that the missionary life was a busy one even without conducting research.

48 Barbara Murray, 'Georg Balthasar von Neumayer's directives for scientific research', in Walter Veit (ed.), *The Struggle for Souls and Science: Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia*, Occasional Paper No. 3, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 2004, pp. 130–42.

49 Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–187*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, 1997.

50 Walter Veit (ed.), *The Struggle for Souls and Science: Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia*, Occasional Paper No. 3, Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs, 2004, p. 92; and Veit collection on Strehlow.

51 Anna Kenny, *The Aranda's Pepa: An Introduction to Carl Strehlow's Masterpiece Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien (1907–1920)*, ANU Press, Canberra, 2013.

52 See, for example, Regina Ganter, 'Historicising culture: Father Ernst Worms and the German anthropological traditions', in Nicolas Peterson and Anna Kenny (eds), *German Ethnography in Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra, 2017, pp. 357–79; Regina Ganter, 'Too hot to handle: A German missionary's struggle with ethnography in Australia', *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien* 31 (2017): 57–71.

Second, the committees that oversaw and financially supported the Lutheran missions included lay members of the rural German immigrant communities. Such committees chastised missionaries like Reuther and Siebert, who were interested in ethnographic work beyond the immediate purpose of conversion, for recording ‘useless fables’.⁵³ Indeed, these migrant struggle-towns could not be expected to fund original research of national importance.

Third, missionary training was not conducive to scholastic work, because it was designed as a shortcut to ordination. Chapter 2 showed how the curricula of the German missionary training colleges inflated from very basic to more philological instruction under the pressure to teach Bible languages as a preparation for ordination. As a result, the ordained missionary priests were generally well trained and multilingual, which equipped them for language and translation work. But this only gave them the tools to acquire yet more languages that they needed in their mission field. They might speak Latin but not English, and they had no training in Indigenous languages.

They also had no training in understanding Indigenous cultures. The emerging science of anthropology generally treated missionaries as suppliers of data rather than partners in scientific debate, so missionaries had only the yardsticks of Christian morality to fall back on when forming opinions about Indigenous cultural traits. Bishop **Gsell** commented that he would have found anthropological advice very helpful, had it been available when he arrived in the north.

In fact, on the topic of training, the missionaries also did not bring the practical skills necessary to generate income through tropical or arid zone agriculture and in the seminaries they neither learned to ride a horse nor shoot a gun. Most skills were acquired on the job.

53 ‘Wenn Du für die dicken Stöße Lügenden & Fabeln, welche Du zurecht geschrieben hast, die keinem Menschen etwas nützen – wer wird das Geld zum Drucken daran wenden? – uns monatlich kurze Nachrichten zukommen ließeest, erfülltest Du Deine Pflicht, befriedigtest und und tätest etwas Nützlich.’ [If only you would send us some brief monthly reports instead of the fat reams of lies and fables which you write up and which are of no use to anybody – who will spend the money for printing that? – then you would be fulfilling your duty, satisfy us and do something useful.] Kaibel to Reuther, 18 February 1904, Immanuel Synod, Bethesda Mission Box 19, LAA.

Strong-armed intervention

Mission leaders like the Lutheran Pastor Strehlow, the Catholic Fr Gsell or the Moravian Rev. Hey identified problematic trends in Indigenous well-being and diagnosed their causes on the basis of their own training. They mostly felt helpless to address the violence exerted by the settler society and its state apparatus because they themselves were at the mercy and indulgence of the state, and their home organisations would not tolerate political agitation. They focused on the violence that arose from traditional practices and beliefs: revenge killing and ritual violence, infanticide and abortion, child marriage and domestic violence. This the missionaries felt empowered to address both by the state and by the church, and their strong-armed interventions into traditional societies have earned them the main weight of the criticism levelled against them.

Gsell came under criticism for his intervention in child marriages. He purchased the conjugal rights of the girls he took into the mission to release them and their future children from traditional marriage promises. This was a major intervention into a social structure already under pressure from colonial contact. German missiologist Corinna Erckenbrecht calls Gsell's marriage policy 'one of the most bizarre testimonies of overseas mission history'.⁵⁴ Recent international interventions in child marriages have not been subjected to such criticism. The detrimental impact of child marriage on health, well-being and education is now well documented, and the United Nations considers child marriage as a violation of human rights. A broad alliance of organisations now pledges to eradicate child marriage. Plan International claims that every two seconds a girl is forced into child marriage, and has implemented the 'Because I am a Girl' movement 'to enable millions of girls to avoid early and forced marriage, stay in school and benefit from a quality education'.⁵⁵ A whole raft of development aid agencies, including Red Cross, World Vision, CARE, Good Shepherd and Global Giving currently conduct fundraising campaigns against global child marriage under the slogan: 'It is wrong. It is illegal. But it happens'. Under the impact of neoliberal ideas on

54 Diane Bell, *Daughters of the Dreaming*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1983; Jane C. Goodale, *Twili Wives: A Study of the Women of Melville Island, North Australia*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1971; Corinna Erckenbrecht, 'Der Bischof mit seinen 150 Bräuten', *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde Leipzig* 41 (2003): 303–22.

55 Plan International – Because I'm a Girl – 'Child Marriage'.

gender equality, human rights and the rights of the child, public attitudes towards strong-armed intervention in what are diagnosed as dysfunctional societies have come full circle.

Gsell, too, wanted to enable girls to ‘avoid early and forced marriage, stay in school and benefit from a quality education’. But the missionaries were attempting to implement such human rights before they were formulated in international charters that provided the international finance to protect them. At any rate, the missionaries are not so much criticised for what they tried to do, but for how they went about it. The one attitude for which they have still not been forgiven is their paternalism.

In the twenty-first century, all the mistakes of the nineteenth-century missionaries were repeated with the Northern Territory Intervention designed by the conservative government of John Howard in 2007. It meant to address child abuse in Indigenous communities by sending in the military and quarantining welfare cheques to cover ‘first things first’ (rent, food and bills), regardless of the parenting style of different families. This strong-arm, top-down approach was entirely devoid of local consultation and targeted people not by need or by deed, but by race, so that the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth) had to be actually suspended to implement the scheme. It caused a storm of national and international criticism. In this case, it cannot be claimed that the anthropological know-how was not available, or that the *Zeitgeist* tolerated paternalism.

Discipline and punishment

So strongly entrenched was the parent/child image in the humanist imagination that mission societies took it for granted that their missionaries had a ‘paternal right of punishment’ over the adult and minor population on missions.⁵⁶ Physical punishment was ingrained in the idea of ‘upbringing’ – the German word *Erziehung* literally means pulling up, not as Indigenous people generally say ‘rearing up’, which denotes nurturing. One must wonder about the character formation provided by the training methods of Louis Harms at the HMG, for example, who treated his candidates as his children and required them to thank him for the punishments he meted out to them. Not only physical punishment,

56 W.H. Ryder (Under Secretary) to P. Robertson, Presbyterian Church Brisbane, R15.V.II.a.3, Herrnhut Archives.

but also public humiliation comes into play – the bending of the body and the spirit, the breaking of resistance and sense of self: techniques perfected in military training, concentration camps and other total institutions.

The meanings of punishment

Body discipline, a central plank of Western European pedagogy in the nineteenth century, was also used in the workplace, particularly on apprentices, who were typically younger than their masters and stood in an inferior relationship to them. The cattle stations also meted out punishment, as Hermannsburg residents told Pastor Strehlow. Strehlow observed that ‘before our time they were mauled and educated with the whip or cane’ meaning that Indigenous people were already exposed to physical punishment by settlers before they came to the mission.⁵⁷ At home it was a phenomenon of patriarchy, but in the colonial context corporal punishment became an extension of colonial violence. On missions, where the state apparatus that could enforce the colonial order was usually far out of reach, physical punishment was the most fundamental expression of hierarchy and authority. Therefore, counter-hegemonic violence could not be tolerated, such as a pupil hitting a teacher (Mrs Ward at Mapoon), or a Brother hitting a Father (Fr Walter at Beagle Bay) or a lay assistant hitting a pastor (Pastor Mack at Bloomfield). Whether on a mission or in a nation state, violence exerted by authority was deemed legitimate, whereas counter-hegemonic violence was rebellious, illegitimate, offensive and punishable. Social distance on missions was scaffolded with a hierarchy of mission superior, assistant priest, lay helpers, wives or Sisters, and gradations between Indigenous people – Christians, colony residents, camp dwellers and occasional visitors. These social circles also occupied definable spaces on the mission. Hierarchical relationships were propagated with restricted access zones such as altars, vestries or the mission house. Jane Lydon has examined the socio-spatial arrangement of Ebenezer mission.⁵⁸

57 ‘Zum andern sind sie vor unserer Zeit mit der Peitsche oder Stock traktiert u. erzogen worden, wie sie uns selber gesagt haben.’ Carl Strehlow in the letter from Carl and Frieda Strehlow to Pastor Rechner and his wife, 26 February 1898, Immanuel Synod, FRM Box 3, Correspondence 1895–99, LAA.

58 Jane Lydon, *Fantastic Dreaming: The Archaeology of an Aboriginal Mission*, Rowman AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD, 2009.

Physical discipline and punishment was also central to Indigenous law enforcement. Missionaries strongly objected to violence based on Indigenous custom and often heroically inserted themselves in tribal fights or family retribution. In the European moral compass, violence should not be exerted by men against women, or against defenceless bodies, except by authority. The suppression of ritual violence was a denial of Indigenous authority. It asserted both a new morality and a new authority.

Missionaries understood themselves as the liberators and protectors of Aboriginal women. Lisa Curtis-Wendlandt agrees that male violence towards women was endemic in the traditional societies of the Hermannsburg region, for example, but argues that the mission regime actually reinforced the subordination of women by confining them to a closed community and therefore exposing them even more to the physical violence of their husbands.⁵⁹ With the mission records as my major source, I am unable to comment on this interesting observation except to point out that missionaries did not force women to stay on missions unless they had been brought in by police, and that patriarchal chains of command are not a credible mechanism for the liberation of women.

Also in the European moral compass, the corporal punishment of adults was degrading, while the corporal chastisement of children was character forming. Indigenous societies, in complete reversal, were comfortable with the physical punishment of adults, including women, but not of helpless little children who could not yet be expected to know all the laws and rules. They considered corporal punishment of children as abusive.

Different ideas about the legitimacy of various types of corporal punishment (hitting, spearing, axing or killing versus caning, beating, shaving, chaining or tarring) posed irreconcilable cultural differences between missionaries and Indigenous people. Like most missionaries, Frieda Strehlow was convinced that 'the local blacks cannot be educated entirely without beatings', and often called on her husband to intervene 'if necessary with beatings'.⁶⁰ Similar comments can be gleaned from most mission histories, but, in general, physical punishment was an unspoken, taken for granted aspect of mission life.

⁵⁹ Lisa Curtis-Wendlandt, 'Corporal punishment and moral reform at Hermannsburg mission', *History Australia* 7.1 (2010): 7.1–7.17.

⁶⁰ Letter from Frieda Strehlow to Frau Inspektor [Magda Deinzer], undated [after July 1899], Carl Strehlow Correspondence 1898–99, Strehlow Research Centre, cited in Curtis-Wendlandt, 'Corporal punishment and moral reform at Hermannsburg mission', note 11.

Hitting children and child abuse

The mission diaries and correspondence only mention corporal punishment if it resulted in some rebellious response (such as the frequent absconding on the Daly River), led to a public inquiry (such as at Mapoon) or could be narrated as an amusing incident. For example, at Hermannsburg Carl Strehlow found that the schoolboys who had missed some days of school already anticipated punishment and came dressed in multiple layers of clothing to soften to blows of the cane:

Since this idleness became more and more prevalent, I first used the cane. This method achieved the desired success for some time. They tried to weaken the impact of it by wearing multiple items of clothing over one another. One day, I arrive at the school; it is a hot summer's day; sweat erupts from every pore. There, some of the boys sit on their benches, dressed as if it was icy cold ... of course, these are the wrongdoers who had missed school for a few days and had already prepared for the anticipated punishment.⁶¹

Child-rearing issues were particularly contentious. Chapter 5 cited threats of violence against missionaries over the question of children at Stradbroke Island and Hermannsburg, and to protest responses on the Daly River missions. Missionaries often found Indigenous parents too indulgent, like Pastor F.W. Albrecht during his first year at Hermannsburg:

In front of the dining hall the usual uproar. There the women sit with their little ones who cry most awfully. I think all these little fellows are terribly spoilt, since a mother never disciplines them, especially the boys. And these do what they like with their mothers.⁶²

Pastor Hörlein had the same impression during his first years at Bloomfield:

It is very sad when one has to see the disobedience of the children toward their parents too without the former being punished for it. The black people overlook everything where the children are concerned even if they strike their own parents. Child rearing is something quite unknown to them.⁶³

61 Carl Strehlow, 'Unsere australische Mission. Bericht von Hermannsburg', *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung* 33.13, Tanunda (19 July 1897): 100.

62 Albrecht mission diary, 25 April 1926: 'Vor dem Esshaus der übliche Trubel. Da sitzen die Frauen mit ihren kleinen Kindern, die ganz entsetzlich schreien. Ich glaube alle diese kleinen Kerle sind verzogen, vor allem den Jungens tut ja eine Mutter nichts. Und diese machen mit der Mutter, was ihnen beliebt.'

63 Report by Missionary Hoerlein on the Bloomfield Station in Queensland, 1893, Hörlein Family History, unpublished MS, courtesy of Ian Hoerlein, North Epping.

In one instance, Hörlein ‘boxed the ears’ of a visiting young boy known as ‘Blanket’, who became so enraged that he threw stones at him and then charged him with spears. If a child started to yell under Hörlein’s punishment, ‘then all blacks gathered in the yard and made a scene’. An old woman might ‘join in the howling’ ‘or the rainmaker threatens that he will make no more rain, should the children be spanked again, or he would make so much rain that we should all be drowned’.⁶⁴

The Catholic Brother Rudolf **Zach** boasted about the emotional sway he held over the Beagle Bay mission girls. He felt that the Sisters were not thorough enough in their flagellations of the girls, and ‘neither can the priest proceed quite like a square-built Brother’. Zach claimed that at the direction of the Lord himself he ignored the injunction of his ‘sissy’ mission superior:

It must be noted that in some regards I am even softer than the Sisters.

It’s not within my rights to flay these virgins but I have pondered it beforehand before the Lord and he directs. The Father who is so against it is sissy, the thing works. I can and do wait for a while. The girls know this and therefore improve if I only say ‘watch it, if I catch you just once on the cheap, then ...’ But I only use this medicine for hardy types.⁶⁵

Soon after writing this frank reflection, and of the ghost of a recently departed mission girl that appeared to him, Zach was recalled to Limburg. There is no doubt that mission residents were sometimes exposed to very disturbed and unbalanced characters.

A much publicised incident at Mapoon unfolded after one of the mission girls assaulted the schoolteacher (presumably Mrs Ward) in class in 1907. According to missionary Hey, lay assistant Martin Baltzer administered between 18 and 20 lashes with a stingray tail. A ring of tar was drawn

⁶⁴ Report by Missionary Hoerlein on the Bloomfield Station in Queensland, unpublished MS.

⁶⁵ ‘Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass ich in mancher Beziehung noch weicher bin als die Schwestern, z. B. wenn die Schwestern ein Mädchen durchbläuen gelingt es ihnen selten bis auf den Grund zu kommen. Die Mädchen widersetzen sich, werfen sich auf die Erde, schlagen mit allen 4 um sich und erfüllen die Luft mit einem Geheul dass alles zusammenläuft – Auch der Priester kann nicht vorgehen wie ein so 4-schrötiger Br. weil er eben Priester ist. – Jungfrauen durchzubläuen habe ich kein Recht aber lange zuvor schon überlege ich deshalb die ganze Sache vor dem Herrn und er lenkt dann; der P. der so dagegen ist, ist verweicht; die Sache klappt. Warten kann und tue ich lange. Die Mädchen wissen das, und bessern sich daher, wenn ich blos sage: Gib Acht! Wenn ich dich ein mal billig erwische dann’.

Diese Medizin gebrauche ich aber nur für Rossnaturen. Zach at Beagle Bay to Kugelmann, 15 August 1912, in Zach, Rudolf (Br), P1 Nr 24, ZAPP.

around her neck, which Hey described as a symbol of shame such as worn by widows to express grief. Baltzer related his version of this story to his sister in Strasbourg, from where it was eventually cabled around world news networks and caused a parliamentary inquiry. According to the press story, the girl was tied to a post for five days and whipped with a leash until she fainted. She was taken down and was howling for two days in pain, unable to lie down or stand up, and with her eyes covered in tar. The inquiry obtained witness statements from the mission girls and concluded that the press reports had been exaggerated. However, the punishment had exceeded the normal expectations of school discipline and was ‘not beyond objection’.⁶⁶ This incident is reminiscent of malpractices in Northern Territory youth detention centres widely debated in 2016.⁶⁷ As Hey had stated a few years earlier, ‘we are now a penitentiary’.⁶⁸ This incident impugned the reputation of the entire Moravian mission effort, and in July 1907 the Herrnhut director felt compelled to circularise the friends of the Moravian mission with a position statement. He pointed out that Mapoon was not under the direction of Herrnhut but of the Presbyterian Church in Australia, and that Pastor Hey ‘rarely’ used his ‘paternal right of punishment’ on girls above age 12. He also discredited the news reports with the suggestion that Baltzer may be suffering from *Tropenkoller*. *Tropenkoller*, or tropical spleen, was a fashionable German term around the turn of the century to describe a mental condition associated with excessive punishments in colonial settings. Baltzer was suspended from the mission for nine months. Evidently Baltzer, who had administered the punishment, had been acting on orders from Hey and became the scapegoat of the incident. He afterwards sent a personal apology to Herrnhut, stating that Pastor Hey, Mrs Hey and Mrs Ward had now forgiven him for sending that letter to Strasbourg, and expressed the ‘hope that this letter will attain its purpose, namely that I shall be forgiven, and that Mr Hey shall stand free again’.⁶⁹ The apology was for publicising the affair, and not for the excessive punishment of the Aboriginal girl.

66 W.H. Ryder (Under Secretary) to P. Robertson, Presbyterian Church Brisbane, R15.V.II.a.3, Herrnhut Archives.

67 Caro Meldrum-Hanna, Mary Fallon and Elise Worthington, ‘Australia’s shame’, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, 25 July 2016.

68 Walter Roth, Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*, 1903, Vol. 2, p. 470.

69 Baltzer to Berthelsdorf (Moravian Mission Board), 30 August 1908, R15.V.II.a.3, Herrnhut Archives.

At Hopevale (Cape Bedford), corporal punishment by Pastor Kevin Kotzur led to two public inquiries in 1964 and 1967. In this case, the result was that the role of the missionary was separated from that of mission manager and an Aboriginal Council was formed.

Sexual misdemeanor and assault

Sexual misconduct played a major role in the termination of mission stations, though this is not evident in the mission narratives. At the first German-speaking mission, on the New South Wales frontier at Wellington Valley, sexual transgressions were underplayed with hardly a mention of the 11-year-old Aboriginal girl who contracted venereal disease during her time on the mission. Two servants (presumably convicts) were handed over to police for sexual offences, but in 1842 the lay assistant William Porter was also dismissed for 'improper relations' with at least one Wiradjuri woman.⁷⁰ Public funding was withdrawn in mid-1843.

Bloomfield mission foundered on the allegation of sexual offences much more directly. The lay assistant bachelor H.G. Steicke was known to be 'too friendly with the Aborigines'. He came under investigation as early as 1891, after he was allegedly seen crawling into an Aboriginal woman's hut at night. But the Aboriginal eyewitnesses refused to implicate him. Steicke spoke Kuku Yalanji and reputedly got on very well with Aboriginal people. In 1900, Pastor Hörlein had to travel south and appointed Steicke as acting manager rather than the man next in line of command, assistant missionary Pastor Mack, with whom Hörlein was not on speaking terms. Steicke batted down in the mission house with the girls and prevented them from attending the school conducted by Mack. When Pastor Mack confronted him, Steicke slapped Mack. Mack claimed that Steicke was sexually abusing mission girls and that 'When the police inquired whether he had any connection with the girls [Steicke] unhesitatingly said, yes'.⁷¹ This admission in a dramatic confrontation may mean many different things. Steicke was living with a black woman at nearby Ayton, and may have seen himself as the paternalistic protector of his female affinal kin. The mission committee concluded that Steicke conducted himself dishonourably. Not only are the mission sources protective of private

70 Broughton to Günther, 13 June and 25 June 1842, cited in Bridges, 'The Church of England and the Aborigines of New South Wales', p. 714.

71 Ordained missionary Mack to Committee, 15 April 1900, Bloomfield Correspondence, LAA.

stories, but Aboriginal oral history also. Roger Hart mentioned, without going into detail, that one of the mission staff at Bloomfield fathered a child with an Aboriginal woman in 1900.⁷²

Pastor Mack himself was in a difficult position and his mental health, too, is in doubt, which weakens his eyewitness credibility. He was in dispute with mission superior Hörlein, accused Steicke of misconduct, and alleged that his superiors in South Australia were embezzling mission funds. He was soon afterwards whisked away to America. Mack's complaints about Steicke brought Chief Protector Walter Roth to Bloomfield mission. This was the third official visit during which the ordained mission superior was absent. Roth found that a stockman (Steicke) was in charge and ordered the closure of the mission or, rather, as the Immanuel Synod mission committee minuted, 'gave us a broad hint to withdraw from Bloomfield'.⁷³

On the Daly River, the Jesuit superior imposed a clausura when three mission girls were pregnant and one of them gave birth to a white baby in 1894. This meant that the Brothers and Fathers were locked in after dark and during lunch breaks, and the Brothers' interactions with the mission females had to be in company with a priest. The girls' dormitory was disbanded and the girls were placed with Indigenous resident families. An attempt was made to gain witness statements from Aboriginal women, but these women resented the interrogation and most of the mission people moved away. One of the Brothers was dismissed in dishonour and eventually other Brothers under suspicion were also removed on various pretexts. Finally, the superior was also replaced and the Daly River Jesuits felt that this was the end of their mission. After a number of official visitations, permission to introduce Sisters was not granted, and the mission wound down four years later, in 1899. In this case, there were also strategic reasons at play, as suggested in Chapter 3, but sexual transgressions no doubt played a part in the closure of the mission.

At Beagle Bay, it was clearly sexual misdemeanour that ended the Trappist mission. In 1899, the Trappist mood became explosive under allegations of sexual misconduct from Fr Emo. Emo's first line of response was to remove the staff about whom he had suspicions of homosexual attachment and improper dealings with mission females. However, Emo

72 John B. Haviland with Roger Hart, *Old Man Fog and the Last Aborigines of Barrow Point*, Crawford House Publishing, Bathurst, 1998, pp. 81, 100.

73 Immanuel Synod, Mission Committee Minutes, 8 May 1900, LAA.

did not notify his superiors until well after he had dealt with the situation himself, by which time he himself was on the defensive because he had exceeded his powers (see Chapter 3).

At **Aurukun**, the Presbyterian/Moravian mission was not closed as a result of sexual offences against 10-year-old girls, but Aboriginal people themselves killed the offender Peter Bee in 1908. A virtual war between the mission residents and tribal people ensued from the scandal. The tribal avengers threatened to burn down the whole mission and intimidated the wife of the offender. They were captured and an Aboriginal mission assistant shot two of these men in custody, for which he served a nine-month banishment from Mapoon to Yarrabah. In this story, the circle of victims is large, and the reach of justice is indistinct. Presumably the mission itself was not called into question in the public arena because the offender was a lay assistant of Pacific Islander descent and therefore the missionaries could be seen as sufficiently culturally different not to become implicated. However, the old Aboriginal men lost all respect for the missionaries and most former residents avoided the mission in the wake of the Peter Bee affair.

Illegitimate children, cohabiting, improper relationships

Being ‘too friendly with the Aborigines’ like Steicke was a risky attitude for a missionary. Fr Emo had two young protégés, and in Broome there was a suspicion that one of them was Emo’s own child.⁷⁴ But, according to Mary Durack, he accepted responsibility for the child of a Trappist novice, and there is some credibility in Durack’s version. The Trappists accepted at least two locals as novices, Constable Cornelius John Daly (Brother Xavier) and James Montague (Br Jacques). When Emo was temporarily in charge of Beagle Bay mission, he found that one of the Brothers (not named) was suffering from venereal disease but was reluctant to have him treated in Broome for fear of gossip. Instead, Emo designated this man for Palestine, upon which:

he flew into such a tantrum that he flung himself into my room pale as a corpse, shouting so loudly and so upset that I was quite surprised ... he was not going to El Athroun, he wanted to stay in Broome with the policeman (his compatriot) and that he was going to let the Brothers

74 Harris, *One Blood*, p. 445.

know everything that had happened at the mission etc. etc. and the public would judge afterwards ... I knelt before him a long time to calm him down and clasped his feet.⁷⁵

Perhaps this was the moment when Emo took on responsibility for a child. Durack suggests that Emo's falling out with the Benedictines at Drysdale River some years later was over the question of the mixed-descent boys he had brought to the mission, and whom he wanted to repatriate.

The Catholic insistence on celibacy necessitated many obfuscations, lies and misrepresentations. Protestant mission societies, on the contrary, had a strong policy of posting married pastors because it was never considered acceptable for an unmarried missionary male to have charge of Aboriginal children. Pastor Hörlein, who like most missionaries considered himself above reproach, perhaps underestimated the force of this opinion when he unselfconsciously narrated in the mission newsletter that he and Pastor Bogner, both bachelors, had 'little daughters' who lived with them in the mission house, spoke a little German, helped in the kitchen and 'cheer us up'. Pastor Meyer and his family had taken these children into the mission home, but this story acquired uncomfortable undertones once the Meyers and their children had left. Suspicions also cloud the Lutheran missions in South Australia and the Northern Territory. At Hermannsburg, the lay assistant P. Zander was dismissed for 'unchaste behaviour' in 1897,⁷⁶ and at Killalpaninna the rumour emerged in 1905 that lay helper Kokegei had fathered a child with mission resident Paula. Pastor Reuther advised her to name an Aboriginal father.⁷⁷

At around the same time, 45-year-old Reuther himself was accused of having a child with Frieda, a mixed descendant suffering from consumption, who lived in the Reuther household.⁷⁸ With evident affection, Reuther called her 'our Frieda', '*mei Mädle*' (me lassie) and 'Mother's adopted daughter'. Frieda had spent some time at Lights Pass as a domestic for the Reuther

75 Emo to Sept Fons, 6 January 1901, in Brigida Nailon, *Emo and San Salvador*, Brigidine Sisters, Echuca, 2005, Vol. 1.

76 Immanuel Synod, Mission Committee Minutes, 1 December 1897, LAA.

77 It is not clear which Kokegei is meant. A Heinrich Kokegei was engaged in 1897 and sent to Killalpaninna instead of the Finke. In 1900, he had four small children and another Kokegei child was born in 1904. An F.J. Kokegei was dismissed in September 1901.

78 It is possible that Frieda spent only a short while in the Reuther household. In a letter to Paul Reuther, who left home in February 1903, Reuther explained that Frieda was the adopted daughter of 'Mother'. Frieda was still in the mission house in September 1903, then spent a period at Lights Pass, and had her confinement back at the mission in 1905. By January 1907, she had already died.

sons and then returned to Killalpaninna with Reuther. Her childbirth at Killalpaninna was conducted in secrecy. Frieda explained her pregnancy as a night-time rape and maintained that she had no idea who the offender was. Nor did she absolve Reuther, and Reuther's colleagues felt that he tried to cover up instead of initiating investigations.⁷⁹ After Frieda's death, the Reuthers adopted her baby Laura. Reuther was called to a hearing before the mission committee, at which most of his confreres accepted his innocence, but Reuther further implicated himself by suddenly leaving his mission service in the midst of these allegations.

Reuther had for years hinted at concerns about his mental health. He explained his sudden withdrawal from the mission with reference to his 'nervous condition', attested to by his physician who had told him that he must either withdraw from the mission work or face a lunatic asylum. He had successfully bid for a block of land for which the government required actual occupation, and said that he only meant to move his family and then return to the mission until another missionary could take his place, but the committee prevented him from returning. Realising that he had made a mistake, he kept explaining himself for years.

As with most of these stories of sexual transgressions, we have allegations, counter-allegations, refutals, vested interests, protected reputations and a lingering notion that Indigenous girls were not safe from unwanted solicitations either in traditional society or on missions, even if they were locked up at night.

Improper conduct

Other forms of improper conduct involved firing warning shots to defend the garden crops, as reported from Beagle Bay and from Zion Hill, where the military demanded an explanation.

At Bloomfield, Pastor Meyer incurred bad press when he hired out some workers to a fisheries recruiter and accepted £15 as the wages down-payment. Meyer said he was unaware that this violated the government policy. John Douglas as government resident at Thursday Island was particularly keen to put a halt to unsupervised recruiting and had supported the establishment of Cape York missions precisely to protect

79 Reuther to Neuendettelsau, 14 January 1907, 1 June 1904, 17 June 1905, in 1.6. 35 Reuther, Georg, 1861–1912, Pers. Korresp. Vorl. Nr. 4.93/5, Archiv de Neuendettelsau.

Aboriginal workers from the fisheries. This ‘crimping incident’ led the government to withdraw funding from the mission until Meyer was replaced in 1892. The mission committee investigated the affair and inspected Meyer’s records, but ‘we find it impossible to make head or tail of them’. Still, they concluded that the action brought against Meyer stemmed from enmity against the mission.⁸⁰

Another allegation, of the embezzlement of mission funds, was raised against the mission director Pastor Julius Rechner, twice. In 1890, Flierl II (a namesake cousin of Johann Flierl) alleged that Rechner had embezzled £800. Flierl II was threatened with libel action, church penance (Kirchenbuße) and expulsion from the synod. Flierl II was given an explanation, apologised to Rechner and left for the United States.⁸¹ In January 1900, Mack at Bloomfield made a similar accusation, which was minuted as ‘slanderous’. A synod member also supporting the allegation checked Rechner’s financial accounts in May 1900. Shortly after Rechner’s death in August 1900, Missionary Mack retracted his comments, apologised and left for San Francisco. Two years later, it was minuted that the ‘heirs of Pastor Rechner still owe the mission £99’.⁸² The Lutheran mission community was as closely knit through kin and marriage as the Aboriginal communities on the missions.

Conclusions

How violent was life on the missions? Were German missions more prone to discipline and punishment than other missions? Current standards of organisational behaviour define serious misconduct differently from the standards used on missions, where there was no private sphere, no ‘time off work’.⁸³ In addition to fraud, theft, assault, endangerment and intoxication at work, serious misdemeanours on missions included the production of illegitimate children, cohabiting and any unsupported allegation of criminal behaviour. Using this catalogue, this study turned

80 Immanuel Synod, Mission Committee Minutes, 10 September 1890, 16 December 1890, LAA.

81 Immanuel Synod, Mission Committee Minutes, 1 July 1891, 30 September 1891, 21 October 1891, LAA.

82 Immanuel Synod, Mission Committee Minutes, 12 January 1900, 8 May 1900, 14 September 1900, 8 January 1902, LAA.

83 The *Fair Work Act 2009* (Cth) defines as ‘serious misconduct’ incidents of theft, fraud, assault, intoxication at work, causing a risk to a person, behaviour inconsistent with the employment contract and refusal to carry out a reasonable instruction consistent with the employment contract.

up 28 misconduct incidents on the German-speaking missions. These include any credible allegation of sexual misconduct involving staff, physical abuse such as excessive punishment, illegal behaviour (cohabiting, crimping, embezzlement, espionage and illegitimate offspring) and overt threats of violence. The latter includes instances where missionaries themselves came under direct threats of violence – perhaps because of some prior violence, transgression or threat on their own part.

Trying to quantify such data is always hazardous, but a statistical approach provides a rough guide. The 28 incidents took place on 13 of the 35 mission locations covered in this study, which means nearly one-third of the German-speaking missions were beset by some serious trouble at least once. (It would be interesting to compare this to the record of other types of institutions, such as universities.) The 35 missions of various duration add up to 446 mission-years, so that around 6 per cent of German mission-years were tainted with controversy while 94 per cent of German mission-years passed without reportable incident. The 35 missions employed about 180 German-speaking staff. Over 169 calendar years (between 1831 and 2000), about 16 German-speakers (9 per cent) were threatened by Indigenous violence, and about 11 (6 per cent) were accused of misdemeanour, so that 94 per cent of the German-speaking staff were never under allegation of misconduct. This compares favourably with current organisational surveys of misconduct that also rely on self-reporting of incidents, and roughly accords with the findings of the 2017 report of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, which found that 7 per cent of Catholic priests working in Australia between 1950 and 2009 have been accused of sexual abuses.⁸⁴

Undoubtedly, there is something like an overarching German culture, traces of which were imparted onto the missions by German speakers, but the ethnic origin of the missionaries could not overdetermine language policy in the long run. The German cultural background of missionaries was fissured with differences: between the class backgrounds

84 Mark McGraw, 'The decline of workplace misconduct', HRE Daily, 19 February 2014, blog.hreonline.com/2014/02/19/the-decline-of-workplace-misconduct/ (accessed July 2016, site discontinued); KPMG Fraud and Misconduct Survey 2010 Australia and New Zealand, www.wise-workplace.com.au/_literature.../KPMG_Fraud_and_Misconduct_Survey_2010 (accessed 12 January 2018, site discontinued); Clare Blumer, Rebecca Armitage and Simon Elvery, 'Child sex abuse Royal Commission: data reveals extent of Catholic allegations', ABC News, 8 February 2017, www.abc.net.au/news/2017-02-06/child-sex-abuse-royal-commission:-data-reveals-catholic-abuse/8243890 (accessed 13 December 2017).

of missionaries, between the practices of various denominations, and also under the impact of the sociopolitical environment of missions. The Lutheran and German predilection for engagement with languages was difficult to maintain in the face of government opposition and where there was close collaboration with English-speaking churches. Moreover, during the twentieth century, which was Australia's century of missions, the fundamental differences in intellectual traditions and approaches between the English- and the German-speaking intelligentsias evaporated along with the different founding orientations of the missionary training colleges. In the twentieth century, the Australian states and territories implemented increasingly intrusive Aboriginal management policies and tied funding for missions to their policy goals. The German Catholics Nekes and Worms became the last German-speaking missionaries to conduct significant language work. Fr Worms became one of the founding members of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, established as the prime repository for ethnographic, linguistic and historical records on Australian Indigenous people.

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