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An Australian Berlin and hotbed of disloyalty

Shaming Germans in a country district during two world wars

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Local stories add not only colour, but also a sinister edge to accounts of anti-German attitudes, such as those related to internment that were recently explored at the national level by John Moses.¹ Moses and others have provided the wider frame in which to examine the ways Germans, or people of German descent, fared in Australia when the two nations were at war. Local stories reveal some of the individuals directly affected by the shaming of Germans in the interests of national security, those involved in the shaming and those who struggled and protested against it. They provide voice for the wartime experiences of people of German origin in rural Australia.² Further, they indicate why the Australian public is generally uncomfortable about giving government the authority to imprison on the grounds of suspicion, even in times of apparent peril.

At the turn into the twentieth century, a strong German presence distinguished the district north of Albury from the rest of New South Wales.³ There were numerous pockets of Germans in and around Walla Walla, Culcairn, Henty, Jindera, Alma Park, Pleasant Hills and Walbundrie. Some settlers were descended from Germans who had arrived in the 1850s and whose vineyards supplied grapes as well as wine for the expanding numbers on the nearby Victorian gold fields. Others were descendants of the large numbers of Germans who had travelled from South Australia towards the end of the 1860s. Attracted to the district about Albury by the possibilities of selecting land in a region where the soil was good, the water plentiful and a good prospect of a railway connection, the later arrivals took to wheat and mixed farming, usually on lots of about 260 hectares. Germans persisted in the area and, in many instances, prospered not only as vignerons and agriculturalists, but also as business people. German schools and churches saw that the language and old

ways continued. Close-knit communities formed.⁴

Community attitudes are difficult to discern, but, by-and-large, the Germans were accepted and even prized as industrious citizens. Although a few early newspaper job advertisements specified 'no German need apply', the Germans more generally created favourable impressions. The manager of the Henty branch of the Bank of New South Wales resorted to a long-lived stereotype when, as late as 1938, he advised his head office that 75 per cent of the district were of German descent:

They are thrifty people and excellent agriculturalists. Socially they are closely united and require tactful handling ... The younger generation of the Germans are (sic) undoubtedly splendid workers satisfied to follow the frugal habits of their people and this connection is well worth fostering.⁵

There was, nevertheless, some wariness of the political activities of a sizeable and cohesive ethnic minority. The German farmers were amongst the most insistent that the Australian colonies were only likely to prosper if they emulated the German *Zollverein* and stipulated free trade between the colonies. In this, their views corresponded with the majority of other border residents. Nevertheless, a magistrate arranged for extra police to guard the border crossing in 1872, in case German demonstrators might 'try their rifles' and cause 'a tumult'.⁶ *The Sydney Morning Herald* had noted that the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, referred to the district as 'the Rhineland of Australia' on a visit in 1876 and had raised a quizzical eyebrow at the armed guard of Germans which greeted him.⁷

Germans were prominent in forming Hume Farmers' Union for 'the protection of the pecuniary interests of farmers of the district' and helped instigate a move to form a colony-wide association to protect the interests of conditional purchasers and to pursue reforms of the land laws. A lively word picture has been conjured up of A. Heppner speaking vigorously in halting English to those who gathered at his blacksmith shop, occasionally bursting into German when he grew excited. The moves of an Albury district association of small farmers to secure political representation in 1877 have been hailed as an early attempt to form a distinct country party in the Parliament.⁹ This attempt failed, but the farmers continued that push through what became the Farmers and Settlers' Association in 1893.

The inauguration of shire government in 1906 provided another avenue for political activity which attracted people of German origin. Hermann (Harry) Paech challenged the influence that large land owners (such as J. H. Balfour and W. G. Balfour in Culcairn Shire and John Ross in the neighbouring Germanton Shire) assumed they might have within the new sphere of government. Paech stood successfully in the interests of small landholders and became the first elected president of Culcairn Shire Council, displacing J. H. Balfour, the appointee of the temporary council.¹⁰

In 1913 Germans were blamed for a sharp change in political representation when J. J. Cusack, a Labor Party candidate for the New South Wales seat of Albury, defeated Gordon McLaurin in a three-way contest. McLaurin had occupied a seat since 1900 and held aloof from pre-selection contests, claiming to be independent as his father, James McLaurin, had been in the early 1870s. In 1913, however, Paech was endorsed as both the F&SA and Liberal candidate and split the non-Labor vote. McLaurin blamed Paech, the town of Walla Walla and the F&SA for his loss. He claimed he was cheated in the pre-selection process and beaten at the poll by the vote of newcomers that the government had 'herded' on the northern boundary of the electorate with the Walla Walla subdivision of 1908.¹¹

Before the First World War, local newspapers carried congratulatory reports of German gatherings, be they to establish *liedertafel* (singing groups), form bands or commemorate national occasions. They also reported the frequent visits of German consuls. In 1908 they noted that the proceedings of a large public function for the German Consul General were conducted in German. In 1909 they reported *Deutsche Verein* (German associations) at which speakers toasted the King and the Kaiser and belittled British concern about Germany's armaments programme in what was known as 'the Dreadnought scare'.¹²

Plainly people of German origin were going to be uncomfortable when war was declared in August 1914. Paech, as President of Culcairn Shire, organised meetings at Culcairn, Walla Walla, Walbundrie and Bulgandra to declare the people's loyalty and to raise funds for the Sydney Lord Mayor's Fund.¹³ He tried to reassure his audiences that 'no fair minded Britisher ... questioned their loyalty or expected them to deny their nationality'. A. J. (Jacob) Wenke, however, was far from reassured and unnaturally pessimistic. He had the foreboding that 'the future is awfully dark', as indeed it was to be for the town, its district and his own immediate family.¹⁴

Local shire council records draw attention to the ways municipalities throughout the state urged each other to advance the war effort by proposing action to be taken against the enemy within. Manly and Mosman councils wrote to councils around the state: Manly to seek support for its proposition that all males of military age born in enemy countries, whether naturalised or not, be interned; Mosman to win agreement from all local governments not to employ enemy subjects. Other councils in the border region simply received the letters and took no action. Germanton Shire, however, was keen to pursue such matters and approved both propositions. In addition, Germanton decided to circulate other councils, in a similar fashion, seeking their support for an approach to the Minister to have those born in enemy countries removed from the roll of magistrates.¹⁵ Twelve months later it decided to 'heartily cooperate' with the plan of an Echuca Citizens' Committee to intern all aliens over fifteen years of age, whether they were naturalised or not. The only

exceptions would be those 'who gave undoubted evidence of real royalty (sic) ... Every alien who is not with us is against us.'¹⁶

Germanton's enthusiasm for the war effort went even further and included the large bold gesture of changing its name to demonstrate its loyalty. Townspeople were careful to explain that the name 'Germanton' originated with reference to a single German, John Christopher Pabst and his family, who had a hotel/store on the Great South Road, not with reference to a German settlement. Germanton was not to be confused with South Australian towns where Germans predominated. Nor, indeed, was it Walla Walla.¹⁷

A public meeting at Germanton expressed unease about the need to change the name: 'It was not necessary to change their name to prove their loyalty' or to 'avoid the German taint'. Name changing was expensive. They might lose future German wool markets.¹⁸ Such views, however, did not prevail. A name change would 'hand down to posterity the detestation with which the inhabitants viewed the fiendishness of the German nation'.¹⁹ Several patriotic names were considered. Eventually the Under-Secretary for the Department of Lands advised that 'Kitchener' or 'Holbrook' were acceptable, and council opted for 'Holbrook', after N. D. Holbrook, a commander of a submarine involved in a brave and successful



Lutheran congregations, preaching places and pastor residents in southern New South Wales, 1938. Many of the Lutheran pastors trained at the Immanuel Seminary were posted in the region about Albury. (Source J. J. Stolz, The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia: its History, Activities and Characteristics, 1838-1938, A1336, 32314, NAA).

engagement in the Dardanelles in December 1914, for which he won the Victoria Cross. Germanton changed to Holbrook in August 1915.²⁰

Outside shire council chambers, there were demonstrations of disloyalty as well as loyalty. At the beginning of the war, Gordon McLaurin, still smarting from the way Walla Walla had assisted his electoral defeat in 1913, urged authorities to be on the lookout for evidence of disloyalty in the district.²¹ Three incidents in 1915 seemed to suggest his warning might be heeded. In May Paul Schmoork, a German, was arrested for causing a disturbance by boasting of German military superiority in a Jindera hotel. In August Frederick Heppner, a native born Australian of German origin from Gerogery, faced similar charges for similar conduct in an Albury hotel. These incidents could be dismissed as pub bravado and drink talking, but more disturbing were the accusations of F. W. Scrimmes, the teacher at West Gerogery, who claimed some German parents punished their children if they boasted of the bravery of the Australians at the Dardanelles or sang 'Tipperary'. His accusations were read into the parliamentary record along with his claim that German schools and churches in the district were 'hotbeds of disloyalty'.²²

In September the charges of disloyalty took a more hurtful turn. Fifty members of the Albury Battery, kitted out and ready to join the fray, marched to the railway station where over 200 people breakfasted them and supplied them with good wishes and a package of sandwiches for the trip. But as they were about to join the train, some were stood down. They never made the trip. They had to withdraw from the contingent, when it was found that their parents were natives of Germany. Crestfallen, they crept home to take off the uniforms they were no longer to wear. They could not be trusted to fight with their fellow Australians.²³

Further shaming was ahead. The state government held a referendum in June 1916 asking the electorate to nominate the time at which hotels might be closed for the duration of the war. Abstinance, it was argued, might sharpen the nation's response to war; it might prevent the deflection of energy from duties to the economy and society. Events took an ominous turn during the campaign when electoral officers were given the discretionary power to set aside votes of those 'of enemy origin', or their sons and daughters. When the restrictions were introduced one member of Culcairn Shire Council, Edward Heppner, threatened to resign, pointing out that the King himself would have been prevented from voting on account of his German parentage. The council sought and obtained reassurance that all children born in Australia were full citizens as national born British subjects, but remained unsure about the impact of naturalisation on voter disqualification at the referendum. The matter, however, seemed to gain little attention outside the council for, apart from temperance advocates and liquor interests, many saw the referendum issue as peripheral and comparatively few took the trouble to vote.²⁴

To some, it seemed that people of German origin within the community were to

blame for the lack of success of the first conscription referendum in 1916. The Member for Wagga Wagga taunted Cusack, an anti-conscriptionist, in the parliament: Cusack 'smoodges to every German in his electorate'.²⁵ One informer from Rutherglen, across the Murray River, warned police of his suspicions of a German neighbour, who, he suggested, could have been using his farm to store weapons 'for the glaringly disloyal German farmers in the Walla Walla district'.²⁶ In January 1917 a Wagga Wagga and a Henty newspaper ran an interview with E. A. Carruthers, a Walla Walla bank manager. Carruthers was alleged to have said that there had been secret meetings in Walla Walla to keep down the rate of recruitment. He referred to Walla as 'Berlin' and a 'hotbed of disloyalty'.²⁷

A public meeting in Walla Walla protested against what it saw as a provocative insult. Paech was voted to the chair of the meeting and clashed with W. G. Balfour who tried to act as a meeting spoiler. Paech was plainly upset at disenfranchisement. He made known his disappointment that the Prime Minister, Hughes, could have said that there would be no Germans in the Australian forces because they might shoot the Australians in the back. The meeting declared that Walla Walla 'was not ashamed of its honor (sic) roll or of our efforts made in collections for patriotic purposes' and ended with the singing of the National Anthem and three cheers for the King as a splendid display of loyalty.²⁸ A week later Paech was in Albury railing, again, against the humiliation and shame of disenfranchisement at an anti-conscription meeting.²⁹

Communities split and the arguments became even more vigorous and vehement with the approach and conduct of the second referendum. Holbrook Council had to defend its decision to allow the use of its hall free of charge for recruitment meetings. In an attempt to be even-handed Culcairn Council, on the motion of Harry Paech and John Wenke, permitted anti-conscription league meetings in Culcairn and Walbundrie.³⁰

Voting restrictions were exercised more severely for the second referendum. Those born in belligerent countries were barred from voting, even if they had taken out British citizenship. So, too, were their children. To ensure the restrictions were given effect, postmen were paid one and a half pence for each name they submitted with information that could lead to a removal from the electoral roll. This cost the government nearly £20 in the electorate of Hume. The feeling against disenfranchisement in the Culcairn district was 'very bitter'.³¹

Still a week before the referendum, voters were reminded of the dangers that could lurk within. Walla Walla newsagent, Hans When, a registered alien, was arrested and charged with having a double-barrelled, breech-loading gun. With undoubted relief, the police found he had no camera, which would have been another breach of the prohibition regulations applicable to aliens.³²

During the campaign, officers of the Intelligence Section of the Second Military

Division had slipped quietly into Walla Walla to make inquiries of the police and leading citizens—and sometimes to visit or interview people of interest. Three months later, on 18 March 1918, four Walla Walla men—Hermann Paech, John Wenke, Edward Heppner and Ernest Wenke—were arrested and given into the custody of military police, who took them to Holsworthy Concentration Camp.

No charges were brought against the Walla Walla four. There have been several attempts to piece together the reasons for their internment, drawing principally on a set of war intelligence section files and newspaper reports of the time to provide some context.³³ One Defence Department file contains the observations made by two visiting intelligence officers that are echoed in the appraisal submitted to Cabinet for approval of internment and the withdrawal of commissions as Justice of the Peace. The file also contains some rebuttals from legal representatives, family, associates and friends made after the arrests.

The Defence Department officers reported that 'the use of the German language has thoroughly germanised the bulk of the population which would otherwise have become gradually anglicised as each generation grew up'. Church services were entirely in German. Some residents openly displayed pictures of Germany, the Kaiser and Bismarck in their houses. They called for action to be taken against the four, principally on the grounds of police reports of disloyalty in the absence of 'definite evidence of overt acts.'

All of the Walla Walla four were Australian born, but of German descent. All were upright men, well respected in the community. John Wenke and Paech had both been active in the anti-conscription campaign, even though they were Justices of the Peace and elected members of Culcairn Shire Council. Heppner was an agricultural implement maker, and the jobs of eleven employees were at risk in his absence. He, too, had been a councillor and brought notice to himself with his dissent about disenfranchisement. His brother had been fined for celebrating the fall of Warsaw at the Market Hotel in Albury and Heppner was believed to have similarly celebrated air attacks on London, but there was no corroboration to this accusation. Little is said of Ernest Wenke, other than, like his brother and the other two, he was, in brief, 'Pro-German, but no proofs'. Like them he was 'German in thought and habit'.

The prime target of the secret service officers was Paech, whom

the police consider ... to be the most disloyal and highly dangerous—mostly upon general grounds. He is the life and soul of the anti-conscription party in this district and his influence has prevented a great many possible enlistments. It would be difficult to prove a great deal, but the above is confirmed by Mr Carruthers JP, the local bank manager ...³⁴

But Paech was on public record as supporting the cause of the allies from the beginning. He and his wife, Emma, had raised or donated £1,253.13.6 towards the war effort. His sons attested that he would give permission for them to join the

forces. A widow stated that he had advised her to let her grandson enlist. Even his political rival, J. H. Balfour, agreed to provide an affidavit that Paech had presented to council a generous scheme for the repatriation of returned soldiers. It seems that it was his stance against conscription and disenfranchisement that was subversive.

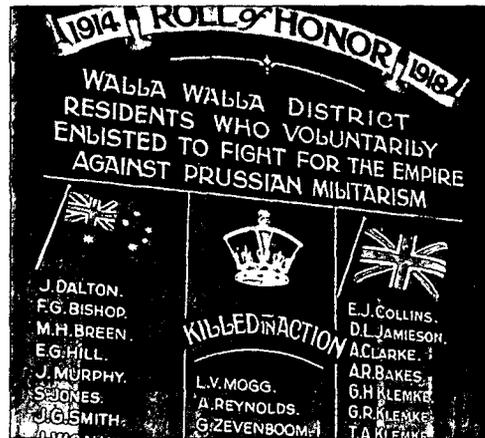
The local community received the news of the arrests calmly. But, just in case, the *Border Morning Mail*, as if in explanation, presented what may have been perceived as an officially approved view that 'The German State looks upon its emigrants in all parts of the world as the advance guards of a German conquest'.³⁵ Culcairn Council was less than supportive of its two councillors. The President, J. H. Balfour, regretted that the military authorities had found it necessary to take such a step, 'but as we have received no information we must conclude that they would not have taken this action without very good evidence'. In June the council decided that as the two men, confined in Holsworthy, had been absent without the leave of council for three months, they no longer held office. It called for fresh elections.³⁶

John Wenke was released early after it was realised that his son, David, had only recently returned wounded from the front. Heppner and Ernest Wenke were released just after the Armistice, but Paech was made to wait another month. True to form, even while confined, he had been unable to refrain from speaking his mind. In Holsworthy, he had taken on the office of President of the Association of Interned Australian-born.

The internment of the Walla Walla four left an unpleasant overhang. Returned soldiers strongly opposed the idea that Paech and Wenke could again take places on Culcairn Shire Council after they were released from Holsworthy. Two deputations made their ways to Canberra to see W. M. Hughes, the Prime Minister: one opposing the candidature of the two former internees in the 1920 council election; the other supporting their right to stand. Hughes deflected the matter to the state government. Paech and Wenke persisted with their candidature to clear their names but eventually conceded not to test whether war precautions legislation still had effect by undertaking to resign rather than take up positions, if elected. This concession eased tensions, but extra police were mounted on election day as returned soldiers threatened to call out all 'diggers' in the Riverina if, as rumoured, 'pro-German elements' mounted a bodyguard for the candidates. Neither was elected, and the returned soldiers raised the Union Jack and cheered King and Flag at the declaration of the poll.³⁷

The issue flared again in the 1926 federal election when a pamphlet, 'Lest We Forget', reminded voters that Labor governments had been responsible for the internment of their fellow citizens. Parker Moloney, the sitting Labor member, tried to turn the tactic against his opponents by reminding voters of how he had championed the cause of the internees 'during a time of frenzy' when those of German descent were disenfranchised. Further, Hughes had refused to divulge why Paech and Wenke had been interned.³⁸ There was still no explanation. Nor had the detainees received any recompense. They simply withdrew from public life.

Under Hitler, Germany began to emerge from the disgrace of defeat and to rebuild its economic might and international presence. There was a re-discovery of national pride abroad as well as at home. Pastor J. H. Linke, at the Albury Lutheran Church since 1936, admired the new German government and, with the help of the German consulate, organised a German Study Circle in Albury in 1937. The people of Albury heard frequently about German growth under the National Socialists.³⁹



Honour Board, Walla Walla Soldiers Memorial Hall. Photograph courtesy Bruce Pennay

In 1938 Count Felix von Luckner, a colourful aristocrat who had won a reputation as a modern day buccaneer for his exploits in command of a German sea-raider in the Great War, visited the area on a tour of Australia. He spoke at Albury, Henty and Jindera, as an emissary from the German government. Albury's *Border Morning Mail* welcomed him and gave him a great deal of attention when he spoke of the 'regrettable tension between the English and German people' and explained there was no immediate prospect of war.⁴⁰

With the outbreak of the Second World War, tensions made familiar in the Great War did not take long to surface. It was, however, two non-German anti-conscriptionists from Hume Shire Council, G. A. Bell and J. E. Jelbart, who bore the criticism of the patriotic for bemoaning the impact military training and enlistments were having on the shire's primary industries.⁴¹

The *Border Morning Mail* was embarrassed by its reception of von Luckner in 1938. It saw now that he was plainly 'notorious' and a 'clever Hun'. Newspaper letter writers engaged in German-baiting. The discovery of a German coin in a collection made at an Albury recruitment meeting revealed there was plainly at least one saboteur in the local community.⁴² Municipal councils again circulated to each other flag flapping denunciations of foreigners: this time Tweed and Snowy River shires urged fellow councils to join them in pressing for the internment of aliens. Alexander Mair, both the local member and State Premier, and Tom Collins, the federal member, lent their support to the proposal.⁴³ Indeed, Mair's support seemed responsible for his vote at Henty dropping by 13 per cent in the subsequent election.

Another four Defence Department files show on-going unease about the German presence.⁴⁴ The files indicate that officers used similar surveillance and evidence gathering techniques, but were more politic and more rigorous in assessing and using the information gathered. During the Great War, both the field and reviewing

officers urged new tests of disloyalty to fit what they had discovered. In the 1930s they made more careful, even more respectful, attempts to understand the positions of individuals. Perhaps this was because these files related to Lutheran pastors rather than shire councillors. Further, this war was different. There was no repeat of the sharp community division on conscription and the referendum voting contests that fuelled feelings of frustration on both sides and added rancour to the disgrace of those who were disenfranchised.

At the outbreak of war Albury police, acting under instructions, detained several unnamed people and questioned the Lutheran pastor, Johannes Stolz, who had been at Walla Walla since graduating in 1925. Military authorities, however, were more interested in his father, J. J. Stolz who held an influential position as head of the Immanuel Seminary in South Australia. Pastor Stolz had unusual influence in the district north of Albury. Not only was one of his five sons, Johannes, a Lutheran pastor, but also his prospective son-in-law, Pastor Bruno Muetzelfeldt, had taken up the Albury church after Linke left in July 1939 to study in Germany. They, like the rest of the pastors in the district, had trained at Immanuel Seminary.

Stolz was a declared enthusiast for the way Hitler was transforming the German nation but he was a German patriot rather than a Nazi. The files related to him show his fascination with and championship of German culture. Even though Lutheran churches in the Walla Walla district had ceased to use German by about 1925-26, Stolz urged German-Australians not to lose their history, Bible and homeland with their language. German was necessary to maintain contact with devotional treasures and literature and it was a means of communicating with new arrivals. Its use did not detract from being an 'Australian'.⁴⁵ One officer observed that even though Stolz had principally lived in Australia since birth, he spoke English with a German accent. Another decided Stolz was 'an astute person who always cloaked his action and thought in the guise of religion'. There are allegations relating to his teachings and to his recruitment of what could be subversive seminary teachers. He was alleged to have celebrated Hitler's birthday. There is, however, a reasonably fair appraisal of a copy of the church history he had authored and his other writing. His approval of the anti-Communist Hitler faded with the creation of the Reich Church under Ludwig Mueller in 1936 and he supported the Allied war effort against Hitler through the *Lutheran Herald*, which he edited. Those who studied the files decided it was more circumspect not to intern him. His arrest might do more harm than good.

Pastor Linke and Pastor Muetzelfeldt also attracted attention. Linke was Australian born; 'a shrewd, clever individual and an accomplished linguist'. He was intent on 'the resuscitation of the mother-language amongst the German inhabitants' and on breaking with 'the inferiority complex amongst our people'. His links with pro-Nazi Germans and the German Consul-General were detailed in his file.

Muetzelfeldt, as a child within a family of Jewish descent, had fled from

COUNT FELIX VON LUCKNER: AN INFECTIOUS SMILE AND HIS PIPE



Count Felix von Luckner with Pastor J. H. Linke and a German government officer at Jindera.
(Border Morning Mail 18 July 1938).

Germany in 1934. He and his family had plainly no sympathy for National Socialism and he was critical of the sympathies of several of the teachers he had encountered at the Immanuel Seminary. He had applied for citizenship after the mandatory five-year wait but the application in August 1939 arrived at an inauspicious time and was refused. The only shrill note in Muetzelfeldt's file emerges in January 1942 when, with the sudden Japanese entry into the war, he was required to sell his car and surrender his driving licence and petrol consumer's licence, like all enemy aliens. After all, it was noted, he was of German nationality and young enough for military service at twenty-four years of age. Muetzelfeldt regained permission to possess and use a motor vehicle for parish duties within a limited area after he was reclassified as a refugee alien in 1943.

After the war, Stolz still insisted he was a principled scholar of German culture and continued to ask for the return of books that had been confiscated from his library in 1942, including his copy of *Mein Kampf*. Muetzelfeldt, the war-time alien, was called on to use his facility with German in the national interest when the Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre opened to receive displaced Europeans in 1947. His ministry to the new arrivals became a full-time task and he went on to found the Lutheran World Federation Service, offering from Australia and then

Switzerland services to migrant people. His life and work span both the pre-war and wartime refugee/alien phase and the postwar influx phase of Australian immigration history. In 1945 the Australian Director-General of Security informed British and American authorities of Linke's Nazi connections so that he might be added to their black lists, but Linke had died of infantile paralysis in Vienna in 1944.

Perhaps Australia needed protection from the Walla Walla four in 1918 and their confinement may have helped win the Great War. But their arrests seem to have been shaped more by political considerations than by matters related to the defence of the realm. The police and at least one other witness against them made much of their anti-conscription views. Yet it was their stances on disenfranchisement that brought them public notice and, as Michael McKernan suggests, the franchise was a fundamental of citizenship.⁴⁶ People of German origin were effectively banished from membership of the community when they were denied the right to vote. The imprisonment of the Walla Walla four for disloyalty without open tests of evidence appears to confirm the fears and political cynicism of those who argue against giving government authority to arrest without charge.

In the district to the north of Albury, war-time memories in local histories and museums focus on those who risked life and limb on distant battlefields. They mask memory of anti-German attitudes and activities. There are few, if any, allusions to the courage of the few who faced home front hostilities. Further, there is silence about what Pastor Muetzenfelder called the 'imprudence' of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia in supporting the early Hitler prior to the outbreak of war.

Those listening to oral sources or viewing displays and signs in the built environment might, nevertheless, negotiate different meanings from what is published or displayed. It does not take much imagination to see that the picture of a young Kaiser Wilhelm at Jindera Museum looks in mint condition, as if it has spent some time hidden under a bed. Nor to hear the long-time hurt in the recorded voice of Melba Fox (nee Hanckel) bemoaning that even though she was successful, as a young school leaver, in winning a place in a teachers' college, she was unable to take it up because her parents had been born in Germany.⁴⁷ Nor to detect the wry humour in the rumour peddled by the late Bill Heppner that his father was suspected of casting verandah posts that might be used on German artillery pieces.⁴⁸ Nor to observe the nice defiance in the insistence at the head of the honor board at Walla Walla Soldiers Memorial Hall that the Great War had been a war against 'Prussian Militarism' rather than Germany.

Further probes of this and other local experiences fill out the national stories of anti-German attitudes with the experiences of individuals. They might also puncture some local forgetting.

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Notes

- 1 'Reflections on the internment of persons of German origin in Australia during two world wars: context and arguments', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, December 2005, pp. 93-106.
- 2 See, for example, John McQuilton, *Rural Australia and the Great War: From Tarrawingee to Tangambalanga*, Melbourne, 2001 and Marilyn Lake, *A Divided Society: Tasmania during World War I*, Melbourne, 1976.
- 3 In 1901 the proportion of people born in the German Empire was 2.1 per cent in the County of Goulburn, but only 0.64 per cent in the state as a whole. *Australian census*, Canberra, 1901.
- 4 Leon Wegener, ed., *The Trek: Ebenezer to Walla Walla, 1869-1994*, Walla Walla 1994.
- 5 Manager's report, Henty branch, Bank of New South Wales, April 1938, Westpac Archives.
- 6 *Border Post*, 14 February 1872.
- 7 *Border Post*, 1 November 1876; *Sydney Morning Herald* 3, 7 and 11 November 1876.
- 8 *Border Post*, 28 May 1872.
- 9 *Border Post*, 25 February 1872, 18 September 1875, and 23 September 1876. B. Dickey, *Politics in New South Wales, 1856-1900*, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 138-142.
- 10 *Albury Banner* 26 October, 9 and 13 November 1906.
- 11 *Border Morning Mail* 17 May, 29 July, 1 and 22 November 1913.
- 12 *Albury Banner*, 27 February 1903, 13 July 1906, 15 May and 5 June 1908, 23 March, 26 May and 1 October and 5 November 1909. J. Tampke & C. Doxford, *Australia Willkommen*, Sydney, 1990, p.160.
- 13 Minutes Culcairn Shire Council, 19 August 1914; *Albury Daily News* 28 August 1914.
- 14 *Albury Daily News*, 28 August 1914; Minutes Hume Shire Council 13 August 1914; Culcairn Shire Council 19 August 1914.
- 15 Minutes Germanton Shire Council, 29 June 1915; Culcairn Shire Council 7 June, 1 July and 2 August 1915; Hume Shire Council, 12 and 28 July, and 12 August 1915.
- 16 Minutes Holbrook Shire Council, 23 May and 2 June 1916.
- 17 *Germanton Courier*, 23 April 1915, correspondence, R. O. Nall.
- 18 *Germanton Courier*, 26 March 1915, *Albury Banner* 19 March 1915.
- 19 *Albury Banner*, 28 May 1915, correspondence J. Mitchell.
- 20 John Lynch, *Paths of the Pioneers: A history of early Ten Mile Creek-Germanton-Holbrook*, Tumut, 1988, pp.96-104.
- 21 Correspondence 15 August 1914 in 'Germans at Walla NSW', MP16/1, 1914/3/744, National Archives of Australia (NAA) (Victoria).
- 22 *Albury Banner*, 28 May, 4 June and 13 August 1915; *NSW Parliamentary Debates* 25 August 1915, pp. 1316-1317.
- 23 *Albury Banner*, 17 September 1915.
- 24 *Albury Banner*, 10 January 1915, 12 June and 27 October 1916.
- 25 *NSW Parliamentary Debates*, 9 November 1916, p. 2646.
- 26 'H. G. Kugelmann, Gooramaddra (sic) Estate', MP16/1, 1914/3/830 NAA, cited in John McQuilton, *Rural Australian in the Great War*, Melbourne, 2001, p.164.
- 27 *Albury Daily News*, 16 January 1917.
- 28 *Albury Daily News*, 16 January 1917.
- 29 *Albury Daily News*, 18 January 1917.
- 30 Minutes Holbrook Shire Council, 10 January and 24 July 1917; Culcairn Shire Council 17 December 1917.

- 31 *Albury Banner*, 7 December 1917; *Albury Daily News* 2 February 1918.
- 32 *Albury Banner*, 14 December 1917.
- 33 I deal with these events in my forthcoming work *Three Shires and their Councils: Culcairn, Holbrook and Hume*. Two student dissertations helped me locate materials relevant to the internment of the Walla Walla four: Michael Wenke, 'The Enemy Within', Research Essay, ANU, 1999 in possession of Rupert Paech; and Lydia Mansell, 'Enemy Subjects in our midst', Research essay, Latrobe University 2005. See also Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens*, Brisbane, 1989, pp. 132-134; John McQuilton, 'German Australians in Rural Society, 1914-1818', API network, Curtin University, www.api-network.com/cgi-bin/page?archives/jas61_mcquilton.
- 34 'Paech and Wenke's File', MP 367/1, 567/3/4154, NAA (Vic).
- 35 Captain Hugh B. C. Pollard in *Border Morning Mail*, 11 April 1918.
- 36 Minutes Culcairn Shire Council, 11 April and 12 June 1918.
- 37 *Albury Banner*, 30 January, 6 and 13 February 1920; 'Culcairn Shire Council Election-Candidature of Paech and Wenke', A1497, Volume 16 P425, NAA.
- 38 *Albury Banner*, 13 February 1920; *Border Morning Mail* 3 December 1925.
- 39 *Border Morning Mail*, 26 February, 6 July 1937, 11 May 1939.
- 40 *Border Morning Mail*, 16, 18 and 19 July 1938.
- 41 *Border Morning Mail*, 19 and 20 June 1941.
- 42 *Border Morning Mail*, 16 January, 4 and 6 June 1940, 7 January, 7 May and 4 August 1941, 28 April 1942.
- 43 *Border Morning Mail*, 7 January 1941 and 28 April 1942.
- 44 Stolz, Johannes Julius Pastor, A6119, 25 NAA; J. J. Stolz, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia: its History, Activities and Characteristics, 1838-1938*, copy in A1336, 32314, NAA; Muetzelfeldt file C123, 4055, NAA; 'Security-subversive activities, J. H. Linke, believed to be sympathetic towards the Nazi Party, AWM54, 883/4/11, NAA (Australian War Memorial).
- 45 Stolz, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia*, p.245.
- 46 M. McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, Sydney, 1984. p.167.
- 47 Radio Ettamogah oral history programme, Albury City Council Library, c.1980.
- 48 Reported by Nuala Kearns, Culcairn, December 2005.