

The Two Kingdoms:
Lutheran Missionaries and the British Civilizing
Mission in early South Australia

Christine J Lockwood

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the School of History and Politics of the University of Adelaide

March 2014

ABSTRACT

The establishment of South Australia in 1836 coincided with growing concern about the treatment of subject peoples in the British Empire. This fuelled demands that Indigenous peoples and their rights be protected. A conviction prevailed that the interests of Indigenous people as well as colonisers were best served by Europeanising the former and assimilating them as British subjects and 'useful' participants in colonial society. It was assumed Christian missionaries would play a key role in this 'civilising mission.' This led South Australian Company chairman George Fife Angas to recruit missionaries from the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden who worked among Aboriginal South Australians from 1838-53.

This thesis challenges the historiography of Christian missions in Australia by illustrating the need to consider individual missionaries and mission societies and how they interacted with government, settler society, home mission societies as well as Aboriginal people. It further argues that a proper understanding of the Dresden Society's missionaries in South Australia must take into account their confessional Lutheran background and origin in German states which at the time lacked an overseas empire or colonial ambitions. The Dresden Mission Society's core objectives were to share the gospel of Christ and establish an Aboriginal Christian church. While its missionaries saw the need to broaden their activities to address the physical needs and injustices suffered by Aboriginal people, they did not see their goals in terms of Europeanization and assimilation.

The Dresden missionaries did significant pioneering work in the areas of linguistics, ethnography, Aboriginal education and evangelism. However, as with Christian mission efforts in other Australian colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century, their work was short-lived. This thesis argues that this was partly due to the nature and priorities of Aboriginal society and the impact of colonisation on the Aboriginal population. Just as importantly, the implementation of the government's agenda, as it developed over time, was antithetical to the Lutheran missionaries' real aims. The Dresden missionaries were caught between a mission society wanting them to focus on spiritual work, a government expecting them to advance British culture and colonial ambitions, Christians with their own denominational ambitions who saw Christianity and 'civilisation' as inseparable, and the missionaries' own concern for the Aboriginal people's general welfare. Without financial independence, they were compromised by their relationship with a government and settler society which tried to harness them to their own agenda and whose expectations they failed to meet.

This analysis throws light on the complexities of relationships between church and state, colonial society and missionaries, and culture and theology. It warns against a simplistic identification of Christianity with Western civilisation and colonising agendas.

DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible of the joint-award of this degree.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue and also through web search engines.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who assisted the preparation of this thesis. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors Rob Foster and Peggy Brock for their encouragement, advice and critical eye. My thanks go to Gerhard Rüdiger for sharing his enthusiasm, photographs and electronic files, especially of materials from German archives, and for organising a trip to Germany in connection with the Dresden Mission Society's 175th anniversary which included visiting sites important to the Dresden Mission story. Greg Lockwood has supported this project with encouragement, advice, theological insights, translation work and proof-reading.

I would like to express my appreciation to the staff of various archives and repositories for their assistance. These include Jürgen Gröschl and staff at the Francke Foundation Archives, Halle, Germany, who provided manuscripts in electronic form. This thesis would not have been possible without Lyall Kupke and the staff of the Lutheran Archives in Bowden (Adelaide), South Australia and their volunteers who have transcribed and translated materials. In particular I would like to mention Dorothea Prenzler for transcribing handwritten texts from the Francke Foundation Archives, Hans Oberscheidt for translating reports, and Lois Zweck for her translation work, insights, encouragement and ability to cheerfully answer my every question on translation issues and German and Australian Lutheran church history.

I would like to thank the many other people who have also provided insights along the way.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS	i
MAPS.....	ii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I	29
1 THE MISSION'S THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS	29
1.1 The Dresden Mission Society	29
1.2 Lutheran Theology and its Implications for Mission	37
1.3 Conclusion	50
2 GEORGE FIFE ANGAS AND THE CIVILISING MISSION	57
2.1 The 'Civilising' Mission.....	58
2.2 George Fife Angas.....	61
2.3 Conclusion	70
3 VISION MEETS REALITY: THE MISSION TO THE KAURNA.....	73
3.1 The Missionaries.....	73
3.2 Inauspicious Beginnings	77
3.3 Competing Agendas	79
3.4 The Piltawodli Native Location.....	81
3.5 The Piltawodli School	84
3.6 Schürmann's Mission Plans at Encounter Bay.....	90
3.7 Teichelmann's Ebenezer Settlement.....	94
3.8 Conclusion	100
4 VISION MEETS REALITY: THE MISSION EXPANDS	109
4.1 Mission to the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay	109
4.2 Mission to the Bargarla of the Port Lincoln District	120
4.3 The Mission Ends	126
4.4 Schürmann Returns to Port Lincoln.....	127
4.5 Concluding Remarks.....	131
PART II	141
5 CHALLENGES FROM ABORIGINAL SOCIETY IN A 'RUPTURED' WORLD	141
5.1 'Rapid decline in numbers and worsening of their condition overall'	142

5.2	Evangelising a constantly ‘wandering’ people.....	150
5.3	Language Difficulties	158
5.4	‘The power of unbelief and superstition’	160
5.5	Conclusion	167
6	DIVERGING AGENDAS: MISSION, STATE AND SECULAR SOCIETY	175
6.1	Colonising Objectives and the ‘Civilising Mission’	176
6.2	Aboriginal Sustenance and the ‘Civilising Mission’	182
6.3	Education and the ‘Civilising Mission’	195
6.4	British Justice.....	201
6.5	Conclusion	207
7	DIVERGING AGENDAS: THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY	213
7.1	Dresden Mission Society’s Relationship with its Missionaries	213
7.2	George Fife Angas.....	221
7.3	Kavel and other South Australian Lutherans.....	227
7.4	Relationships Between the Missionaries.....	230
7.5	Relationships with other Christian Denominations.....	233
7.6	Conclusion	244
	CONCLUSION.....	247
	EPILOGUE: The Dresden Missionaries’ Linguistic and Ethnographic Legacy	255
	APPENDICES	261
	Appendix A: Instructions for the two missionaries of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann and Clamor W. Schürmann 1837	261
	Appendix B: Supplementary instructions on the commissioning of the missionaries Cordes, Meyer and Klose	267
	Appendix C: Letter and postscript from George Fife Angas to Teichelmann and Schürmann 1838.....	271
	Appendix D: Timelines	275
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	281

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Christian Gottlob Teichelmann.....	23
Figure 2: Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann	23
Figure 3: Samuel Gottlieb Klose.....	23
Figure 4: Heinrich August Eduard Meyer	23
Figure 5: Johann Jänicke	25
Figure 6: George Fife Angas	25
Figure 7: Pastor August Kavel.....	25
Figure 8: Bishop Augustus Short.....	25
Figure 9: Archdeacon Mathew Blagden Hale.....	25
Figure 10: Rev Thomas Quinton Stow	25
Figure 11: Governor George Gawler.....	27
Figure 12: Governor George Grey	27
Figure 13: Governor Frederick Holt Robe	27
Figure 14: Governor Henry Fox Young	27
Figure 15: Matthew Moorhouse.....	27
Figure 16: Wilhelmine Schürmann	27
Figure 17: Nineteenth century Leipzig and Dresden.....	53
Figure 18: A section of Dresden /Leipzig missionaries' photo gallery.	53
Figure 19: The Schürmann farm at Ellerbeck in the nineteenth century.	55
Figure 20: St Laurentius Lutheran Church Schledehausen, Schürmann's home church.	55
Figure 21: Schürmann's baptisimal font.....	55
Figure 22: Dr Alitya Rigney at the Francke Foundation Archives, Halle, examining a letter..	103
Figure 23: Piltawodli Native Location showing the location of houses and school.....	103
Figure 24: Piltawodli Aboriginal school and chapel.....	105
Figure 25: 'Aboriginal location, new one, west view.' Samuel Thomas Giles.....	105
Figure 26: Section of the Piltawodli Native Location and school monument.....	107
Figure 27: Piltawodli monument features.....	107
Figure 28: Encounter Bay looking towards the Bluff 1846.....	133
Figure 29: Raukkan looking towards chapel 2007.....	133
Figure 30: Meyer's relief illustrating John 1:17.....	135
Figure 31: Meyer's crucifix.....	135
Figure 32: Location of Schürmann's Wallala school and Poonindie.....	137
Figure 33: Remains of Schürmann's house and school at Wallala.	137
Figure 34: St Matthews Church Poonindie.....	139
Figure 35: Portrait of Nannultera, a young Poonindie cricketer.	139
Figure 36: Rapid Bay encampment.....	169

Figure 37: Tyilkilli, of the Parnkalla tribe, Port Lincoln and Mintala from Coffin Bay	169
Figure 38: Encampment of Native Women, near Cape Jervis.	171
Figure 39: Encounter Bay natives making fishing net cord in hut formed from whale ribs. ...	171
Figure 40: The Kuri Dance.	171
Figure 41: A tribe of natives on the banks of the River Torrens, 1850.	173
Figure 42: A Scene in South Australia, c. 1850.	173

MAPS

Map 1: Lutheran mission locations and related language areas	v
Map 2: Lutheran mission locations in the Adelaide-Encounter Bay area	vii
Map 3: The Encounter Bay area	vii

ABBREVIATIONS

AGSA: Art Gallery of South Australia

ALMW: Archiv Leipziger Missionswerk (Archives of the Leipzig Mission held in the Franck Foundation Archives in Halle)

CMS: Church Missionary Society

CSO: Colonial Secretary's Office

DMS: Evangelisch-lutherische Mission zu Dresden (Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden) or 'Dresden Mission Society'

ELMS: Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden

LMS: London Missionary Society

NGA: National Gallery of Australia

NLA: National Library of Australia

NSW: New South Wales

MC: Meyer Correspondence

SA: South Australia/South Australian

SAGG: South Australian Government Gazette

SC: Schürmann Correspondence

SD: Schürmann Diaries

SLSA: State Library of South Australia.

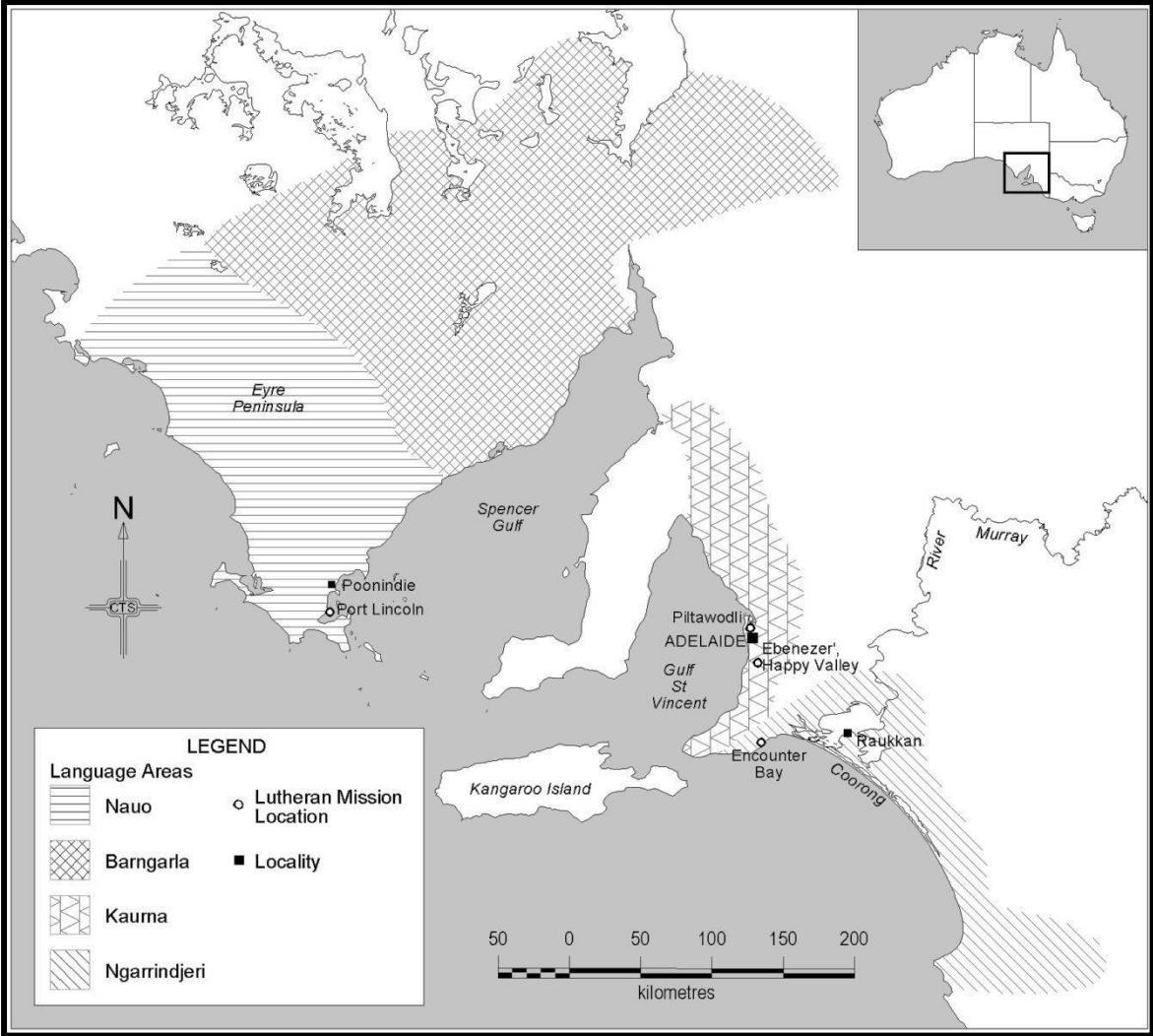
SPG: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

SRSA: State Records of South Australia.

TC: Teichelmann correspondence

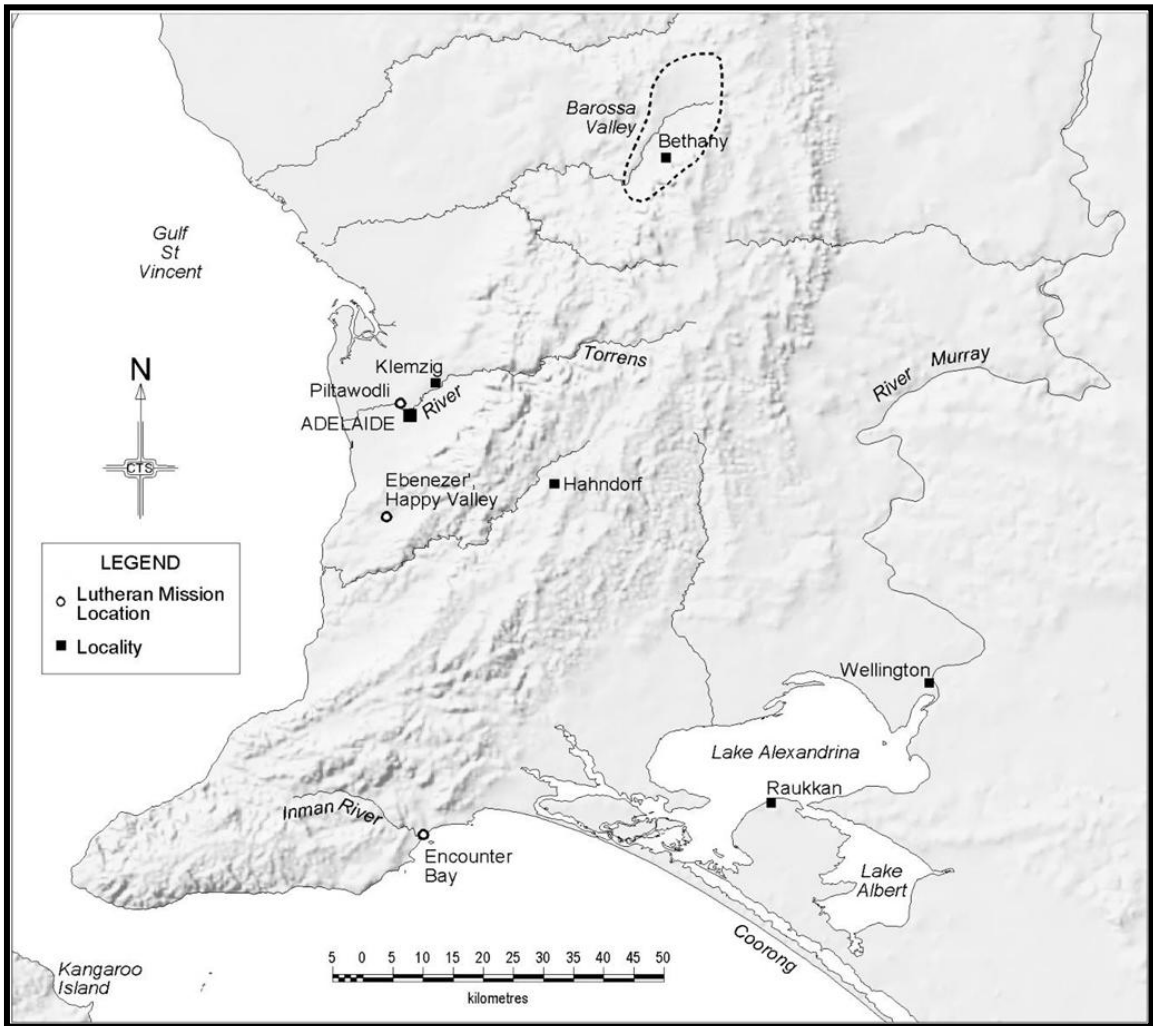
TD: Teichelmann Diaries

DRESDEN LUTHERAN MISSION LOCATIONS

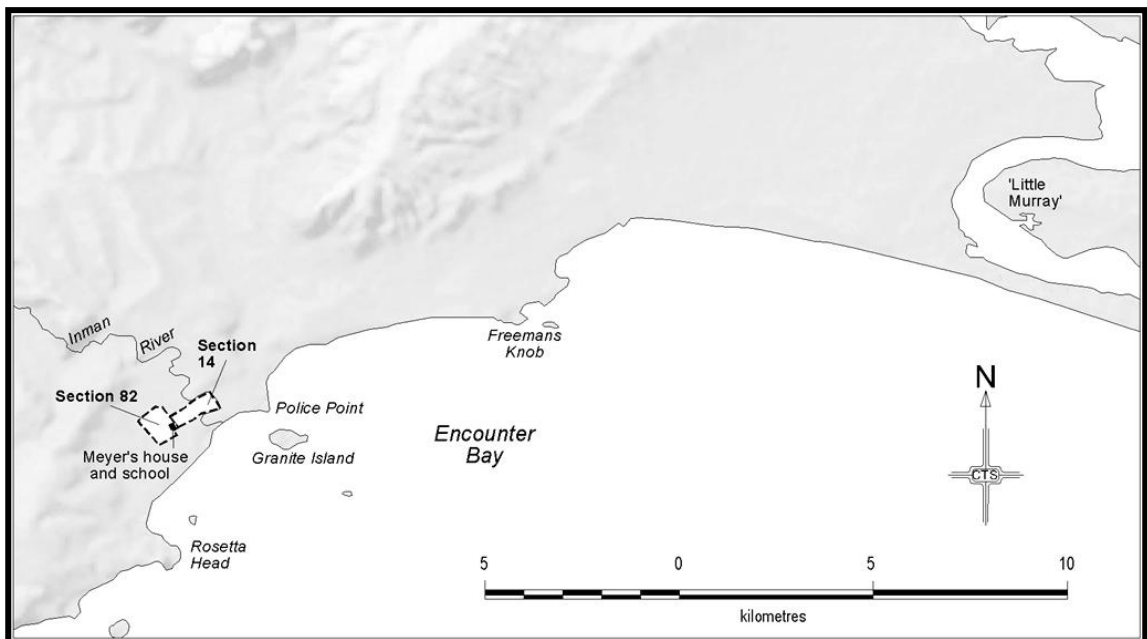


Map 1: Lutheran mission locations and related language areas

DRESDEN LUTHERAN MISSION LOCATIONS



Map 2: Lutheran mission locations in the Adelaide-Encounter Bay area



Map 3: The Encounter Bay area

INTRODUCTION

The 175th anniversary of the founding of the Evangelical¹ Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden ('Dresden Mission Society' or DMS) on 17 August, 1836 was commemorated in the Dreikönigskirche (Three Kings Church), Dresden, on 17 August, 2011 beginning at 18.36 hours. Speakers outlined the Society's history and vision. University of Adelaide linguist Rob Amery, Kurna woman Dr Alitya Rigney and Ngarrindjeri woman Verna Koolmatrie spoke on the reclamation of the Kurna language of the Adelaide Plains and the Ngarrindjeri language of the Lower Lakes area in South Australia. This reclamation has underpinned a revitalisation of the people's culture and identity. It has been made possible by the linguistic and ethnographic records left by the first missionaries to work in South Australia, DMS missionaries Christian Gottlob Teichelmann (1807-1888), Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann (1815-1893), Heinrich August Eduard Meyer (1813-1862) and Samuel Gottlieb Klose (1802-1889).²

That this presentation occurred was remarkable. The DMS, which became the Leipzig Mission Society in 1848, had decided its South Australian work had been an ill-conceived venture as it had not fulfilled its purpose of establishing an Aboriginal Lutheran church. This is exemplified by the display of Dresden/Leipzig missionaries' portraits in the basement of the Leipzig Mission headquarters which until recently did not include those of the four who worked in Australia. This omission was corrected in time for the anniversary but suggested the Society had thought their Australian work was not worth remembering. An historical summary on the basement wall still omitted mention of it. However, on that evening in Dresden, the newly-appointed Leipzig Mission Director, Volker Dally, thanked the Aboriginal participants with the words, 'We learned to be proud of our missionaries from you.'³ A booklet devoted to the Society's Australian missionaries was produced for the occasion.

By 1853 all four missionaries had ceased mission work. The DMS was not alone in being disappointed in its short-lived South Australian mission. The missionaries felt they and their Society had failed Aboriginal people. Nor had the mission met the expectations of colonial

¹ 'Evangelical' is used in Lutheran circles in its original sense meaning 'pertaining to the gospel and its teaching.' It is commonly used with reference to Christian bodies that emphasise the teaching and authority of the Scriptures rather than the church itself or reason. It is also used in reference to certain broader 18th and 19th century movements which stressed a personal experience of guilt for sin and reconciliation with God through Christ. The 'low-church' wing of the Anglican Church is referred to as 'Evangelical'.

² Teichelmann's second name is often given as Gottlieb. It is suggested 'Gottlob' was misspelt 'Gottlieb' on an official document and then adopted for official purposes, Wm. Bruce Kennedy, "Lutheran missionary to the Aborigines Pastor Christian Gottlob Teichelmann 1807-1888: his family, life & times," (Coolangatta: W Kennedy, 1989). German custom has been to use the given name closest to the surname. In Australia the missionaries have often been identified by their first given name.

³ Dally admitted he was unaware his Society had worked in Australia until he heard a group of Aboriginal people was coming for the celebrations. Personal conversation, 27 July 2013.

officials, the missionaries' patron George Fife Angas, settlers, church people or the Aboriginal people. The South Australian Legislative Council's 1860 Select Committee inquiry into the condition of Aboriginal people did not seek evidence from the Lutheran missionaries, three of whom were still living in easy reach of Adelaide, the fourth in Victoria. The Committee's evidence about their early 'ameliorating' efforts was sketchy and inaccurate. Few witnesses, when asked about the missionaries, remembered anything. Former Protector Wyatt, asked about Aboriginal training institutions, did not mention the Dresden missionaries. Even Protector of Aborigines, Mathew Moorhouse, their supervisor from 1839-1852, shared little about their work. Credit for their achievements was given to others.⁴ They were already being written out of history.

In 1862, the Lutheran publication, *Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt*, published an exchange of correspondence between Adelaide pastor J F Meischel, missionary Meyer and teacher J M Torbitski.⁵ Meischel thought the small Lutheran church in South Australia should resume Aboriginal mission work, pointing to the seeming success of Moravian and 'English' missionaries.⁶ Torbitski claimed the Dresden missionaries had lacked faith, patience, persistence and love.⁷ Pastor J C Auricht, writing on the Lutheran Church's history in Australia, agreed.⁸ Torbitski and Auricht accused them of abandoning their posts prematurely. While not all held this view, it was current in sections of the church in the missionaries' lifetimes.

In this thesis I will ask the following questions: What were the missionaries' aims? What informed their approach? Why did they relinquish their work?

South Australia was founded in 1836 as a model colony based on democratic and humanitarian ideals but also hard-headed commercial objectives. Most of its planners chose to ignore the reality of prior Aboriginal occupation. However, planning for the colony coincided with demands from more high-minded men in the Colonial Office and British Parliament for greater protection and justice for Indigenous subjects of the British Empire who they hoped would share in the 'blessings' of Christianity and Western civilization. These ideals were

⁴ For example, Governor Grey and Mr and Mrs Ross are credited with starting a school in the Parklands before the Walkerville school was opened. However, the Ross's school was on Kintore Avenue/North Terrace and post-dated the Walkerville school. The only previous Aboriginal school in the Parklands was the missionaries' Piltawodli school. Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon 'The Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860. 5. Judith Brown similarly overlooks both the missionaries' Piltawodli and Encounter Bay schools, calling the government's North Terrace and Walkerville schools the only 'native schools' before Poonindie's establishment in 1850. Judith M Brown, *Augustus Short, D.D.* (Adelaide: Hodge Publishing House, 1974).

⁵ *Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt*. (No. 1,3-5,1862).

⁶ Moravians in Victoria and, presumably, the English at Poonindie and Pt McLeay/Raukkan.

⁷ J M Torbitski, "About Mission," *Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt*, no. 4 (April 1862). Translated by Lois Zweck.

⁸ J C Auricht, "Eigentliche Geschichte der luth. Kirche Australiens." Unpublished manuscript 1888. (Lutheran Archives, Adelaide).

articulated in the 1837 *Report of the Select Committee on the Aborigines (British Settlements)*. Colonial Office demands led South Australia's planners to articulate a policy of protecting Aboriginal people who were to be civilised, made 'useful' and assimilated into colonial society. George Fife Angas, chairman of the South Australian Company, considered Christian missions the best means to achieve this and ensure more humane, fair and peaceful colonisation than in the older Australian colonies. Experience in the eastern colonies had earned Australia the reputation of being the most difficult mission field in the world.⁹ To find missionaries willing to take on the task, Angas turned to the Dresden Mission Society.

The Dresden Mission Society grew out of a revival of confessional Lutheran theology. Its core objective was to proclaim the good news of eternal life through faith in Christ and establish an Aboriginal Christian church. It was concerned for Aboriginal people's temporal well-being but had limited means and believed the government had undertaken to provide for Aboriginal welfare. It did not consider 'civilising' heathen people part of its task.¹⁰ In this thesis I will argue that the mission foundered largely because its goals were out of step with those of colonial administrators, churches and settlers and its mission approach proved unrealistic in the Australian context of an itinerant Aboriginal society dispossessed and devastated by colonisation.

Commentators on the DMS' Australian missionaries have tended to see them through the prism of British Colonial Office policies, colonial ambitions, Enlightenment ideals and the orientation of British Protestant missionaries. They have assumed a close link between Christianity and civilising/Europeanising efforts with missionaries sharing the goals of the colonial administration's 'civilising mission', shaped by the ideals of 'enlightened colonialism.'¹ I will argue that the DMS and its missionaries saw their task in spiritual terms in keeping with their theological tradition. However, Aboriginal mobility and the impact of colonisation forced the missionaries to modify their approach. They broadened their activities to address the physical needs and injustices suffered by Aboriginal people and for both practical and humanitarian reasons became involved in activities commonly labelled as 'civilising.' However, they did not see 'civilising/Europeanising' as essential to their mission or seek to assimilate Aboriginal people into colonial society. However, the colonial government expected to use the missionaries in support of its own goals. I will argue that the government's pursuit of its 'civilising mission' seriously compromised the Dresden missionaries' ability to achieve their goals and establish an ongoing mission enterprise.

⁹ Robert Kenny, *The Lamb enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007). 84, 86. Anglican, Methodist and London Missionary Society efforts in NSW had borne little fruit. The Moravians considered Australia the world's most difficult mission field.

¹⁰ Heathen simply means 'non-Christian.'

I will further argue that British colonial churches saw Christianity and 'civilisation' as inseparable. Disagreement with them over goals and methods cost the missionaries support. Support was further hindered by personal and denominational differences and ambitions.

Place in the literature

Over the past half-century, Christian mission work has been subjected to particularly intense criticism which is only recently being re-evaluated.

'Post-colonial' historians have viewed Christian missionaries as colonial agents in disguise, the primary destroyers of the societies, cultures and self-worth of peoples regarded as inferior. Bain Attwood calls missionaries 'agents of colonialism.'¹¹ Andrew Porter has called them the 'vanguard of empire.'¹² Alison Twells sees evangelical Protestant Christianity behind a sense of cultural superiority which paved the way for British imperialism. Missionaries were 'at the heart of the master narrative of imperial history' as 'agents of global civilisation.'¹³ Psychiatrist and philosopher Frantz Fanon claims missionary imposition of Western religion and culture helped destroy Indigenous religion and social organisation, paving the way for further colonial exploitation and damaging Indigenous people's psyche and sense of self-worth.¹⁴ Influenced by such pervasive views, Lutheran theologian Norman Habel informed students in 1978 that Lutheran missionaries had not cared whether Australian Aborigines were being 'ripped off or roped off' as they tried to 'rescue the souls' of 'very inferior' people, greatly damaging them, their culture and their personalities.¹⁵ Christine Stevens claims Dieri people faced 'expeditious cultural genocide' when Lutheran missionaries arrived in the Eyre Basin.¹⁶

The last two decades have seen an explosion of academic studies on Christian missions and their roles in colonisation which presents a much more nuanced and varied picture and challenges some of the old stereotypes.

An evolving new historiography is providing analysis in terms of race, gender, class, power, governance and Indigenous responses to Christianity and Western culture. Historian Jessie

¹¹ Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines*. (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989). x.

¹² Andrew Porter, "Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). 228.

¹³ Alison Twells, ed. *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850: The 'Heathen' at Home and Overseas*. (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), Introduction, 19, 211.

¹⁴ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1961). 32.

¹⁵ Norman Habel, "The Passionate Christian," *Lutheran Student*, no. 100 (1978): 32.

¹⁶ Christine Stevens, *White Man's Dreaming: Killalpininna Mission 1866-1915*. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994). 17. John Strehlow refutes this judgement in John Strehlow, *A Tale of Frieda Keysser, Frieda & Carl Strehlow: an historical biography*, vol. 1. (London: Wild Cat Press, 2011). 263-64.

Mitchell uses these categories.¹⁷ So does Patricia Grimshaw who has called missionaries 'harbingers of...modernity', with a gendered cultural and assimilationist agenda, who assumed a right to exert power over others and whose evangelism was used to justify imperial rule.¹⁸ She claims they seldom unambiguously or persistently opposed imperialism *per se* or its appropriation of the lands, labour or resources of non-western peoples. Despite misgivings, most colluded with white settlers for control over Indigenous people because they depended on government support and supported some government policies. However, Grimshaw also warns that missionaries differed from other colonizers and cannot be treated as a uniform category.¹⁹

Historians are beginning to question a simplistic representation of missionaries as colonial agents. Peter Sherlock calls missionaries 'agents of empire by virtue of their presence in a British colony' but suggests they were 'actors on the frontier of colonialism', not necessarily 'agents of colonialism.'²⁰ Peggy Brock makes similar observations.²¹ Felicity Jensz says Moravians only wanted to convert souls, but faced giving in to political authorities or abandoning their cause.²² Jeffery Cox points to the Christian ideal of a multiracial Christian commonwealth and suggests that 'in some important respects, the history of mission is the history of a struggle against imperialism.'²³ Julie Evans shows that British Protestant missionaries were often at odds with imperial interests.²⁴ Norman Etherington identifies diverse mission aims, approaches and relationships. He calls the link between Christian missions and imperialism exaggerated and says Christianity has become a largely non-Western religion spread by local people who distinguish between Christianity and Western hegemony.²⁵

¹⁷ Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia Through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*. (ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc, 2011); Jessie Mitchell, "The Nucleus of Civilisation: Gender, Race and Australian Missionary Families, 1825-1855," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History* ([online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008).

¹⁸ Patricia Grimshaw, "Missions, Colonialism and Gender," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?*, 4-6.

¹⁹ Ibid; Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, eds., *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*. (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), Introduction.

²⁰ Peter Sherlock, "The Politics of Agency," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?*, 19.

²¹ Peggy Brock, "Negotiating Colonialism: the Life and Times of Arthur Wellington Clah," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?*

²² Felicity Jensz, "Colonial Agents: German Moravian Missionaries in the English-Speaking World," in *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, 138-50.

²³ Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2008). 17.

²⁴ Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). 322; Julie Evans, "Sovereignty, Authority and the Civilising Mission: Reassessing Missionary Conflict with Colonial Authority, Authority and the Civilising Mission in Jamaica," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?*

²⁵ Norman Etherington, ed. *Missions and Empire*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Introduction.

Robert Kenny sees a complex relationship and tension between evangelical Christianity and imperial agendas in *The Lamb enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the ruptured world*.²⁶ He says Evangelicals were the main voice of concern, engendering opposition as they challenged settler greed and exploitation. He says Christianity's call to all peoples and cultures is no more imperial than other 'proselytising faiths' like Marxism, rationalism, post-modernism or natural selection. Kenny claims Enlightenment thinkers, not Christianity, asserted the superiority of Europeans and their culture.²⁷ Their contemporaries viewed Australian Aborigines as intellectually, morally or spiritually incapable of education, civilisation, conversion – or even survival.²⁸ Evangelical Christianity, not the Enlightenment, championed the Aboriginal Australians' right to a future and made the loudest claims for racial equality.²⁹ However, 19th century developments in science and secular philosophy gradually undermined the Christian conviction that all peoples are of 'one blood.'³⁰

Kenny argues that Western secularists in attempting to 'atone' for colonisation and assuage their consciences have ignored physical destruction, exploitation or exclusion. Instead they have focused on cultural destruction and made Christianity, and particularly missionaries, the scapegoat. He claims cultural relativism promotes a new racism which sees culture and ethnic identity as biological and Christianity as a disease destroying cultural identity and tearing apart the soul.³¹ Missionaries did not rupture Pepper's world, he says. Colonisation had already ruptured it and traditional beliefs could not explain the new reality. The message of Christ gave meaning, comfort, and hope to despairing and suffering survivors.³² He supports Christianity's claim to be trans-cultural and universal. He calls it a religion of adaptation and dynamic interaction between proselytiser and proselytised in which Aboriginal converts remained Aboriginal.³³

Historians such as Peggy Brock, Amanda Barry, Skye Krichauff and Sarah Dingle have also emphasised Aboriginal agency, the adaptability of culture and the possibility that a society may welcome cultural changes.³⁴ Anthropologist T G H Strehlow warns against idealising

²⁶ (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007). Kenny says he is not a Christian.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁰ Acts 17:26 (King James Version)

³¹ Kenny, *The Lamb*, 227, 318-26.

³² *Ibid.*, 334.

³³ *Ibid.*, 231, 341.

³⁴ Peggy Brock, "Negotiating Colonialism: the Life and Times of Arthur Wellington Clah,"; Peggy Brock, *Outback Ghettos: Aborigines, institutionalisation and survival*, Studies in Australian history. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Sarah Dingle, "Gospel Power for Civilization: The C.M.S. Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860." (PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2009); Amanda Barry, "A Matter of Primary Importance: Comparing the Colonial Education of Indigenous Children [online]," ed.

culture or suggesting that Aboriginal Australians lived in a golden age before Europeans came.³⁵ Brock calls the spread of ideas, technology and culture a two-way process in which Indigenous people embraced new ideas. She questions the degree to which missions can be blamed for the loss of Indigenous culture and community.³⁶ Chris Nobbs too sees a need to recognise the cultural accommodation of both missionaries and indigenes as they interacted, rather than simply cultural destruction.³⁷ Church historian Stephen Neill documents many examples of Catholic and Protestant missionaries identifying closely with local people, adapting to their culture to the point that they were accused of syncretism.³⁸ Christianity's transnational nature and the two-way nature of mission interaction is emphasised in *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*.³⁹

Brian Stanley argues that missionaries should not be judged by whether they contributed to cultural change but whether the change was beneficial to people impacted by Christianity.⁴⁰ William (Bill) Edwards takes this position in his study of Moravian missionaries, re-evaluating their role in protecting and training Aboriginal people.⁴¹ Edwards credits the missionaries with contributing significantly to Aboriginal survival, a view supported by historians and anthropologists such as Kenelm Burridge who doubts Aboriginal people would have survived to the present without missionaries.⁴² Judith Raftery similarly questions those who criticize missions as 'purveyors of racism, destroyers of culture and agents of the disintegration of Aboriginal communities.' They often provided havens where Aboriginal people were protected

Penelope Edmonds and Samuel Furphy, online ed., *Rethinking Colonial Histories: New and Alternative Approaches*. (Melbourne, Vic: RMIT Publishing, 2006); Skye Krichauff, *Nharungga wargunni bugi-bugillu: a journey through Narungga History*. (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011).

³⁵ T G H Strehlow, "Aboriginal religion and the role of Christian missions," *Lutheran Student* (1977): 20.

³⁶ Brock, "Negotiating Colonialism: the Life and Times of Arthur Wellington Clah.,"; Peggy Brock, "Setting the Record Straight: New Christians and Mission Christianity," in *Indigenous People and Religious Change*, ed. Peggy Brock (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

³⁷ Chris Nobbs, "Lutheran missionaries on Cooper's Creek in the late 19th and early 20th centuries." (University of Adelaide, History department seminar paper, 24 November 2010).

³⁸ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission*. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books 1964).

³⁹ Hilde Mielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie, eds., *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World*. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁴⁰ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism*. (Leicester: Apollon, 1990). 170-71.

⁴¹ William H Edwards, "Moravian Aboriginal Missions in Australia." (PhD, Flinders University, 2007).

⁴² Kenelm Burridge, *Encountering Aborigines: A Case Study: Anthropology and the Australian Aboriginal*. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1973).

and developed a sense of identity and community.⁴³ Strehlow similarly testifies to Central Australian Aboriginal people's appreciation of missionaries' care.⁴⁴

The importance of theological perspectives and denominational differences for understanding missionary aims and methods is being more widely acknowledged by writers including Dingle, Kenny, Twells, Edwards, Etherington, Jenz, Laurence Allen, Peter Pfitzner and Paul Albrecht.⁴⁵

Peter Pfitzner makes a case for acknowledging denominational difference in *Agents of Colonialism? An inquiry into the role of Lutheran missions to Aborigines in Australia*.⁴⁶ Pfitzner argues Australian Lutheran missionaries often resisted colonial values and aims, seeing themselves as members of a kingdom 'not of this world' sent to proclaim the gospel of eternal life through faith in Christ.⁴⁷ In preserving Aboriginal languages they operated in a 'counter-colonialist' manner.⁴⁸ They represented Aboriginal interests against colonists, petitioning for Aboriginal lands to be preserved, establishing sanctuaries and opposing the state removing children from parents. Their Lutheran understanding of human nature and salvation as God's gift made them less likely to support the colonising power's belief in Aboriginal moral inferiority or promote its cultural sanctions. Speaking particularly of Central Australian Lutheran missionaries Pfitzner concludes, 'The stereotype of missions as agents of colonialism does not acknowledge the extent to which missions were also agents of Indigenous continuity through the preservation of life, land, and language, accompanied by continuity in kinship protocols, ceremonies, stories and art, even if these changed significantly in the process.'⁴⁹ He argues that the missionaries did not consider themselves culturally superior or have a self-serving agenda. Their model was Christ who identified with those he came to serve and died in their service. Writing about Lutheran missionaries T G H Strehlow claims 'true missionaries have never regarded themselves as the spearhead of a superior civilisation or ...researchers into the hideous superstitions of "inferior" people.'⁵⁰

⁴³ Judith Raftery, *Not part of the public: Non-indigenous policies and practices and the health of indigenous South Australians 1836-1973*. (Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2006). 93.

⁴⁴ Strehlow, "Aboriginal religion."

⁴⁵ Laurence Paul Allen, "'English Episcopalians' versus 'German Lutherans': The Contribution of Cultural and Theological Differences to the Failure of the Wellington Valley Mission." (BA (Hons), University of Sydney, 2011).

⁴⁶ Peter Pfitzner, "Agents of Colonialism? An inquiry into the role of Lutheran missions to Aborigines in Australia." (Paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Durban, July 2006).

⁴⁷ John 18:36

⁴⁸ Pfitzner, "Agents of Colonialism?," 8.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁰ Strehlow, "Aboriginal religion," 22.

Paul Albrecht, the son of a Lutheran missionary and a missionary himself, spent his life among Arrernte people in Central Australia. He says Lutheran teaching recognises culture as God's gift making human society possible.⁵¹ This teaching permits a positive attitude to Indigenous culture while proclaiming the gospel of Christ.⁵²

Jensz and Timothy Keegan both suggest that there is an important distinction between British and German missionaries working in the British Empire. The former were more likely to reflect contemporary discourses on imperialism.⁵³ However, Jensz claims missionaries and government held common aims such as Aboriginal 'civilisation' and control.⁵⁴

European civilisation and Christianity were clearly linked in the minds of colonial administrators, settlers and some missionaries, and most historians of the nineteenth century have assumed that the ultimate goal of Christian missions was to 'conquer the globe in the name of Christianity and civilisation.'⁵⁵ Jeffrey Cox makes a distinction between British missionaries who were 'confessional' missionaries (agents of established churches) and 'voluntarists' (members of voluntary societies). The former considered 'Christianising' and civilising 'part and parcel of the same task', with the 'civilising' of non-Western peoples either a path to Christianity or its fruit.⁵⁶ Voluntarists struggled against a model of Christianity that linked it with civilisation, wanting to create a non-Western Indigenous church as soon as possible.⁵⁷ However, anthropologists Ronald and Catherine Berndt say distinctions between the spiritual and material mostly became blurred and missionary aims remained more or less constant: to change the socio-cultural systems and overall life-style of Aboriginal people.⁵⁸ Drawing on a study of Baptist missionaries, Matthew Doherty says their emphasis on personal conduct meant implanting European material as well as spiritual culture.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Paul G E Albrecht, *Relhiperra: About Aborigines*. (Quadrant Online, 2012). 117-22.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵³ Timothy Keegan, ed. *Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier*. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents, 2004). xxii-iii.

⁵⁴ Felicity Jensz, "Imperial Critics: Moravian Missionaries in the British Colonial World," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?*.

⁵⁵ Mielssen, Okkenhaug, and Skeie, *Protestant Missions*, 9.

⁵⁶ The term 'Christianising' will only be used in this thesis when reflecting someone else's use. The Dresden missionaries did not use this term. It implies the external imposition of Christianity as a lifestyle or moral code rather than a voluntary reception of the faith.

⁵⁷ Cox, *The British Missionary*, 13-14.

⁵⁸ Ronald M Berndt and Catherine H Berndt, "Body and Soul: More than an episode," in *Australian Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: ethnographic and historical studies*, ed. Tony and Rose Swain, Deborah Bird (eds) (Bedford Park, SA: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1988). 45.

⁵⁹ Matthew Doherty, "The Agency of locals: The Congo Balolo Mission and the Indigenous Christian Community," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?*, 75.

In *Gospel Power for Civilisation: The CMS Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860*, Dingle claims that the Christian/religious paradigm through which Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries working in Maori communities viewed the world imbued the term 'civilisation' with a different meaning and emphasis from that of 'secular' and non-evangelical theorists.⁶⁰ CMS missionaries considered Christianity the only basis for genuine civilisation. They did not set out to eradicate Maori culture. Their primary aim was conversion and 'the establishment of a Christian community of faith ... and conformity in life and practice to the values which were purported to follow a profession of faith in Christ.'⁶¹ The 'civilisation' they cultivated had more to do with Christian faith and morality than European culture, aspects of which the missionaries strongly criticised. They wished to bring a transnational, Christian culture which preserved and reframed in the light of Christianity aspects of Maori culture and life not incompatible with Christianity. At the same time, Dingle says, it is impossible to divorce European culture from over a thousand years of Christian influence: some changes may be adopted by converts because they are in line with Christianity, not because they are European. Nor is it possible to present a 'culture-free' Christianity which will not impact culture. The challenge was for converted Maori to 'unwrap the Christian package from its received cultural wrappings.'⁶² Dingle reminds us that cultures are not static or unadaptable. Maori cultural change was a dynamic interaction between the gospel and Maori people.

Most Australian research into Protestant missions has focused on British churches and mission societies but there has been growing interest in German, including Lutheran, missionaries. South Australian linguists have shown interest in Lutheran missionaries because of their commitment to learning and documenting Aboriginal languages, unique in nineteenth century South Australia. The Dresden missionaries have become known through University of Adelaide linguists such as Rob Amery who has written extensively on the Kurna language of the Adelaide Plains and missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann. He has based his Kurna language reclamation programme on their work.⁶³ Mary-Anne Gale has focused on missionary Meyer's work among the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay and Cynthia Rathjen on Schürmann's work among the Parnkalla/Barngarla people of Eyre Peninsula.⁶⁴ These linguists have

⁶⁰ Dingle, "Gospel Power for Civilization."

⁶¹ Ibid., 234.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ For example, Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kurna! : reclaiming an Australian language*. (Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers, 2000); Rob Amery, "Beyond Their Expectations: Teichelmann and Schürmann's Efforts to Preserve the Kurna Language Continue to Bear Fruit," in *The struggle for souls and science: constructing the fifth continent: German missionaries and scientists in Australia*, ed. Walter F. Veit and Strehlow Research Centre. (Alice Springs, N.T.: Northern Territory Government, 2004); Rob Amery, "Its ours to keep and call our own: reclamation of the Nunga languages in the Adelaide region, South Australia," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 113 (1995).

⁶⁴ Mary-Anne Gale, "Nothing Pleasing to Impart: H.A.E. Meyer at Encounter Bay, 1840-1848," in *The Germans: Travellers, settlers and their descendants in South Australia*, ed. Peter Monteath (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011); Mary-Anne Gale, "Two by Two: The Linguistic Heritage of H.A.E. Meyer" (paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, University of Adelaide, 6 July

researched the missionaries' linguistic/lexicographical work while setting it in its wider context. Clara Stockigt is currently analysing Lutheran missionaries' grammatical descriptions of the Kurna, Barngarla, Ngarrindjeri, Dieri and Arrernte languages.⁶⁵

Some historians have uncritically applied generalisations from the study of colonial agendas and British mission enterprises to the Dresden missionaries. Phillipa Walsh, in one of the first analyses of Aboriginal policies in South Australia makes no distinction between missionaries when she writes:

To early South Australian missionaries... conversion could not be achieved until Aborigines were first Europeanized. Improvement in dress, manners and habits were pre-requisite to their salvation. For this reason missionaries undermined as far as possible all distinctive characteristics of Aboriginal culture. This, together with official attempts to eradicate tribal custom and law, combined to create a vacuum which it was thought would be filled by Christianity.⁶⁶

In *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*, Graham Jenkin calls the Dresden missionaries assimilationists whose aims differed little from those of colonial authorities. He claims the Dresden men, while comparatively enlightened and humane, were convinced of European civilisation's superiority. They believed western civilisation was synonymous with Christianity, and the greatest blessing which could be bestowed upon anyone. They hoped to destroy Aboriginal tribal structures and by concentrating on the young to make the next generation fully participating members of colonial society. Jenkin says they finally realised assimilation had failed in the face of Aboriginal opposition.⁶⁷

Rob Amery and historians Tom Gara and Rob Foster have ascribed to the Dresden missionaries the dual aims of 'Christianising' and 'civilising' the Kurna.⁶⁸ Amery says that while the Dresden missionaries tried to preserve the language, they contributed in a major way

2012); Cynthia Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task: Clamor Schürmann and the language achievements among the Parnkalla, Port Lincoln –1840-1852," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 8 (October 1998).

⁶⁵ Clara Stockigt, "The Peculiar Nature of the Language: A Morpho-syntactic analysis of the Lutheran description of South Australia's Aboriginal Languages, 1840-1938." (PhD, University of Adelaide, work in progress).

⁶⁶ Phillipa Walsh, "The Problem of Native Policy in South Australia in the C19th with Particular Reference to the Church of England Poonindie Mission, 1859-1896." (BA hons., University of Adelaide, 1966), 39.

⁶⁷ Graham Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri: The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. (Point McLeay: Raukkan Publishers, Reprint edition 1985). 10, 43-46.

⁶⁸ Tom Gara, "The Life and Times of Mullawirraburka ('King John') of the Adelaide Tribe," in *History in Portraits: Biographies of nineteenth century South Australian Aboriginal people*, ed. Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus, *Aboriginal History: Monograph 6* (Canberra: Aboriginal History, 1998), 100; Robert Foster, "An imaginary dominion: the representation and treatment of Aborigines in South Australia, 1834-1911." (PhD, University of Adelaide, 1993), 199-215; Amery, *Warrabarna Kurna!*, 59.

to cultural genocide, challenging and attempting to break down the Kurna belief system, setting the young against the Elders and cutting children off from their families.⁶⁹ Heidi Kneebone calls Meyer's vision for the Ngarrindjeri's future a 'European vision.'⁷⁰

John Harris says the relationship between the gospel and civilisation was debated but nineteenth century missionaries generally saw conversion to Christianity and the introduction of European civilisation as inseparable.⁷¹ He calls the Dresden missionaries' efforts to counter colonial exploitation and oppression 'impressive, courageous, selfless, loving and generous.' He faults them, however, for not distinguishing between the gospel and the benefits of a settled, agrarian European lifestyle.⁷²

Barry Patton examines attempts to 'Christianise' and 'civilise' Aboriginal children in Melbourne and Adelaide schools in the 1840s and early 1850s through child separation and removal which by the late 1830s were 'well established as an important instrument in missionaries' Europeanising efforts.'⁷³ He gives the impression the Dresden missionaries approved of and readily participated in such practices.

Anne Scrimgeour uses Schürmann's and Klose's letters and Teichelmann's diary in her thesis, 'Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to "Civilize" in South Australia, 1839-1845,' to make a thorough study of the colonial authorities' early 'civilising mission' and its focus on Aboriginal schools in Adelaide.⁷⁴ She argues that the 'civilising mission' was a means of justifying and furthering the Europeanization and incorporation of Indigenous people into colonial society so Aboriginal lands could be occupied. 'Christianisation' was integral to the 'civilising'/Europeanizing agenda. She claims the missionaries supported colonisation to the extent that it enabled their mission to proceed, but it was not their primary objective. Their primary objective was the civilising/Christianising mission.⁷⁵ She writes, 'The Christianity the Dresden missionaries preached was so strongly imbued with European values and ways of understanding the world that Europeanization was an essential component of the

⁶⁹ Amery, *Warrabarna Kurna!*, 67.

⁷⁰ Heidi Kneebone, "Why Do You Work? Indigenous perceptions of Lutheran mission work in the Encounter Bay area, 1840-47," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives* no.10 (October 2000): 21, 24-25.

⁷¹ John W. Harris, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*, 2nd ed. (Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1994). 77-78.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 333-34.

⁷³ Barry Patton, "Aboriginal child separations and removals in early Melbourne and Adelaide," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire?* 126.

⁷⁴ Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 179.

Christianisation process.⁷⁶ She says the missionaries only differed from Governor Grey and many colonists in wanting to 'civilise' the indigenes by separating them from white society and Christianising them rather than assimilating them.

Amanda Barry examines Aboriginal education in NSW, Victoria and South Australia in *Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-Eastern Australia, 1837-1937*.⁷⁷ She discusses the proposal of the 1837 Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) to 'Christianise' and educate Aboriginal people in Western ways. She explores how it was pursued, modified and distorted, caught in an ambiguous relationship between humanitarianism, and settler and capitalist interests. She presents post-contact education, in which missionaries played a large part, as culturally destructive and contributing to the break-down of traditional learning, language and custom as settler society tried to control and shape Aboriginal people into compliant members of colonial society. At the same time she acknowledges Aboriginal agency in accessing education as a means to survival, enrichment and empowerment.⁷⁸

Barry acknowledges a multiplicity of educational approaches and aims. She calls the missionaries' educational role a 'counterpoint to a dichotomised colonial story in which all Europeans are oppressors and all Indigenous people are victims.'⁷⁹ However, she says missionaries 'trained, taught and Christianised Aboriginal people to refashion them into suitable [British] subjects.'⁸⁰ They wanted to civilise them 'for God' and assimilate and transform them by 'controlling outward signs of civilised behaviour and deportment.'⁸¹ The civilising mission's righteousness justified white settlement.⁸² Barry applies these generalisations also to South Australian missionaries. However, her coverage of pre-1850 South Australia is sketchy and inaccurate and shows little knowledge of the Dresden missionaries' role in Aboriginal education.

In *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia Through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*, historian Jessie Mitchell uses race, gender, power and class to analyse short-lived 'civilising' projects of 'philanthropists' (missionaries and Protectors of Aborigines) in the Australian colonies 1825-55. She focuses on governance, subjecthood, rights and 'missionary

⁷⁶ Anne Scrimgeour, "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s," *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 35.

⁷⁷ Amanda Barry, "Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-eastern Australia, 1837-1937." (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2008), 4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 241-45.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 17-23.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 46.

colonialism.⁸³ She claims missionaries reinforced Aboriginal physical and social destruction.⁸⁴ Philanthropists' concerns 'revolved strongly around what it meant to be British, imperial, and white' in a colonial Australian context.⁸⁵ They saw Aborigines as British subjects whose futures lay in adopting agriculture, individualist work ethics and Evangelical Christianity.⁸⁶ Christian instruction was 'compensation for and consolidation of British imperialism.'⁸⁷ Mitchell includes South Australia in her sweeping generalisations with little understanding of the Dresden missionaries or recognition that they did not define their mission primarily as 'civilising' Aboriginal people and cared little for what it meant to be 'British, imperial, and white.'

Mitchell's thesis is instructive for its analysis of the obstacles facing early philanthropists', largely shared by the Dresden missionaries. These included Aboriginal dispossession; colonial society's failure to provide for Aboriginal sustenance; settler violence, greed and opposition; corrupting European influences; government policy; rapid population decline; the acceptance of Aboriginal destruction as natural, even desirable; and the withdrawal of government support. She sees missionary failure to convert or protect Aboriginal people or alter their customs not simply as the result of these local obstacles but as 'constitutive of Australian missionary work and Aboriginal policy-making.'

Kenny suggests that missionary failure to convert Aborigines in the first half of the century was seen by nineteenth century secular sceptics as proof of missionary soft-headedness and Aboriginal Australians' mental incapacity, a proof of their natural inequality. For present-day sceptics, he says, it is proof of the ethnocentricity of evangelicals and the canniness of Aborigines.⁸⁸ Certainly many commentators see the missionaries' agenda as wrong-headed and their message as rightly rejected. The notion that Christianity cannot penetrate Australian Aboriginal culture is often repeated. Terence Ranger critiques this notion and dismisses it.⁸⁹

Others who have written on the Dresden missionaries have not specifically addressed reasons for their work's demise but have made passing observations. Jenkin suggests it was because assimilation failed as a policy, the missionaries failed to work through established Aboriginal leaders and Aboriginal people preferred their own culture.⁹⁰ Harris faults the DMS, local

⁸³ Mitchell. *In Good Faith?*, 4-5, 197.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 195-97.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁸⁸ Kenny, 326.

⁸⁹ Terence Ranger, "Christianity and the First Peoples: Some Second Thoughts," ed. Peggy Brock, *Indigenous People and Religious Change*.

⁹⁰ Jenkin, *Conquest*, 45-46.

Lutherans and the government for not supporting the missionaries financially. He also faults government policies including English-only education, settler and police opposition to any championing of the Aboriginal cause, and the 'hypocrisy and cupidity' of government officials.⁹¹ Lutheran Church historian Alfred Brauer cites settler opposition, insufficient funds, Aboriginal 'rambling habits', and Aboriginal decimation through European disease and vices.⁹² H J Schmiechen points to a lack of funding, a decline in public and government support due to the lack of quick results and a failure to understand Aboriginal cultural practices which made assimilation virtually impossible.⁹³ Scrimgeour blames the missionaries' determination to remain true to their denominational beliefs and convictions combined with the Aborigines' determination to be true to theirs.⁹⁴

Linguists have studied the Dresden missionaries' linguistic contribution and Scrimgeour has studied some of their educational work in detail. However, little research has been done from a comprehensive historical perspective which analyses their theological principles and pastoral goals in the context of early colonial South Australian politics. In this thesis I will look more broadly at the DMS missionaries with the aim of providing a better understanding of them and their mission in the context of their times. This will be in line with a recent historiographical trend which considers missionaries on their own terms and in their troubled relationships with the colonial state, settlers, and Indigenous people rather than seeing them as inevitably part of the colonial/imperial project. I will argue that a proper understanding of the Dresden missionaries needs to take into account their Lutheran theology which informed their society's aims and approach and their origins in German states which at the time lacked overseas colonial ambitions. I will challenge the commonly assumed nexus between Christian conversion and 'civilising'/Europeanising aims in Christian mission and distinguish between humanitarian impulses and the promotion of European culture. I will question the representation of missionaries as the primary destroyers of Aboriginal culture.

The thesis makes a contribution to the literature of Australian missions and colonial history. It highlights the importance of theological perspectives for understanding the diversity of mission aims and approaches and the complexity of colonial relationships. It contributes to the growing body of work on German missionaries and an understanding of non-British, in this instance German Lutheran, approaches to mission. It throws further light on the challenges faced by

⁹¹ Harris, *One Blood*, 316-34.

⁹² A Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1956). 153, 55-56.

⁹³ H J Schmiechen, "The Hermannsburg Mission Society in Australia 1866-1895: changing missionary attitudes and their effects on the Aboriginal inhabitants." (Thesis (BA Hons), University of Adelaide, 1971), 28.

⁹⁴ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 56-60, 224-25.

Christian missions to Aboriginal Australians in the first half of the nineteenth century, none of which survived beyond mid-century.

Sources and Methodology

The DMS instructed its missionaries to gather information, keep diaries, and prepare detailed, 'faithful and accurate, open-hearted and impartial' reports.⁹⁵ Teichelmann and Schürmann kept diaries and all four missionaries wrote reports. These reports informed DMS annual reports and excerpts were printed in DMS newsletters. These records, together with DMS letters to its missionaries and other DMS correspondence, form the most significant sources for this thesis. They are held in the Lutheran Archives in Bowden (Adelaide) and in the Francke Foundation Archives in Halle, Germany. Annual DMS reports and mission publications have been sourced from Leipzig Mission headquarters and some records from the Parish Office in Greiz and the Thuringian State Archives in Altenburg, Germany. The original manuscripts are mostly in archaic German handwriting which few today can read.⁹⁶ These records are gradually becoming available to researchers in English as they continue to be transcribed and translated by Lutheran Archives volunteers.

In the 1930s, Alfred Brauer published articles on DMS work in South Australia in *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*.⁹⁷ His manuscript on the Lutheran Church in Australia's history, held in the Lutheran Archives (Adelaide), has lengthy sections on these missionaries. This manuscript was posthumously published in abbreviated form as *Under the Southern Cross* in 1956.⁹⁸ Brauer (1866-1949) was ordained in 1890 by Schürmann. He married Eduard Meyer's granddaughter and most likely knew Meyer's widow who died in 1891. He would have known Teichelmann and Klose by reputation at least. He had access to family stories and documents no longer available. Unfortunately he did not document his sources but clearly used newspaper reports, government records and missionary correspondence with Angas. F J H Blaess completed a Bachelor of Divinity thesis on the Dresden and Hermannsburg Mission Society work in Australia in 1940 and published articles in 1947-1948.⁹⁹ Neither Brauer nor

⁹⁵ "Instructions for the two missionaries of the evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann from Dahme (ducal Saxony) and Clamor W. Schuermann from Schleddehausen (via Osnabrueck) 1837," in *Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica Seculi XIX*, ed. George Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840). Translated by G. Lockwood.

⁹⁶ Sometimes loosely referred to as 'Sütterlin' script.

⁹⁷ A Brauer, "A Further Page from the Life of the Fathers," *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1930; A Brauer, "More Pages from the Life of the Fathers," *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1937; A Brauer, "Pastor Clamor Wilhelm Schurmann," *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1937.

⁹⁸ A Brauer, "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia." Draft manuscript 303-000, 1947. (Adelaide: Lutheran Archives); Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*.

⁹⁹ F J H Blaess, "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia and the Mission Work amongst the Australian Natives in connection with the Dresden (Leipzig) Lutheran Mission Society and the Hermannsburg Mission

Blaess had access to materials now available from German archives. Bruce Kennedy's unsympathetic 1989 portrayal of his great-grandfather Teichelmann similarly suffers from not having materials now available.¹⁰⁰

The Lutheran missionaries' linguistic and ethnographic records (in English) of the Kurna, Ramindjeri and Barngarla people have been the basis for linguistic and ethnographic analysis and language and cultural reclamation programs.¹⁰¹ (See Epilogue.) These have been made possible by the gradual rediscovery and in some cases, reproduction of these resources since the 1960s. They are also of interest from an historical perspective.

Other resources have gradually become more accessible. Edwin Schürmann discovered his great-grandfather Clamor Schürmann's hand-scripted diaries and some letters on microfilm in the State Library of South Australia's archives. A partial transcription and translation (available in the South Australian Museum) formed the basis for his book, *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes, Clamor Schürmann and the Aborigines of South Australia 1838-1853*.¹⁰² Schürmann's full diaries have now been transcribed and translated and are available in the Lutheran Archives together with Teichelmann's diaries in translation as well as German.

Efforts by Alfred Brauer beginning in the 1930s to obtain Dresden/Leipzig Mission records were thwarted by the Nazi regime, World War II and the Communist East German state. Finally in 1975 Siegfried Hebart, then Luther Seminary principal in Adelaide, negotiated an agreement between the Leipzig Mission Society and the University of Adelaide to share correspondence between the DMS and its Australian missionaries on microfilm. In 1983 Les Grope, president of the Lutheran Church of Australia, negotiated for Leipzig Mission staff to transcribe this material into modern German typescript and share it with the Lutheran Archives

Institute 1838-1900. " (BD Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St Louis, USA, 1940); F J H Blaess, "Missions - Pioneers in Australia," *The Australian Lutheran*, serialised 1947-1948.

¹⁰⁰ Kennedy, "Teichelmann."

¹⁰¹ H A E Meyer, *Vocabulary of the Aborigines of the southern and eastern portions of the settled districts of South Australia, preceded by a Grammar showing the construction of the language as far as at present known*. (Adelaide 1843); H A E Meyer, *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; South Australia*. (Adelaide: Dehane, 1846); C W Schürmann, *The Aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia, their mode of life, manners, customs, etc*, (Adelaide: George Dehane, 1846); C W Schürmann, *A vocabulary of the Parnkalla language spoken by the natives inhabiting the western shores of Spencer's Gulf : to which is prefixed a collection of grammatical rules hitherto ascertained*, South Australian facsimile editions. (Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962. Originally published 1844); C G Teichelmann, *Aborigines of South Australia*. (Adelaide: SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxilliary Missionary Society, 1841); C G Teichelmann and C W Schürmann, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology, of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide*. (Largs Bay, S. Aust.: Tjintu Books, 1982. First published 1841); C G Teichelmann, "Of the Verbs," (South African Public Library, 1858); C. G Teichelmann, "Dictionary of the Adelaide dialect," (Adelaide: State Library of South Australia, 1857); Meyer's *Manners and Customs* and Schürmann's *The Aboriginal Tribes* have been reprinted in J D Woods, ed. *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, S. Aust.: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, reprint 2009. First published 1879).

¹⁰² Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987.

in Adelaide in 1984. Lutheran Archives volunteers have gradually translated it into English with assistance from University of Adelaide linguists who have translated Meyer's correspondence with the DMS. Extensive revision is needed as translation work varies in quality and has been hampered by faded, indecipherable handwriting. Some letters and pages are missing. Friends of the Lutheran Archives published Klose's correspondence in 2002.¹⁰³ This translation work has led to published papers by scholars primarily interested in linguistics and to Anne Scrimgeour's work.¹⁰⁴

Researchers' visits to German archives have yielded further material. In July 2013, Volker Dally, director of the Leipzig Mission Society, presented the Lutheran Archives with 6000 pages of Dresden/Leipzig Mission files from the Francke Foundation Archives in electronic form with an offer of assistance to obtain a further 2000 pages. This new material needs indexing, transcription and translation.

The Dresden/Leipzig records provide unique insights not widely researched. Various researchers have used Teichelmann's and Schürmann's diaries and Klose's, Schürmann's and Meyer's correspondence but do not seem to have utilised files containing jointly written missionary letters and conference reports and DMS letters addressed to its missionaries jointly. To my knowledge, this thesis is the first research in Australia to extensively use these files and Teichelmann's correspondence, the DMS' 'London Files' (including correspondence with Angas) housed in the Francke Foundation Archives in Halle, a number of other letters, and some DMS Annual Reports and publications. Undoubtedly further insights will come to light as further transcriptions and translations are completed and researchers make use of the material now becoming available from Halle.

Missionary records are often treated cautiously by scholars. They are seen as propagandist or reporting what mission societies wanted to hear.¹⁰⁵ However Heidi Kneebone, Anne Scrimgeour and Mary-Anne Gale testify to the openness of the four missionaries' reports.¹⁰⁶ Scrimgeour notes a lack of 'propagandist intent.' Kneebone comments on Meyer's 'forthright honesty.'¹⁰⁷ The reports are remarkably frank, especially those of Teichelmann, reporting their struggles, interactions with local people and the latter's reactions, as well as difficulties with their mission society. They reported things the Society would not have liked to hear and which did not necessarily reflect well on the writers. They expressed despair, frustration, loneliness,

¹⁰³ Joyce Graetz, ed. *Missionary to the Kaurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper no.2 (North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002).

¹⁰⁴ Gale, "Nothing Pleasing to Impart."; Kneebone, "Why Do You Work?"; Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task."

¹⁰⁵ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 8, 69; Mary-Anne Gale, personal conversation, 6 July 2012.

¹⁰⁷ Kneebone, "Why Do You Work?" 21.

regrets and disappointments as well as small joys and achievements and a genuine affection and concern for Aboriginal people.

George Fife Angas also requested reports to share with the Aboriginal Protection Society in London. Believing Angas had the means to make a difference for Aboriginal people in South Australia, Teichelmann and Schürmann freely shared their observations with him. Microfilm copies of this correspondence are in the State Library of South Australia. Some of Angas' replies seem to be missing.¹⁰⁸

In this thesis use has also been made of South Australian newspaper reports and colonists' diaries, memoirs and writings including those of Governor Grey, Edward John Eyre, Archdeacon Hale, John Brown, missionary George Taplin, Dr Hermann Koeler, and colonists John Wrathall Bull, W A Cawthorne, George French Angas and William Wyatt. Government records used include the Colonial Secretary's correspondence, Governors' despatches, Protector Mathew Moorhouse's Letterbook and reports, the *South Australian Government Gazette*, *British Parliamentary Papers* and *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*. Use has also been made of the *Sullivan Collection* in the State Library.

Names and Terminology

The spelling of Aboriginal names in the sources sometimes varies or is unclear because of indecipherable handwriting. I follow Chester Schultz's revised spellings. With Nunga elders he has researched Indigenous names of the Adelaide region, contributing to language reclamation publications.

Recent writers often favour using the term 'Indigenous.' I have chosen to use 'Aboriginal' due to the negative reaction among Aboriginal people in the Adelaide area to 'Indigenous' since former Prime Minister John Howard's use of this term in policy statements.

I use the term 'Kurna' as that most commonly used for the original people of the Adelaide Plains although it is a Ngarrindjeri term not used by the missionaries or their Kurna contemporaries. Those engaged in Kurna language reclamation have recently discussed using 'Miyurna' instead, a Kurna word meaning 'people'.¹⁰⁹

Schürmann calls the people of Eyre Peninsula 'Parnkalla'. Modern linguists prefer 'Barngalla' or 'Barngarla.' Today most Eyre Peninsula tribes – the Nauo, Battara, Nukunnu and Wambirri

¹⁰⁸ George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

¹⁰⁹ Schürmann's spelling: *Meyunna*.

– are recognised as belonging to the Barngarla ‘nation’ and speaking dialects of the same basic language.¹¹⁰ Schürmann worked primarily with the Nauo and Battara people.

Schürmann and Klose refer to ‘Eastmen’ (*Marimeyo* or *Marimeyunna/Meri Meyunna*) as speaking Pitta, the name given to them by the Kurna for the language of the lower Murray River area. Some linguists have identified the Pitta language with Ngayawang/Ngaiawang. Others have identified the *Mari Meyunna* as the Peramangk of the Mt Lofty region. As early sources suggest several groups lived along the Murray River, I use the name commonly used at the time, ‘Murray River people’ or simply ‘Murray people’ when this appears in the sources.

The translators of manuscript collections are acknowledged in the bibliography and the first time manuscripts are footnoted. Where the translation of individual quotations has been revised, the new translator is acknowledged in the footnotes.

Thesis Synopsis

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I (chapters 1-4) examines the Dresden missionaries’ theological foundations, motivation and aims and provides an overview of their mission activity. In Chapter 1 I argue that the DMS’ establishment and its theology, mission approach and instructions were rooted in a revival of confessional Lutheran theology and I explore the implications of Lutheran theology for mission work. I argue that Christianity and Western civilisation cannot be simplistically identified with each other. I discuss a variety of Christian attitudes towards culture and argue that the Lutheran understanding of the relationship between theology and culture permits a degree of openness to other cultures. In Chapter 2 I argue that the views of colonial planners and authorities and many Christians about the purpose of Christian mission work differed from those of the DMS. For the former, Christianity and civilisation were closely identified. This created difficulties for the Dresden missionaries. In Chapters 3 and 4 I give an overview of how the missionaries tried to put their instructions into practice, the challenges they faced and the compromises they made. In Chapter 3 I explore their work among the Kurna and in Chapter 4 that of Meyer among the Ramindjeri at Encounter Bay and of Schürmann among the Barngarla on Eyre Peninsula. These two chapters provide the backdrop for more detailed analysis in Part 2.

Part II (chapters 5-7) provides an in-depth analysis of the missionaries’ work in its South Australian colonial context. In Chapter 5 I argue that Aboriginal culture and the impact of colonial dispossession and dislocation on Aboriginal society presented particular challenges

¹¹⁰ Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task," 75.

for the missionaries, forcing a modification of the DMS' preferred approach and contributing to the missionaries' failure to persuade local people that the missionaries and the Christian faith could serve their best interests. In Chapter 6 I argue that the missionaries' agenda was at variance with the expectation of government and colonists that they advance British culture and colonial ambitions. As a result they were sidelined with support going to other churches. In Chapter 7 I argue that both the Christian community in South Australia and the missionaries' supporters overseas (the DMS and Angas) failed to give them the support they needed and suggest reasons for this.

An epilogue outlines the missionaries' linguistic and ethnographic legacy.

The Missionaries of Dresden Mission Society in South Australia

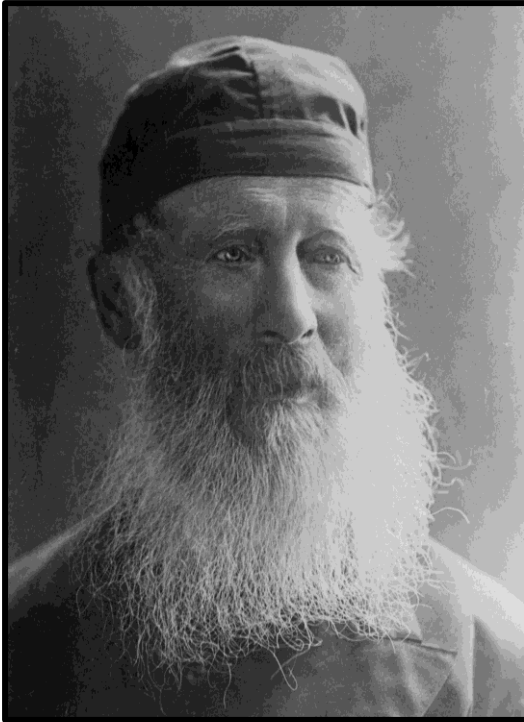


Figure 1: Christian Gottlob Teichelmann
ca. 1888 (SLSA B6501)

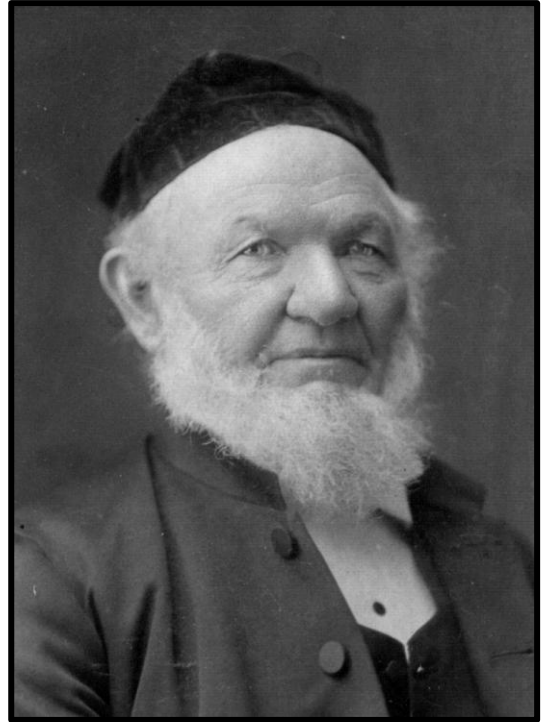


Figure 2: Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann
ca. 1890 (Lutheran Archives, Adelaide)



Figure 3: Samuel Gottlieb Klose
(From 'How happy was our Valley: The Douglas Family History.')



Figure 4: Heinrich August Eduard Meyer
1836 (SLSA B 8236, artist S Jacobssohn)

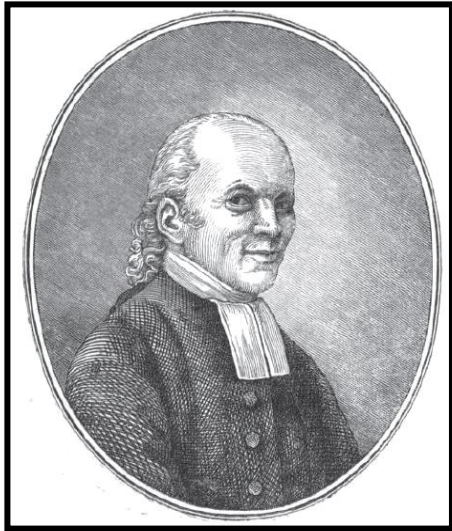


Figure 5: Johann Jänicke
(Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 6: George Fife Angas
ca. 1855 (SLSA B9501)



Figure 7: Pastor August Kavel
(Lutheran Archives)



Figure 8: Bishop Augustus Short
1847 (SLSA B7939/1)

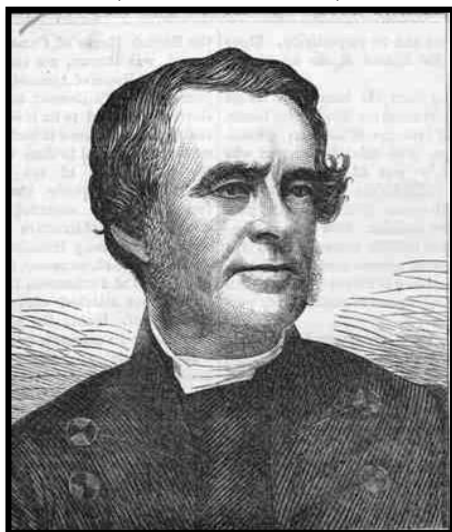


Figure 9: Archdeacon Mathew Blagden Hale
(SLSA B11130)

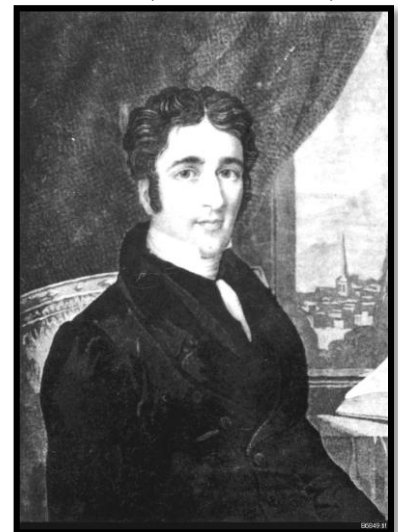


Figure 10: Rev Thomas Quinton Stow
ca. 1830 (SLSA B6849)



Figure 11: Governor George Gawler
1843 (SLSA 14428)

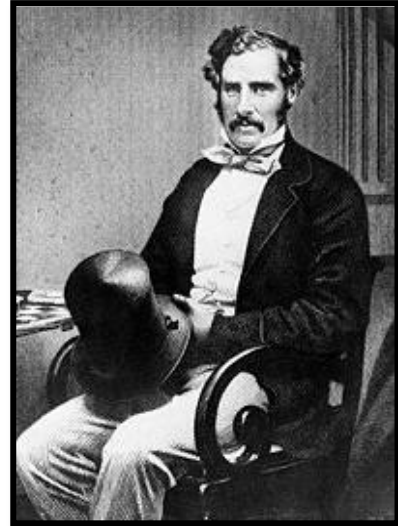


Figure 12: Governor George Grey
1860s (Wikimedia Commons)



Figure 13: Governor Frederick Holt Robe
1870 (SLSA B3753)



Figure 14: Governor Henry Fox Young
1850 (SLSA B3754)

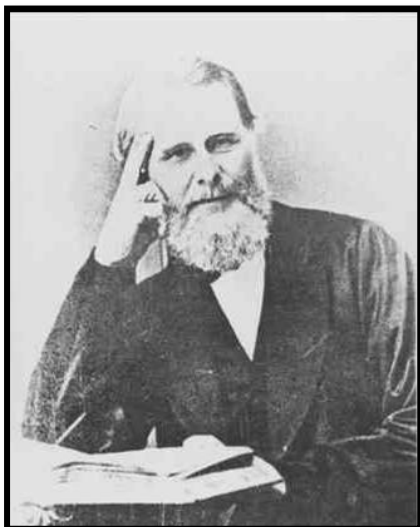


Figure 15: Matthew Moorhouse
1870 (SLSA B10848)



Figure 16: Wilhelmine Schürmann
(Photo: Schürmann Family History CD,
ca. 2002)

PART I

1 THE MISSION'S THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

In this thesis I argue that, in important ways, the Dresden missionaries' aims and methods were at odds with those of colonial authorities, settlers and, to some degree, other colonial Christians. In this chapter I argue that DMS missiology was rooted in the nineteenth century revival of Reformation era Lutheran theology.¹ First I examine the DMS' origins, aims and instructions to its missionaries followed by an analysis of Lutheran theology's implications for Christian mission and its influence on the missionaries' vision.

1.1 The Dresden Mission Society

Founded in 1836, the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden (DMS) was unique at the time for making the Lutheran Confessions foundational for its work.²

Theological Developments in Germany

The DMS grew out of a time of religious ferment in Europe. The rationalism³ of the eighteenth century Enlightenment with its faith in autonomous human reason rather than divine revelation produced spiritually dead churches and indifference towards mission work.⁴ In reaction, the German states in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries experienced a spiritual Awakening (revival) influenced in its early stages by pietism. Pietism, impatient with religious formalities and doctrine, emphasised the individual's inner response and relationship with Christ expressed in personal piety and practical Christian living. It stressed the perfectibility of

¹ Anne Scrimgeour finds the Dresden missionaries' responses to the colonial administration 'contradictory and ambiguous' partly because she does not understand their theological underpinnings or real aims. Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007). 266.

² J Bodensieck, ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, vol. 11 (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1965), 1641. The Lutheran Confessions are a one volume collection of Lutheran teaching called the Book of Concord (1580).

³ Rationalism: the doctrine that revelation and scriptural tradition are to be accepted only so far as they conform with reason.

⁴ Maurice Schild, "Historic Heritage - Lively Hope," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 28, no. 1 (1994); J T Erich Renner, "Australian Lutheran Roots: Orthodoxy and Pietism," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 28, no. 1 (1994); Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*. (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901). 67-69.

Chapter 1: Theological Foundations

human nature and society in advance of Christ's Second Coming. Men such as August Hermann Francke in Halle, influenced by both Lutheranism and Calvinism, hoped to reform the world as well as the church.⁵

Pietism revitalised interest in missions.⁶ The first Protestant missionaries had been trained in Halle and commissioned by the King of Denmark in 1705. The first overseas Moravian missionaries were commissioned in 1732. The Awakening spawned many new mission societies which disregarded doctrinal distinctions and spearheaded mission work and training.⁷ These included Pastor Johann Jänicke's Berlin Mission Institute (1800), the Basel Mission (1815) and the Berlin Missionary Society (1824) which trained large numbers of missionaries who served British and Dutch mission societies.⁸ In England, the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) had been founded in 1701, the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795 and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799. All three employed German Lutheran and Reformed missionaries. The first CMS missionaries were German.⁹ The Dresden Mission Aid Society, formed in 1819, supported the Herrnhut Moravians and mission societies in Basel, Berlin, and Halle. It sent students to the consciously non-denominational, non-confessional Basel Mission seminary whose graduates served the Basel or British mission societies.

Rationalism's rejection of church doctrine and pietism's indifference to it almost obliterated a distinctive Lutheran theological identity.¹⁰ However, a growing appreciation for the Lutheran Confessions among German Lutherans influenced by the Awakening gained momentum from 1830 onwards when the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III ignored doctrinal distinctions and rigorously enforced a union of Lutheran and Reformed congregations in his overwhelmingly Lutheran realm.¹¹ Objectors (called Old-Lutherans) were persecuted, fined and imprisoned.

⁵ Russell Briese, "August Hermann Francke's Work for the Poor," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 30, no. 2 (1996): 54.

⁶ Schild, "Historic Heritage.": Adolph Löhe, "Missions (Lutheran)," in *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 1620.

⁷ Warneck, *Outline*, 82-84.

⁸ German states had no overseas colonies.

⁹ Of the CMS's first 25 missionaries, 17 were German. Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2008). 88,102. Eighty-eight Basel-trained missionaries worked for the CMS. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, vol. Part 16. (<http://books.google.com.au>). 733. Jänicke's one-man seminary supplied 80 missionaries to the LMS and CMS. Schild, "Historic Heritage," 6.

¹⁰ James A Scherer, "The Triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions," *Missio Apostolica* 1, no. 2 (Nov 1993): 71.

¹¹ Schild, "Historic Heritage," 8; Scherer, "Triumph of Confessionalism." Reformed churches owe their beginnings to Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin. Strictly, 'Reformed' refers to continental Calvinistic churches. In England and Scotland, Calvinists are called Presbyterians. In a broader sense, 'Reformed' is used also of Arminians (who teach free will, not predestination) and includes Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and sections of the Church of England. This thesis uses the term in a broad sense. Friedrich Wilhelm III was Reformed.

Pastor August Kavel, who later led a migration of Prussian Lutheran refugees to South Australia, outlined his objections to the union in a letter to George Fife Angas.¹² He said the union declared doctrine unimportant. He outlined differences with the Reformed including the Lutheran teaching on baptismal regeneration and the Real Presence – the oral reception of Christ's body and blood in Holy Communion – as opposed to Reformed theology's symbolic understanding of these sacraments. Kavel also objected to Calvin's doctrine of reprobation which teaches that God has preordained some people for eternal damnation. He objected to the Prussian State's interference in Church affairs and wanted Lutherans given the same liberty of conscience Moravians had been given.

The Dresden Mission Society's Beginnings

Some protesting pastors, forced to leave Prussia, moved to Dresden where they awakened an appreciation for the Lutheran Confessions. Dresden mission supporters protested against the Basel seminary's unwillingness to train Saxon Lutheran students in the Lutheran Confessions, its insistence on joint Reformed-Lutheran communion services and the practice of sending Lutheran candidates to London for Anglican ordination before working with the CMS.¹³ In 1835, two students from the Aid Society's preparatory school in Gruenberg, Silesia, refused to enter the Basel seminary because of its indifference to doctrine. The Dresden Mission Aid Society began to reconsider its Basel connection.

Meanwhile, Schürmann and Teichelmann had completed four years' study at the Berlin Mission Institute ('Jänicke's Seminary') which previously supplied missionaries to work with Dutch and English mission societies while remaining Lutheran.¹⁴ However, in 1836 the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands (SPG) informed the Institute that missionaries serving the SPG must receive Anglican ordination which required assent to an episcopal structure, a vow of obedience to an Anglican bishop and acceptance of the Church of England's Thirty-nine Articles.¹⁵ Offered positions with the SPG in India, Schürmann and Teichelmann declined, unwilling to meet these conditions.¹⁶ Schürmann said this was because the Church of England taught only a spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's

¹² Kavel to Angas, 4 June 1840, PRG174/7/539-544, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

¹³ Ernst Otto, *Hundert Jahre Missionsarbeit*. (Dresden: C Ludwig Ungelenk, 1919). 23-24.

¹⁴ The Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge employed Lutheran missionaries in South India 1728-1861 without Anglican ordination. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission*. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books 1964). 233.

¹⁵ C W Schürmann, "Obituary for Pastor C G Teichelmann," *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote für Australien* (July 1887). Translated by W E Meier; Eighteenth annual report of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden, 17 August 1836 to 10 August 1837. 9.

¹⁶ DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 9.

Supper and an eternal election to either salvation or damnation. Moreover it had a church constitution which was 'non-apostolic' and irksome, requiring a submission to Episcopal supervision.¹⁷ Meyer faced the same dilemma when more than three years into his studies at 'Jänicke's Seminary.' He made the same decision.¹⁸ Schürmann and Teichelmann were told they could not expect other positions, so they appealed to friends in Saxony.

These developments led the Dresden Mission Aid Society to reform itself as the independent Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden in 1836 and establish a mission seminary with seven students and three teachers. Exiled Prussian pastors took leading roles, including Johann Georg Gottfried Wermelskirch, a former missionary to Jews, who became the first head of the Society and seminary.¹⁹ The goal was 'to gather, nurture and maintain congregations on the basis of the divine Word, in keeping with the evangelical Lutheran confession, through the direct sending out of missionaries.'²⁰ After further studies, Schürmann and Teichelmann were among the new seminary's first graduates in February 1838. Meyer and Klose graduated two years later.

The DMS was characterised firstly by its Lutheran orientation and secondly by its goal to provide missionaries with a sound academic education and thorough grounding in the Scriptures and Lutheran Confessions. Thorough theological and linguistic training was considered necessary to safeguard doctrine and prepare missionaries to train Indigenous teachers.²¹ The seminary sought candidates who were spiritually alive and had an aptitude for learning, especially languages.²² A study of the biblical languages, Hebrew and Greek, was considered essential for understanding and translating the Scriptures accurately while providing linguistic skills needed for learning and analysing Indigenous languages. Those with lesser linguistic ability were trained as teachers rather than preachers. Dresden trainees also studied English and Latin, received a comprehensive general education and were encouraged to acquire practical skills, including medical knowledge.²³

¹⁷ Schürmann, autobiographical sketch 1836, translated by F J H Blaess in "Missions - Pioneers in Australia," *The Australian Lutheran*, 9 April 1947.

¹⁸ H A E Meyer to DMS, 20 Sept 1836, Applications from Prospective Students, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives. Translated by Lois Zweck.

¹⁹ Forbidden to erect a mission institute in Prussia in 1835, supporters established one in Saxony.

²⁰ DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 34.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

²² *Ibid.*, 34; Nineteenth annual report of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden, 11 August 1837 to 15 August 1838, 25.

²³ DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 11-17.

The ideal missionary was ‘an educated, theologically and scientifically trained man, a man full of natural gifts of knowledge and wisdom.’²⁴ Concerns about standards led to attempts to provide more capable trainees with some university education. The missionaries sent to South Australia felt handicapped by their lack of a recognised university qualification. Pastor Wilhelm Löhe, a Bavarian supporter, encouraged the DMS to send students for language studies at Erlangen University where Meyer studied Tamil.²⁵ Karl Graul (DMS Director 1844 -1861) closed the seminary in 1847 and in 1848 moved the Society to Leipzig where trainees could study at the university’s Lutheran theological faculty to the same level as German pastors.²⁶ In Leipzig language and culture studies were possible. *Nicht Masse, sondern Klasse* – ‘not numbers but quality’ – became Graul’s motto.²⁷ Graul hoped his missionaries would be a ‘beacon’ amid the confusion of confessions where different mission groups worked in the same fields.²⁸

By contrast, the pietistic Johannes Evangelista Gossner, who founded the Gossner Mission Society in Berlin in 1836, considered confessional boundaries unimportant. He wanted people freed from ‘darkness’ and ‘the walls of doctrine and the church.’ His motto was, ‘The Word in the ear, faith in the heart and action of feet and hands.’²⁹ He gave six months training to lay missionaries, preferably artisans and farmers, to spread the Word by example while supporting themselves like the Apostle Paul.

The establishment of a confessional Lutheran seminary in Dresden was opposed by German territorial churches and mission societies.³⁰ Saxon authorities were upset that the seminary had been established without their permission. Its first principals, Wermelskirch and Benjamin Trautmann, and most of its teachers, were Prussian religious émigrés. Saxon authorities feared antagonising their powerful Prussian neighbour by harbouring such refugees who they also feared would exacerbate divisions appearing in the Saxon church. Dresden church authorities refused to ordain Schürmann and Teichelmann, claiming their training was

²⁴ Wilhelm Löhe’s report on the DMS Mission Festival, 24 August 1838, in Christian Weber, *Missionstheologie bei Wilhelm Löhe*, vol. 17, Die Lutherische Kirche - Geschichte und Gestalten. (Published by Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn on behalf of the Historische Kommission des deutschen Nationalkomitees des lutherischen Weltbundes, 1996). 519-20.

²⁵ Forbidden to establish a society in aid of the DMS in Bavaria, Löhe started the Neuendettelsau Mission Society and seminary in Bavaria.

²⁶ Karl Graul, *Dresdner Missionsblatt* 1847, 173ff.

²⁷ Dr. Christoph Münchow, Leipzig Mission Society’s 175th anniversary celebration, Dresden, 17 August 2011. Graul knew Italian, French, English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Tamil, Persian, Sanskrit and Hindustani. He spent 1849-1853 in India. Under Graul the Leipzig Mission Society became Europe’s most important Lutheran mission society. It later worked in Kenya, Tanzania, South India, Papua New Guinea and Brazil.

²⁸ Karl Graul, *Dresdner Missionsblatt* 1847, 173ff.

²⁹ Klaus Röber, Gossner Mission, Berlin, 12 Aug 2011.

³⁰ Scherer, 72. ‘Confessional Lutheran’ means teaching according to the Lutheran Confessions of the Book of Concord.

inadequate as they had not graduated from a Saxon university. Consequently, Schürmann and Teichelmann were ordained in the independent dukedom of Altenburg and Meyer and Klose in Greiz, capital of the independent principality of Reuss in Thuringia. The highly gifted Wermelskirch toiled to establish the seminary, build support beyond Saxony and find mission fields for its graduates. In 1842 tensions eased with Wermelskirch's expulsion from Saxony on the grounds he was a 'separatist' and not Saxon-born or trained. The seminary came under government regulation.³¹ Trautmann was acting head until Graul became Director.

In 1837, hoping to start its own mission field, the DMS asked the Herrnhut Moravians and the LMS for advice. The LMS suggested an area comparatively close to Germany where mission work had already begun. It advised against initially tackling an isolated, distant field where the people had experienced no contact with Christianity. It suggested India's east coast, close to an English mission, and recommended that at least two missionaries work together.³² Based on this advice, the DMS commissioned its first missionary to India in 1840.

Meanwhile, Pastor Kavel hoped to emigrate from Prussia with persecuted followers. Through the Hamburg Chief of Police and the Hamburg Consul in London Kavel was put in touch with George Fife Angas who agreed to lend him and his followers passage money. Angas had genuine sympathy for them as 'dissenters' from the Prussian regime. He saw them as potentially ideal settlers – pious, hardworking agriculturalists – and he hoped to use Kavel and his people to promote Christian mission work among Aboriginal people.³³ Kavel's people were to arrive in SA in November 1838. Angas commissioned Kavel to find missionaries to focus on educating Aboriginal youth and to establish a Missions Institute in South Australia for training further missionaries.³⁴ Kavel directed Angas to the newly-established DMS which was seeking a mission field. Following negotiations through Kavel, Wermelskirch reported that Angas had agreed to support two missionaries with £100 per annum, initially for five years though the final agreement did not mention five years.³⁵ Wermelskirch also reported that Angas had agreed to the missionaries acting in accordance with DMS instructions.³⁶ The DMS agreed to provide missionaries as none were working in South Australia, it was persuaded that South Australia's religious freedom meant missionaries could found independent Lutheran congregations, and it thought Angas' support showed he was 'concerned to make colonisation serve the extension

³¹ Otto, *Hundert Jahre*, 39ff.

³² *Ibid.*, 47-48.

³³ Kavel to Wermelskirch, 6 June 1837, ALMW1.48/19, London Files, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives. Translated by G Lockwood.

³⁴ Kavel to DMS, 10 Jan 1837, ALMS 1.48/12, London Files.

³⁵ Angas to Wermelskirch, 26 Aug 1837, ALMW 1.48/45, London Files; DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 19-20. See chapter 7.2 for more on this misunderstanding.

³⁶ DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 20.

of the kingdom of God' – he was 'not thinking of bringing the welfare of the poor heathen as a sacrifice to the colonists, as ...is said to be happening in British colonies.'³⁷

The Dresden Mission Society's Instructions

The DMS was guided by the fruitful work of eighteenth century Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar, India. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683-1719), the first Protestant missionary in India, enunciated principles which Christian mission historian Stephen Neill judges were the basis for the best and most successful Protestant missions:

1. Church and school must go together as Christians must be able to read God's word.
2. The Scriptures must be available in the people's language.
3. The preaching of the Word must be based on accurate knowledge of a people gained through studying their religion and culture.
4. The aim must be definite and personal conversion.
5. An Indigenous church and clergy must come into being as soon as possible.³⁸

DMS instructions to its Australian missionaries reflected these principles.³⁹ At their ordination the missionaries vowed to uphold the Lutheran Confessions. In their instructions they were reminded that their Society upheld 'the teaching, sacraments and the whole development of the apostolic church.' Convinced of their calling as 'ambassadors for Christ' and 'servants of the Christian church of the Lutheran Confession among the heathen,' they were to 'testify to the heathen of the Gospel of the grace of God', preaching 'the word of reconciliation' with God. For this they needed to learn Aboriginal languages. They were to baptise people when they were ready and gather them into congregations, instruct the children, translate Luther's Small Catechism and the Scriptures and train Aboriginal church elders. The goal was an Aboriginal Lutheran Christian church. If necessary the DMS would send Christian artisans who could 'contribute to the civil culture of the congregation.' Meanwhile, as they were able, the missionaries were to 'stand by the heathen with advice and deed ... and especially seek to remedy their physical sufferings.'

The instructions were general as the DMS admitted being ignorant about South Australia. It was suggested the missionaries first provide spiritual care for German Christians, forming

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22. 'Heathen' was used to mean 'non-Christian', not to imply moral or other inferiority.

³⁸ Neill, *A History of Christian Mission*, 229-30.

³⁹ "Instructions for the two missionaries of the evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann from Dahme (ducal Saxony) and Clamor W. Schuermann from Schledehausen (via Osnabrueck) 1837," in *Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica Seculi XIX*, ed. George Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840). 676-82.

evangelical Lutheran congregations and working to establish Christian schools. This would allow the missionaries to be fulfilled in their ministry before the formation of Aboriginal congregations. It would prepare them for Aboriginal ministry and enable the heathen to see Christian faith in action in a Christian community. It would also provide some financial independence from Europe. However, they were only to be guest-preachers so that their mission service was unhindered.

The missionaries were asked to send quarterly reports to the Society and practise frugality. They were to collect specimens for the scientific study of naturalists in Germany.⁴⁰ They were to maintain peaceful relations with the British, other Christians and their benefactor, Angas. Motivated by Christ's love and love for their Lord and for the heathen, their lives were to reflect peace, righteousness and love.

The DMS' initial instructions emphasised spiritual work and humanitarian concerns. There was no instruction to 'civilise' Aboriginal people. In 1840, members of the DMS' Committee debated the place of 'civilisation' in mission work.⁴¹ The consensus opposed civilising native peoples as a mission goal. The DMS' vision was further unpacked in its correspondence. The missionaries were told to rely on God's sustenance because the Society had limited funds and could only support spiritual work. Schürmann later wrote to Angas, 'The Society in Dresden is by principle averse to expending any money for temporal purposes.'⁴² The DMS had been led to believe the South Australian colonial administration was enlightened in its approach and had undertaken to provide for Aboriginal people's welfare. It urged its missionaries to identify with Aboriginal people, live as close to their level as possible, and partially support themselves.⁴³ The Society had India in mind as a model. There it was feasible for missionaries to live at the local people's level. Rather than try to raise the people up materially to their level, the South Australian missionaries were to go down to the Aborigines' level.

⁴⁰ In return the Altenburg naturalist society supported the DMS. In an Altenburg museum in 2010 Gerhard Ruediger, James McElvenny and Rob Amery found some 400 bird specimens from Teichelmann, including 170 species previously unknown to German ornithologists. Teichelmann also supplied over a thousand insect specimens, now gone.

⁴¹ Correspondence with Greiz, Leipzig Mission Archives, ALMW 1.33, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives; Correspondence between Schmidt and Naumann, Parish Office in Greiz, Germany.

⁴² Schürmann to Angas, Jan 1841, PRG174/1/1682-1685, Angas Papers.

⁴³ DMS to W Smillie, 18 March 1843, G26, Assorted Correspondence, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder G, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Marcus Krieg; Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843, Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Marcus Krieg and others.

1.2 Lutheran Theology and its Implications for Mission

Confessional Lutheran theology was foundational for the DMS' mission work and its relationship with other Christian denominations. Nineteenth century confessional Lutheranism was a return to sixteenth century Reformation teaching expressed in the Lutheran Confessions brought together in the Book of Concord of 1580 and considered an exposition of the Christian Scriptures.⁴⁴ Lutheran reformers saw themselves standing on the apostolic witness of the early Christian church. As such, Lutheran theology shares much with the teaching of other Christian denominations but its particular emphases have implications for mission work. The theological perspective presented below is that of the Reformation theology the DMS and its missionaries espoused.

Creation

Christians teach that all humanity is created in God's image. All are of 'one blood,'⁴⁵ equally loved by God. God both creates and preserves his creation. This teaching promotes a universal regard for all people with no room for an evolutionary developmental hierarchy with Aboriginal Australians relegated to the bottom, little higher than the so-called 'missing link' between animals and humans.⁴⁶ John Harris highlights this fundamental Christian teaching by calling his history of Aboriginal Australian encounters with Christianity, *One Blood*.⁴⁷ Robert Kenny in *The Lamb enters the Dreaming*, explores the importance of this concept in Christian mission work. He claims the Enlightenment and the theory of evolution and its precursors had a devastating effect on European attitudes towards Aboriginal people, affecting even Christian missionaries as the nineteenth century progressed.⁴⁸

The Dresden missionaries believed Aboriginal Australians were as capable as anyone of instruction and faith in Christ. Christian Teichelmann reported that Aborigines were commonly regarded as 'a race of beings differing little from the higher animals.'⁴⁹ Many, like Dr Hermann Koehler who visited Adelaide in 1837, believed Aboriginal South Australians' physical and

⁴⁴ Old and New Testaments of the Bible.

⁴⁵ Acts 17:26. Or 'from one man.'

⁴⁶ T G H Strehlow, "Aboriginal religion and the role of Christian missions," *Lutheran Student* (1977): 18.

⁴⁷ John W. Harris, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*, 2nd ed. (Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1994).

⁴⁸ Robert Kenny, *The Lamb enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007). 74-5, Chapter 20.

⁴⁹ C G Teichelmann, *Aborigines of South Australia*. (Adelaide: SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxilliary Missionary Society, 1841). 5.

intellectual limitations prevented them from developing fully and they would quickly die out.⁵⁰ Teichelmann however believed they had ‘the same gifts and talents as Europeans.’⁵¹ He wrote, ‘No matter how far down the scale they stand in our external culture, they are still human beings created in the image of God and therefore have the same talents and abilities to understand and to take on board the Gospel of Christ offered to them.’⁵² Schürmann similarly wrote, ‘The Aborigines of New Holland are not the stupid animal-like people similar to the orang-utan as some travellers (who either from prejudice or ignorance were incapable of assessing them), have portrayed them, but...the busy, never-resting spirit [betrays] the image of God also in them.’⁵³

Original Sin and Justification by Grace through Faith⁵⁴

Central to Lutheran theology is the teaching that humankind is justified before God by grace as a gift received through faith.⁵⁵ It teaches that human nature was corrupted by rebelling against God in the fall into sin. Consequently all people live in a broken world, estranged from God and incapable of attaining peace with him through human effort.⁵⁶ Believers are forgiven and reconciled to God and other people entirely through faith in the atoning life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Even faith is a gift of the Holy Spirit: by nature no-one is capable of fearing, loving or trusting God. Those who trust God’s promises in Christ are declared righteous in his sight, children of God and heirs of eternal life.

The Lutheran view of original sin and justification, which permeates Lutheran theology, has implications for mission work. Firstly, the essential mission task is to offer the gospel of forgiveness and reconciliation with God to all people. All, Christian and non-Christian alike, need forgiveness, irrespective of their conduct, culture or level of civilisation. Aboriginal people are neither ‘noble savages’ nor ‘degenerate heathen’ as some have portrayed them. Before God there is no difference between the ‘primitive savage’ and the most refined European or committed Christian. All are equally fallen and dependent on the grace and mercy of God. In

⁵⁰ Peter Mühlhäusler, ed. *Hermann Koeler's Adelaide: Observations on the Language and Culture of South Australia by the First German Visitor* (Unley SA: Australian Humanities Press, 2006), 25, 100.

⁵¹ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 5.

⁵² Teichelmann to DMS, 8 Dec 1838, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Geoff Noller.

⁵³ Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC. This was twenty years before Charles Darwin’s *Origin of the Species*.

⁵⁴ Justification: the act of God whereby man is declared just, or free from the guilt of sin.

⁵⁵ Augsburg Confession Article IV, Robert Kolb and Timothy J Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord, The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (1580)* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 38.

⁵⁶ Augsburg Confession Article II, *Book of Concord*, 36.

Martin Luther's words, before God 'we are all beggars.'⁵⁷ There is salvation only through faith in Jesus Christ. Moreover, Lutheran theology declares with the Apostle Paul that it is God's will that all are saved.⁵⁸ This provides the impetus for mission work. It rejects the Calvinistic teaching of double predestination that holds that some are preordained to salvation and some to damnation.⁵⁹

Secondly, the Lutheran emphasis on justification by grace through faith permits a greater openness to different cultural expressions of the Christian faith and life compared with theologies that place their primary emphasis on holy living, with the temptation to define this in cultural terms. Through the gospel, Lutheran theology teaches, believers are brought into a relationship with God which expresses itself in gratitude to God and love for others, but they can add nothing to their salvation and are free in matters not prescribed in the New Testament.⁶⁰ Lutheran theology makes a clear distinction between the faith of the Christian and the fruit of faith. The missionary task is to bring people to faith. Faith will bear fruit in the Christian's life but this fruit is the work of the Holy Spirit, not the missionary. Althea Christenson summarises Luther's view as, 'The task of mission is not to create a Christian civilisation or a Christian social order but to offer the gospel to all nations.'⁶¹

Those influenced by the nineteenth century Lutheran revival shared this view. James Scherer says they believed they 'possessed a special missionary charisma which... gave them an ability to recognise and respect unique and God-given values in non-western cultures and nationalities, a willingness to preserve and utilize existing cultural foundations.'⁶² Karl Graul's mission goal was a *Volkskirche* (people's church) consciously embracing a particular people's cultural distinctiveness.⁶³ Graul's approach is illustrated in the 1854-61 dispute among Leipzig missionaries in India about the attitude Christians should take towards the Hindu caste system.⁶⁴ Graul believed allowances should be made because of the caste system's economic and social importance. In 1861, Leipzig Mission Society Director J Hardland distinguished between the caste system's religious and civil elements, and quoted the Society's 1857

⁵⁷ Martin Luther's last thought written shortly before his death. Theodore G Tappert, ed. *Luther's Works*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), vol 54,476.

⁵⁸ 1 Timothy 2.

⁵⁹ Angas was a Calvinist.

⁶⁰ Formula of Concord Article X, *Book of Concord*.

⁶¹ Althea M Christenson in Bodensieck, *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, 1596.

⁶² Scherer, 78.

⁶³ Volker Stolle, *Wer seine Hand an den Pflug legt: Die missionarische Wirksamkeit der selbständigen evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchen in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bleckmarer Missionsschriften, 1992). 38.

⁶⁴ In 1854 missionary Karl Ochs wanted a common meal before the ordination of two catechists. One refused – for him family ties were more important than ordination. Volker Martin Dally, "Culture and Conversion: The Indian Caste Dispute in the C19th and Its Consequence for Today." (Paper presented at the Friends of Lutheran Archives seminar, Bethlehem House, Adelaide, 22 July 2013).

resolution, 'Whatever is done in life and is incompatible in Christ must fall; what does not oppose the renewing power of the Gospel must endure.'⁶⁵ Recognising that there would be no unanimity in applying this principle, he warned against 'imposing one's own view as a rule on others in such matters.' The Leipzig mission among the Chagga people of Tanzania has been held up as an example of a *Volkskirche* embodied in an Indigenous culture.

Centrality of the Word of God and Conversion

Lutheran theology teaches that justification is the key to understanding the Scriptures, regarded as God's word, a witness to Christ and the sole authority for faith and life.⁶⁶ Conversion and regeneration are the work of the Holy Spirit creating faith through God's word.⁶⁷ Conversion cannot be forced – it is not a matter of external behaviour or culture but a matter of the heart which trusts God's promises testified to in his word. For Lutheran missionaries this means it is essential to use the local language, translate the Scriptures and teach people to read them in their mother tongue, the language of the heart. For this it is essential to understand the culture. The Dresden men applied themselves to studying the local language and culture from the day they arrived, and were committed to vernacular education.

The Sacraments

The doctrine of justification is also expressed in the Lutheran teaching on the sacraments of Holy Communion and Baptism which, together with the proclamation of God's word, are central to Lutheran worship. The Holy Spirit works through the word and sacraments, bringing grace and forgiveness, creating and nourishing faith in the believer. Missiologist Klaus Detlev Schulz says the sacraments are especially important in a heathen context as a barrier against the perpetual onslaught of non-believers.⁶⁸ He quotes Walter Freytag as saying 'A church without the Sacraments will die.'⁶⁹ For the Dresden men, it was impossible to work happily in a church which regarded the sacraments as symbols without real power. While pietism focused on the individual's conversion and faith, the growing appreciation for the Lutheran Confessions brought renewed focus on the church as a community of believers nourished by God's word

⁶⁵ J Hardland, Director of the Leipzig Mission Society to Pastor H A E Meyer, 21 February 1861, G32, Assorted Correspondence.

⁶⁶ Formula of Concord, *Book of Concord*, 486,527.

⁶⁷ Smalcald Articles III, 8, *Book of Concord*, 323.

⁶⁸ Klaus Detlev Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: the Lutheran Theology of Mission*. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009). 206.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

and sacraments.⁷⁰ This was reflected in the DMS' instructions to its missionaries to establish Christian congregations. The dispossession, decimation and dispersal of Aboriginal people hindered this goal.

Lutheran sacramental theology became an issue when the Anglican Church insisted that Lutheran missionaries working on Anglican mission fields accept the Thirty-nine Articles which deny the Real Presence, a step the Dresden missionaries' convictions prevented them taking.⁷¹ The Lutheran teaching of baptismal regeneration and the Real Presence also separated them from common Dissenting viewpoints and made Angas and other Dissenters wary of supporting Lutheran missionaries.

Adiaphora and the Essence of the Church

Lutherans believe the gospel rightly taught and the sacraments rightly administered are essential for the church's unity. At the same time they reject an insistence on other criteria as essential, such as prescribed forms of church governance, regarding these as adiaphora (matters not regarded as essential to faith).⁷² Anglicans insist on 'apostolic succession' (ordination traced in a direct line from the apostles), and for this reason do not recognize most Lutheran ordinations. This became an issue in the 1830s when the Anglican hierarchy insisted on Anglican ordination for Lutheran missionaries working on Anglican mission fields.

Law and Gospel, Saint and Sinner

Because of its focus on justification, Lutheran theology distinguishes between law and gospel.⁷³ It teaches that God's law reveals humanity's unworthiness, gives moral and ethical guidance and curbs wickedness in the world but it does not have the power to save because of humanity's inability to keep it. The gospel is the good news of forgiveness through Christ. Redeemed by Christ, the repentant believer is declared righteous in the sight of God, a saint. Nevertheless, while he remains on earth, he will remain a sinner, falling short, needing and receiving daily forgiveness. This leaves no room for arrogance, a sense of superiority or self-righteousness in the converted or the missionary.

⁷⁰ Schild, "Historic Heritage," 8.

⁷¹ Backed by British colonial authority, Anglicanism in India threatened Lutheranism confessionally and politically. Beginning with the Anglicanisation of Tranquebar mission congregations in the 1820s, Anglicanism was a confessional irritant to Lutheranism for over a century. Scherer, "Triumph of Confessionalism."

⁷² Augsburg Confession Article VII, *Book of Concord*.

⁷³ Lutheran theology frequently distinguishes, e.g. between law and gospel, the Two Kingdoms, justification and sanctification, faith and its fruit, but these are never separated. For example, the Christian is saved by faith alone but faith is never alone – it will always have fruit in the life of the Christian.

This also means all cultures are imperfect, reflecting man's fallen state, and stand judged in the light of God's word. At times the Dresden missionaries criticised Aboriginal morality and certain cultural practices, but, like the Evangelical missionaries who Sarah Dingle, in *Gospel Power for Civilization*, says criticised aspects of New Zealand Maori culture, they were criticising a culture without Christ rather than comparing Aboriginal people unfavourably with Europeans. All four missionaries also sharply criticised settler morality and acknowledged their own failings and need for forgiveness.

The Two Kingdoms⁷⁴

The dichotomy of law and gospel is seen in the Lutheran teaching of the Two Kingdoms which distinguishes between the secular realm and the church, God's earthly kingdom and his spiritual kingdom.⁷⁵ This teaches that God cares for his creation, making human culture and society possible, through his 'kingdom of the left hand': the secular realm of civil authorities and institutions, marriage and family, and individuals in their vocations. Through the proclamation of the gospel of grace, God brings people into his spiritual kingdom ('the kingdom of the right hand'). Justice, peace and good order are the responsibility of secular authorities, the proclamation of the gospel is the responsibility of the church. Christians belong to both kingdoms and serve God in both. Spiritually nourished in the church, Christians express their gratitude to God through their service of others in the 'left-hand kingdom.'

In line with this teaching, the Dresden missionaries and their Society saw their essential task as proclaiming the gospel. They saw Aboriginal welfare as the responsibility of the whole community and its civil authorities. According to Luther, the prince should have a loaf of bread on his coat of arms as a symbol of his responsibilities to his people.⁷⁶ As citizens of both kingdoms, the missionaries could co-operate with the government as long as they were free to follow their convictions in their spiritual work and their real calling was not compromised. However, their relationship with the government was strained as the government tried to recruit them to its own agenda and they saw the government neglect its responsibilities. They tried to call it to account and step into the breach to provide for the material well-being of Aboriginal people.

According to this doctrine culture including the 'orders of creation' – marriage, family, and political and societal structures – belongs to the 'left hand kingdom.' This has implications for

⁷⁴ Some authorities prefer 'Two Realms' as better reflecting that both realms are under God's rulership and avoiding confusion with the distinction between the 'kingdom of God' and 'kingdom of Satan.' I have stayed with the more commonly used 'Two Kingdoms' terminology.

⁷⁵ Augsburg Confession XXXVIII, *Book of Concord*.

⁷⁶ Martin Luther, 'The Large Catechism,' *Book of Concord*, 450.

the missionary's attitude towards Aboriginal culture. It provides a theological basis for refraining from altering family/kinship and authority structures that do not conform to European practice.

Christianity, Culture and the Two Kingdoms

The doctrine of the Two Kingdoms is a distinctive of Lutheran theology. Rejected even in some Lutheran circles, it presents difficulties in practice and is not understood by historians who see Christianity and Western civilisation as inseparable. However, given Christianity's Middle Eastern origins and global reach, its relationship to culture is more complex than a simple equation of European culture and Christianity. Anthropologist Kenelm Burridge calls Christianity a faith or metaculture which manifests itself in culture in a variety of ways. Seated in a wide range of cultures, it undergoes a continuing process of enculturation. At the same time it is both transcultural and 'antithetical' to culture, rejecting some moral aspects of every culture.⁷⁷

Missionaries define their core task and its relationship to culture in various ways. Some see it as rectifying the world's problems, a task laden with cultural implications. Some, while emphasising spiritual regeneration, see society's regeneration as a necessary manifestation of the coming of the 'kingdom of God.' For others, God's kingdom is a spiritual reality finding its ultimate fulfilment in a new heaven and earth at the end of time. For them, humanitarian work is a response to human need, not an attempt to build an earthly 'kingdom.' They distinguish between the Christian faith's vertical (relationship with God) and horizontal (relationship with human society) dimensions. This is articulated in various ways. Bill Edwards explores the ambiguous relationship between Moravian missionaries' religious and secular work. Following Burridge, he uses the term 'devotional' for their relationship with God, and 'affirmative' for their engagement with culture and the social order.⁷⁸ He says they sought to bring a 'devotional' message, to evangelise, but became immersed in 'affirmative' tasks, worldly affairs. Lutherans articulate this distinction in terms of 'Two Kingdoms.'

Theologian Richard Niebuhr describes five Christian approaches to the relationship between gospel and culture:⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Kenelm Burridge, "Aborigines and Christianity: an overview," in *Australian Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: ethnographic and historical studies*, ed. Tony and Rose Swain, Deborah Bird (eds) (Bedford Park, SA: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1988).19-20.

⁷⁸ William H Edwards, "Moravian Aboriginal Missions in Australia." (PhD thesis, Flinders University, 2007). 7.

⁷⁹ Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*. (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1951).

- 1) *Christ against culture* (antithesis): Christians are called to separate from 'the world' as all human cultures are 'fallen.' Amish communities exemplify this view.
- 2) *Christ of culture* (accommodation): Christianity, culture and civilisation are closely related. Jesus' teachings and life are the greatest *human* achievement. Christ, the great 'enlightener', directs humankind towards wisdom, moral perfection and the kingdom of God: a peaceful, co-operative society. Rationalistic Christians fit this paradigm.
- 3) *Christ above culture* (synthesis): Christ is the Reason of God, the fulfilment of cultural aspirations and restorer of the institutions of true society. Proponents of this view seek to combine an appreciation of Western culture with their Christian faith. High Anglicans in colonial South Australia followed this approach.
- 4) *Christ the transformer of culture* (conversion): The perversion of fallen human nature is reflected in and transmitted by culture. Christ transforms man within his culture and society, not apart from them. John Calvin and John Wesley, important influences on British Protestantism, were proponents of this view as are their followers.
- 5) *Christ and culture in paradox* (polarity): This paradigm distinguishes between God's spiritual and secular realms. The Apostle Paul and Martin Luther are exponents of this view. All humanity and human culture are corrupted. Christians live in an imperfect society, whatever the culture. Culture will be perfected only with the end of the world. Sustained by God's righteousness, grace and mercy Christians faithfully fulfil the culture's requirements with the proviso that what is asked is not against God's moral law or irreconcilable with faith in God and love of neighbour.⁸⁰ Only the religious institutions and customs of non-Christian society are to be completely rejected. Christ and culture are held in tension as the secular realm may make demands incompatible with the Christian's personal life of faith.⁸¹

Lutheran scholar Gene Veith believes attempts to separate from society, reform it or conform to it, reduce Christianity to a code of conduct. Such attempts fail to recognise that Christianity is primarily about God's grace, atonement and forgiveness for people who, because of the human bondage to sin, always fall short of fulfilling God's law. Describing the Lutheran view of Christians as simultaneously citizens of 'two kingdoms', which Niebuhr describes as 'Christ

⁸⁰ God's 'righteousness' here refers to the righteousness conferred on those who trust in Christ's redemption.

⁸¹ Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 170ff. This is a 'classic' Lutheran position. Not all Lutherans espouse this view. The Lutheran World Federation says it promotes both proclamation and development which has implications for cultural change. The Hermannsburg Mission Society in the nineteenth century, influenced by Pietism and the example of Catholic monastic communities, saw one of its aims as building ideal Christian communities.

and culture in paradox', Veith quotes John 17:14-18 which says Christians are not 'of the world' but are sent out into it. He too describes the Two Kingdoms teaching as freeing Christians for effective action in the secular realm as active members of their cultures.⁸²

The doctrine of the Two Kingdoms permits openness to a host culture and contextualization of the Christian message. It underpinned the DMS' approach. The DMS tried to distinguish between the essentials of the Christian faith and Western cultural baggage. The Dresden missionaries wanted to share the message of justification by grace through faith, not to promote a particular culture or level of civilisation. They took seriously the Lutheran understanding that a perfect 'Christian' society is impossible in a 'fallen' world, that Christianity is for all people and cultures and the Christian is free in matters on which Scripture is silent. They were open to alternative expressions of the Christian life and saw no reason to oppose aspects of Aboriginal culture not inconsistent with the Scriptures.⁸³ They recognised that religious change would transform culture in significant ways but hoped for gradual change in which Aboriginal Christians, under the Holy Spirit, would decide what needed to change and what they wished to retain, gradually working out the implications of the faith for their own culture in response to God's word. The Dresden/Leipzig Society believed care was needed to avoid unnecessarily and precipitously rending the fabric of a society.

This was in line with what renowned missiologist Gustav Warneck later wrote in 1897:

Just as St Paul in his day did not make Jews out of Greeks or Greeks out of Jews but rather 'new men in Christ' who placed their natural ethnic character, sanctified by Christianity, at the service of the kingdom of God, so the mission of today should not make Englishmen or Germans out of Negroes, Japanese, Polynesians etc, but Christians, who retained their ethnic nature and put it in the service of Christ... [T]he missionary today must empathise lovingly and wisely with the unique characteristics of ... different peoples.⁸⁴

Was it realistic for the Dresden missionaries to distinguish between evangelistic and civilising aims? Was it possible for Aboriginal Christians to retain an Aboriginal cultural identity?

While many Western writers have difficulty distinguishing Christianity from the garments of Western civilisation, many Aboriginal people do not. In 'Guugu Yimidhurr History: Hope Vale Lutheran Mission (1900-1950)', Noel Pearson quotes a Hope Vale (Queensland) Lutheran

⁸² Gene Edward Veith, Jr, *The Spirituality of the Cross: the way of the First Evangelicals*. (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999). 71-101.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 99-106.

⁸⁴ D G Warneck, *Evangelische Missionslehre: Ein Missionstheoretischer Versuch* vol. 3 (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1897).33. Quoted in Chris Nobbs, "The Bush Missionary's Defence: a key document in the history of Australian mission ethnography," (Strehlow Research Centre). 35.

Mission resident as saying, 'Chief thing we came to the mission for was to hear the Word of God.'⁸⁵ Pearson distinguishes between Christianity and Western culture saying the greatest threat the missionaries represented came not from their message but from 'the prejudices and ideas of the culture from which they proceeded.'⁸⁶ Robert Kenny says Aboriginal converts accepted Christianity as something distinct from European society, subtracting the message from its messengers.⁸⁷ As Christians, they were still Aboriginal, identifying with their communities. He writes: 'To the non-believing cultural-relativist Jesus may be a Western cultural artefact. But to the non-Western believer, Jesus is above and beyond culture.'⁸⁸ Kenny sees a need to separate Christianity from 'modernity' and to recognise that conversion to Christianity is not necessarily a capitulation to Europeanness but has a genuine appeal to many Indigenous people.⁸⁹

Paul Albrecht draws attention to Wilbert Moore's sociological hypothesis that aesthetic forms and super-empirical beliefs are two components of social systems which have greater autonomy than most common structural features of societies.⁹⁰ Moore suggests religious change can occur without changing social structures:

Such relative autonomy would have two implications for the analysis of social change: relatively high and long insulation from the effects of other systemic changes, but, correlatively, fairly 'easy' autonomous changes, including those of external origins, owing to the meagre links to the balance of the system... If these hypotheses are correct, it would follow that aesthetic forms and super-empirical beliefs would be only slightly affected by other social transformations, but by the same token might well exhibit changes that have little to do with their immediate social environment and in fact possibly are a result of external influence. The loose connection with other role structures and ordinary patterns of behaviour means that relatively autonomous change might occur without a kind of 'systemic resistance' deriving from interlocking patterns.⁹¹

Albrecht believes this may explain why Aboriginal people can accept Christianity and still retain other Aboriginal social values.

⁸⁵ Noel Pearson, "Guugu Yimidjirr History: Hope Vale Lutheran Mission (1900-1950)," in *Maps, Dreams, History*, ed. J Kociumbas, *Sydney Studies in History*. (Sydney: Department of History, University of Sydney, 1998), 222.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸⁷ Kenny, 231, 341.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 236, 336.

⁹⁰ Paul G E Albrecht, *Relhiperra: About Aborigines*. (Quadrant Online, 2012). 103.

⁹¹ Wilbert Moore, *Social Change*. (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India (Private) Ltd, 1965). 75.

In Australia dispossession has forced radical change on Aboriginal society. Concern for Aboriginal welfare and survival has compelled missionaries to become involved in 'civilising projects' for humanitarian reasons. However, the introduction of Christianity has not necessarily meant Aboriginal culture's eradication but rather its adaptation. It is instructive to look at mission communities where attempts, however flawed, have been made to contextualize the gospel. Peter Pfitzner says after over 125 years of Finke River Mission work in Central Australia much Western Arrernte (or 'Arrarnta') culture remains intact among Christians, at least in modified form: Western Arrernte is usually their first language; they know and relate to their traditional country; initiation ceremonies continue; many know and observe kinship protocols; and communalism prevails over individualism.⁹² Central Australian stories and art have survived and developed. When the Hermannsburg (Ntaria) mission lease was relinquished in 1982, land was returned, not to a land council but to five traditional landowning groups who still knew the stories and songs which established ownership. All Central Australian Aboriginal Lutheran pastors (twenty-seven, with fourteen in training in 2013) are initiated men, leaders by traditional reckoning, ministering to their extended family groups in their native tongues.⁹³

Pfitzner argues Arrernte culture survived because the Lutheran Two Kingdoms doctrine and emphasis on faith, not works, as a medium of salvation, provide 'space for variant cultural practices.'⁹⁴ Moreover, the missionaries were of German origin with less cause, he suggests, than English missionaries to identify with the colonisers' 'educate and civilise' approach to Indigenous people. Beginning with Martin Luther, Lutherans have committed to working in the vernacular. The parallels with the Dresden missionaries are obvious.

Albrecht also emphasises the importance of the Two Kingdoms doctrine which recognises a society's culture as God's gift to protect the basic structures of marriage, family, property and government as essential to human society.⁹⁵ Distinguishing God's 'work of the left' from his 'work of the right' makes a positive attitude to culture possible while proclaiming the gospel of Christ without having to alter it to fit the culture: each has its 'rightful place in God's economy of governance and salvation.'⁹⁶ Albrecht says God's one demand of his people is that they 'fear, love and trust in God above all things.'⁹⁷ Over time, this will bring cultural change without creating discontinuities with the potential to create social chaos and anarchy. Albrecht says

⁹² Peter Pfitzner, "Agents of Colonialism? An inquiry into the role of Lutheran missions to Aborigines in Australia." (Paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Durban, July 2006). Finke River Mission began in 1877.

⁹³ Ibid., 2. The Finke River Mission today works in five main languages.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Albrecht, *Relhiperra*. 117-22.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁹⁷ Luther's explanation to the first commandment.

Christianity has impacted Aboriginal culture and moral aspects of a culture will change under the gospel's influence. He draws on his experience with Finke River Mission which, through Aboriginal pastors, evangelists and support workers ministers to some 10,000 Central Australia Aborigines identifying as Lutheran. He claims the people themselves have decided which customs to keep and which to discontinue as incompatible with the gospel. He sees no appreciable difference in the cultural knowledge of Central Australian Aborigines brought up on the mission station, and those brought up otherwise in contact with European Australians.⁹⁸ The amount of contact with Europeans in general, rather than Christian missionaries, has determined how much cultural knowledge has been lost.⁹⁹

Albrecht recognises that Lutheran missionaries have sometimes failed in the practical application of the distinction between law and gospel, e.g. undermining the authority of elders, affecting their ability to deal with social problems accompanying rapid change. He says early Lutheran missionaries in Central Australia, beginning in 1877, were affected by the close identification of Christianity and civilisation typical of the era and took a negative attitude to overtly religious aspects of Aboriginal life.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, while the church made significant progress, the culture remained relatively intact. The missionaries' translation of the Scriptures meant people could, under the Holy Spirit, evaluate what was essential to the Christian faith and what was the missionaries' interpretation.

He says Western Arrernte culture, including the class system, kinship, marriage customs and initiation, has changed little. The people gave up animistic increase rituals as incompatible with their Christian faith but retained stories, objects and initiation ceremonies having the additional, non-religious functions of determining land boundaries, socialising the young and maintaining social control.¹⁰¹ The missionaries, by learning the language, communicated acceptance of an important part of the people's culture; the gospel they preached affirmed their value as people; and the missionaries' love for them was evidenced in practical help for the sick, hungry, fearful and dispossessed. Against this backdrop, he says, 'the missionaries' negative attitude to the overtly religious aspects of their culture did not appear to have posed too many problems for the people, especially as they had plenty of space. The people could leave the main station to carry on traditions they thought important but the missionaries

⁹⁸ Albrecht, *Relhiperra*. 103.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁰⁰ The earliest missionaries came from the Hermannsburg Mission Society. Later missionaries also came from the Neuendettelsau Mission Society and Australian Lutheran churches.

¹⁰¹ Albrecht, *Relhiperra*. 102.

opposed. They kept all the customs and practices that they wanted to keep, and gave up only those they wanted to give up.¹⁰²

Bill Edwards says Presbyterian missionaries at Ernabella, established in 1937 on Charles Duguid's principles, did not impose a European lifestyle, or deliberately interfere with tribal custom which Christians continued to practice.¹⁰³ It was left to Aboriginal people to decide what changes they wanted to make. Mission work and education were in the local Pitjantjatjara language.¹⁰⁴

Detlev Schulz warns of a limit to contextualization. The gospel of forgiveness is universal, but is always culturally embodied, delivered in a particular language and lifestyle while serving in a countercultural capacity.¹⁰⁵ Not everything in culture (including Western culture) can be condoned in the light of God's word.¹⁰⁶ Lesslie Newbigin likewise says Christians 'are called to neither a simple affirmation of human culture nor to a simple rejection of it.'¹⁰⁷

Some Lutheran missionaries have been accused of being too accommodating in cultural matters. The Leipzig Mission's policy towards the Indian caste system provides an example. In 1835 Daniel Wilson, Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, demanded the immediate abandonment of the caste system. An ecumenical missionary conference in 1850 resolved that no one should be baptised without shedding his caste identity and breaking caste rules by eating food prepared by a lower caste person. All Protestant missionary societies except the Leipzig Mission agreed.¹⁰⁸ In Leipzig mission congregations, there was to be no separation on caste lines at Holy Communion, but Director Graul believed the caste system was integral to India's social and economic fabric so should not be suddenly torn away. While Anglicans imposed a European view of life, Graul believed this was not necessary to Christianity and did not want caste to be a stumbling block to conversion. Change should come through teaching Christian ethics not by abolishing the system which he believed it would gradually wither away under the influence of the gospel.¹⁰⁹ By contrast some Church of Scotland and Anglican missionaries targeted high caste Indian boys with English higher education and culture while insisting on their breaking caste rules with the result that converts were rejected by their families, often

¹⁰² Ibid., 121.

¹⁰³ Bill Edwards, "Tjukurpa Palya - the Good Word: Pitjantjatjara Responses to Christianity," in *Indigenous People and Religious Change*, ed. Peggy Brock (Leiden: Brill, 2005). 134-40.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross*, 77.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 76.

¹⁰⁷ Lesslie Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1989). 192.

¹⁰⁸ Neill, *A History of Christian Mission*, 278.

¹⁰⁹ Dally, "Culture and Conversion."

growing up in missionaries' homes.¹¹⁰ The (Lutheran) Hermannsburg Mission Society also took a strict line on the caste system, polygamy and slavery.¹¹¹ Some Leipzig missionaries opposed their Society's stance and left in protest. In the 1860s, with the Leipzig Mission's ordination of Dalit clergy the policy was reviewed. It was decided the church would not attempt to overthrow the caste system but Christians, irrespective of caste, should treat each other as equals inside and outside the church.¹¹² The Dresden missionaries in South Australia were to face similar difficulties as Christianity and Indigenous culture intersected. They too were criticised for not Europeanising the local people or changing the culture sufficiently or quickly enough.

While segments of the Christian church view culture in various ways, there is evidence that Christianity does not necessarily mean the destruction of the host culture. In many parts of the world, the universal Christian message has embedded itself in the lives of people from many cultures, transforming individuals and communities without destroying their cultural identity. The doctrine of the Two Kingdoms encourages a process of personal transformation and cultural adaptation rather than wholesale cultural destruction.

1.3 Conclusion

Anne Scrimgeour claims the Dresden missionaries were segregationists, promoting an idealised and rarefied Christian civilisation.¹¹³ Jenkin, Walsh and others have portrayed them as assimilationists, convinced of European civilisation's superiority, and opposed to tribal structures and culture which they hoped to replace with European beliefs and cultural norms as part of a civilising process.¹¹⁴ In making these claims they have seen them through the expectations of British colonial authorities and British colonial churches and mission societies.

The DMS was established in reaction to the doctrinal indifference of both rationalism and pietism. Committed to the Lutheran Confessions, it understood its mission as spiritual: to bring people to faith in Christ and establish an Aboriginal Lutheran church. Its instructions conformed to the Lutheran theological principles to which their missionaries bound themselves. Their approach was not unique or without precedent, nor were they totally immune from other influences – Angas' wishes, pietism, colonial pressures and their own

¹¹⁰ Neill, 274-76.

¹¹¹ Regina Ganter, "Hermannsburg Mission Society (1849)," Griffith University, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/missionary-training/hermannsburg-mission-society-1849>.

¹¹² Dally, "Culture and Conversion."

¹¹³ Anne Scrimgeour, "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s," *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 41ff.

¹¹⁴ See Literature Review.

cultural preferences – but Lutheran theology was critical for the Dresden missionaries' understanding of mission, their attitude towards Indigenous culture and their relations with other Christians. Viewing the Christian as a forgiven sinner, and making a clear distinction between Christian faith and the fruit of faith, Lutheran missionaries have generally been less concerned with civilising aims and have had a more open attitude to culture. Their understanding of the Two Kingdoms has made them more reluctant to overthrow the basic structures of Indigenous society.

The Dresden missionaries' aim was to first learn the language and culture of Aboriginal people so they could share the Christian message with them.¹¹⁵ They would preach and teach, translate the catechism and Bible, and start vernacular schools.¹¹⁶ They envisaged Indigenous communities, on their own land, literate and reading the Scriptures in their own language, with some coming to faith and forming Aboriginal Lutheran congregations. Only gradually would communities adapt as needed to the invaders' culture.¹¹⁷ This would be possible if the people had their own territory where they could live together and be self-supporting, but not if they were scattered among settlers and absorbed into colonial society as envisaged by Governors Gawler (1838-1841) and Grey (1841-1845).

The missionaries expected the gospel to transform aspects of Indigenous culture incompatible with Christianity, but their primary concern was not for externals or the material aspects of culture. Their goal was spiritual transformation through faith in Jesus Christ. They expected conversion to bear fruit in the lives of the people, reflecting their new life in Christ, but 'civilising' the population and destroying their culture was not their objective. As will be seen, in their attempt to help Aboriginal people find an accommodation with the invaders that would give them a future, the missionaries understandably introduced aspects of the European culture they came from and became involved in the lives of Aboriginal people in ways they saw as secondary to their primary task as missionaries. The New Testament injunction for faith to be active in love left them no option.¹¹⁸ They were not motivated by a sense of cultural superiority or the idea that to be a Christian one must adopt a particular, 'civilised,' Western lifestyle. They were willing to accommodate aspects of Aboriginal culture in a way many of their fellow Christians and colonists were not.

¹¹⁵ Teichelmann to Angas, April 1842, Angas Papers; 1 Sept 1838. Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Geoff Noller.

¹¹⁶ "Instructions for the two missionaries," 676-82.

¹¹⁷ Teichelmann to Angas, April 1842.

¹¹⁸ Galatians 5:6.

Chapter 1: Theological Foundations

Colonial authorities and founders, including George Fife Angas, had a different understanding of the relationship between Christianity and Western culture and the role of missionaries. This will be the subject of the next chapter.

Dresden and Leipzig Mission Headquarters



Figure 17: Nineteenth century Leipzig and Dresden.

Top left: Leipzig skyline; top right: Dresden skyline; bottom left: Leipzig Mission House; bottom right: *Waisenhauskirche* (Orphanage Church) in Dresden, used by the DMS seminary and destroyed in World War II. (Picture: Leipzig Mission headquarters)



Figure 18: A section of Dresden /Leipzig missionaries' photo gallery. Located in the basement of the Leipzig Mission headquarters. (Photo C. Lockwood)

Ellerbeek and Schledehausen



Figure 19: The Schürmann farm at Ellerbeck in the nineteenth century.
(Photo courtesy of Jan Schürmann)



Figure 20: St Laurentius Lutheran Church
Schledehausen, Schürmann's home church.
(Courtesy of Gerhard Ruediger)



Figure 21: Schürmann's baptismal font
(Photo: C. Lockwood)

2 GEORGE FIFE ANGAS AND THE CIVILISING MISSION

In Chapter 1 I argued that the Dresden Mission Society's theological principles determined its goals and the methods it recommended to its missionaries. These focused on sharing the Christian faith and establishing an Aboriginal Lutheran church. In this chapter I will argue that most British authorities, colonial planners and settlers, including George Fife Angas, saw Christian missionaries as bearers of European culture whose goal was not only to spread the Christian faith but also to civilise people whose culture they considered inferior. Thus they assumed the Dresden missionaries would further their economic goals and vision for the colony of South Australia. I will argue that the Dresden missionaries' perspective was out of step with these expectations, creating significant difficulties as the missionaries found themselves caught between competing agendas.

The colonial authorities' 'civilising mission' grew out of a theological perspective that served British imperial ambitions. It is instructive to look again at Gene Veith's analysis of ways in which the perennial conflict between church and state, the sacred and the secular, Christianity and culture is resolved. One is for Christians to withdraw from the world, forming sub-cultures. A second way is to make religion and culture identical: embracing a religion means also embracing a culture. Some attempt this by changing Christianity to conform to the secular culture, others by changing society to conform to God's moral law. Veith contrasts these approaches with the Lutheran view of Christians as simultaneously citizens of 'two kingdoms' as outlined in the previous chapter.¹

Veith's analysis suggests the advocates of Britain's 'civilising mission' fall into the category of those who expect an identification of culture and religion. Nominal and rationalistic Christians looked for Christianity to conform to 'enlightened' British culture. Evangelical Christians believed Christianity should both bring people to faith in Christ and transform society, European and Aboriginal, to its moral standards. Either way, Christianity and civilisation were seen as inseparable.

¹ Gene Edward Veith, Jr, *The Spirituality of the Cross: the way of the First Evangelicals*. (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999). 91-107.

2.1 The 'Civilising' Mission²

In early nineteenth century Europe it was widely assumed that the goal of Christian mission was to 'civilise' barbarians.³ Detlev Schulz sees this assumption rooted in an Enlightenment belief in 'progress' and European cultural superiority.⁴ Influenced by rationalism, a large segment of the Christian Church had accommodated to secular Western culture, espousing a 'Culture-Protestantism' more concerned to foster 'enlightened' European culture than faith.⁵ It saw God's providence manifested in European 'progress' and 'salvation' coming through 'civilisation.' British proponents were convinced of British civilisation's power to change the world and bring blessings to Aboriginal people.

The 'civilising mission' drew on both biblical and Enlightenment concepts. Biblical themes included the 'brotherhood of man', 'one blood' (human descent from a common ancestor), compassion, justice and moral responsibility. From the Enlightenment came notions of personal autonomy, individual rights, human progress and Western culture's superiority. The Scottish Enlightenment's four stages of human progress placed Australian Aborigines at the bottom and Western civilisation at the pinnacle.⁶ These views influenced not only 'Culture-Protestants.' Many of those influenced by pietism, which emphasised the regeneration of both the individual and society, supported the spread of European civilisation. John Harris claims no Australian missionaries of this early period divorced the gospel from European civilisation.⁷

Opinion differed about the relationship and relative importance of civilisation and Christianity. The CMS in 1810 advised NSW chaplain Rev Samuel Marsden to 'contribute to the civilisation of the heathen and thus prepare them for the reception of moral and religious instruction.'⁸ By 1831 it was recommending that evangelism and civilisation be pursued simultaneously.⁹ For most of his life, Marsden believed commerce and industry promoted civilisation and civilisation opened the way for Christianity. Aboriginal people needed 'civilising' before they could

² For an in-depth study of the 'civilising mission' see Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007).

³ K. Detlev Schulz, "Mission in an Age of Secularism and Pluralism." (Paper presented at the 'Come Holy Spirit' Conference, Horsham Vic, 10-12 July 2009).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ 'Culture Protestantism': a term used and possibly coined by Swiss theologian Karl Barth.

⁶ Anne Scrimgeour, "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s," *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 38-41.

⁷ John W. Harris, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*, 2nd ed. (Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1994). 77-82. Harris says 'Lutheran' missionaries William Schmidt and Christopher Eipper believed 'civilising' was the important outcome of the gospel. But Schmidt was trained at Gossner's Berlin mission seminary and Eipper at the Basel Mission seminary. Both seminaries were Reformed rather than Lutheran. Both men joined the Presbyterian Synod of NSW.

⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, 79.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

comprehend Christianity.¹⁰ Governor Grey agreed. Others, like LMS missionary Lancelot Threlkeld at Lake Macquarie in NSW believed Christianity was essential to civilisation and must precede it.¹¹ Church historian Stephen Neill agrees with this view.¹²

Whether civilisation was a prerequisite or a fruit of the gospel, Christianity and the 'civilising mission' were seen as closely linked. This is illustrated in the 1837 Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) which documented the wretchedness, degradation and destruction visited on Britain's subject peoples. It concluded that 'the intercourse of Europeans ... has been, unless attended by the exertions of missionaries, the source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.'¹³ It said Britain's civil and commercial interests were best served if its subjects were 'civilised'. 'Civilised' men made better neighbours and more profitable customers than 'savages.'¹⁴ However missionaries may have seen their role, governing authorities considered them servants of Britain's commercial and imperial interests and the gospel as a civilising tool. The Report quoted LMS Secretary William Ellis:

True civilisation and Christianity...are inseparable; the former can never be found, but as a fruit of the latter. An inferior kind of civilisation may precede Christianity, and prevail without it to a limited extent...This kind of civilisation is only superficial ... [I]t is a fact of great importance, that Christianity has never been introduced into any nation or tribe where civilisation has not invariably followed.¹⁵

Ellis claimed Christianity had ended war, infanticide, human sacrifice and slavery in the South Seas. It brought literacy, new skills, a desire for 'civilised' living and improved work ethic. Missionary Williams agreed, saying, 'You cannot get a barbarous people to attend to anything of a Civilising process, or aspire to any European habit, till you give them Christian principle.'¹⁶ The Report documented failed attempts to 'civilize' peoples without Christianity and success following its introduction. The Committee said '[W]e repeat our conviction, that the most effectual mode of making such nations desirable neighbours, is giving them Christian instruction, and allowing them, through the equity and the moderation of our political conduct,

¹⁰ Scrimgeour, "Notions," 40.

¹¹ Amanda Barry, "Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-eastern Australia, 1837-1937." (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2008), 71-72. The LMS, however, said Threlkeld was to both convert and teach the 'arts of civilised life.'

¹² Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission*. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books 1964). 297.

¹³ Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, no. 425, 5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 56. It is unclear whether this was William Williams, mentioned previously in the Report, or John Williams. Biographical details given fit those of John.

a fair opportunity to profit by the instruction afforded.¹⁷ The Report encouraged support for missionaries, but directed them to combine political and social improvement with moral and religious improvements.¹⁸

Colonial Office instructions were in line with the 1837 Report. Britain was determined to pursue colonial and mercantile expansion. Evangelicals insisted that British imperialism had a higher purpose: to 'carry civilisation, and humanity, peace and good government, and above all, the knowledge of our true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth.'¹⁹ Experience showed that Indigenous peoples' survival and well-being depended on their adapting to the invaders' culture, for which Christianity was important. For George Fife Angas Christianity and 'civilisation' were necessary and humanitarian accompaniments if colonisation was not to be wholly destructive and Indigenous people were to be incorporated into his colonial enterprise.

As Sarah Dingle's study of CMS Evangelical missionaries in New Zealand shows, not everyone defined 'civilisation' in terms of European culture.²⁰ Likewise, Evangelical Anglican clergy like Reverend Septimus Chase and Bishop Charles Perry in Victoria thought that, because of the corruption of human nature, the trappings of civilisation without faith in Christ were meaningless. Moreover, true moral man was possible without a European lifestyle.²¹ However, some missionaries, like John Williams, defined 'moral man' according to European Christian standards. Adelaide Wesleyans and Anglicans thought the Dresden men were not sufficiently inculcating habits of industry, modest dress and a European lifestyle.

The Evangelical-led Aborigines' Protection Society in London was avowedly Christian in origin and inspiration.²² It saw no possibility of accommodation between settlers and aborigines unless the latter were 'civilised' and moved to agriculture and industry. Nevertheless, it did not anticipate slavishly imposing European culture. Samuel Motte, commissioned by the Society to draw up a system of legislation for Aboriginal peoples, argued that they should be recognised as independent nations and their laws, customs and 'prejudices' accommodated.²³ The Society rejected the idea Aboriginal people needed civilising before they could become Christian. Rather, civilisation was 'the invariable result' of Christianity, the parent of true

¹⁷ Ibid., 74.

¹⁸ Ibid., 81.

¹⁹ Ibid., 76.

²⁰ Sarah Dingle, "Gospel Power for Civilization: The C.M.S. Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860." (PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2009.)

²¹ Robert Kenny, *The Lamb enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007). 61-2,292-3.

²² "Origin, Objects and proceedings of the Aborigines' Protection Society," *South Australian Colonist*, 10 March 1840.

²³ Kenny, 76-77; Standish Motte, *Outline of a System of Legislation, for Securing Protection to the Aboriginal inhabitants of all the Countries Colonised by Great Britain*. (London: John Murray, 1840).

civilisation.²⁴ It wanted to bring the heathen to a knowledge of the gospel but to obviate their relapse into idolatry and barbarism it thought a 'favourable sphere for the growth and exercise of religious and moral principle' was necessary.²⁵ It agreed with the CMS that improvement in temporal conditions must accompany instruction in the gospel.²⁶

2.2 George Fife Angas

George Fife Angas agreed with the findings of the 1837 report. He was both a committed Christian philanthropist and a businessman, merchant and shipowner who believed commercial and humanitarian objectives could be harmonised. Angas greatly admired William Penn, who founded the colony of Pennsylvania as a haven for dissenting religious minorities and was known for his fair and friendly dealings with the native Pennsylvanians from whom he purchased land.²⁷ Angas planned a similar South Australian haven where dissenters and pious, hardworking people of modest means could prosper. He also expected a good return on his investment. In 1835-36 he was one of the South Australia Colonization Commissioners tasked with establishing the new colony. In January 1836 he started the South Australian Company to raise capital for it.

Angas also wanted to protect Indigenous people from the devastating effects of British colonisation.²⁸ He sought appointment as South Australia's Protector of Aborigines and helped found the Aborigines' Protection Society in London in 1836.²⁹ This Society wanted 'just' colonisation where settlers lived *among* Aboriginal people whose rights were maintained through recognition of land ownership, reserves and the appointment of Protectors.³⁰ Angas tried to amend the 1834 South Australia Act to give Aboriginal inhabitants greater protection.³¹ His influence lay behind the provisions the Colonization Commissioners outlined for them in 1836.³² He tried (largely unsuccessfully) to recruit 'virtuous' settlers who would treat local

²⁴ First Annual Report quoted in "Origin, Objects and proceedings of the Aborigines' Protection Society," 6.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ 1837 Select Committee Report, 46 and Appendix 2.

²⁸ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, PRG174/10/140d-f,i, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

²⁹ Diary of John Brown, PRG1002/2, Adelaide: SLSA. Entry 11 Feb 1836.

³⁰ Kenny, 77-82.

³¹ Second Report of the Select Committee on South Australia, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, no. 394, 211. The 1834 Act made no provision for Aboriginal inhabitants and declared South Australia 'waste and unoccupied.' 2408.

³² Edwin Hodder, *George Fife Angas, father and founder of South Australia*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891). 142.

people decently. At the same time, he believed they were best helped through Christian mission work. Angas articulated his goal to the LMS – to spread Christianity *and civilisation* and so lead heathen people ‘to the path of happiness.’³³ For colonisation to succeed, it was necessary to ‘civilise’ the local inhabitants or accept their extermination through ‘consumption and decay.’³⁴ Civilisation was best achieved through Christianity. Thus Angas’ two interests – a model colony and Christian mission work – were intertwined.

Angas’ goals were articulated at a dinner on 10 September 1835 honouring Governor Hindmarsh’s appointment as governor of South Australia. Angas proposed a toast to ‘The welfare of the Aborigines of South Australia and the gentlemen who are forming societies for their protection and benefit.’ He reminded attendees of their responsibility to protect Aboriginal people and their livelihoods and expressed his confidence that through Christianity they could be civilised. His proposed that the planners

send out persons among them, to learn their language ...; to treat with them for the purchase of those lands which they claim as belonging to their tribes; to make them acquainted with the habits and views of the white people; to construct a written language for them; to publish the Gospels and New Testament in it; to teach them to read; to make them acquainted with the art of raising food from the ground; to instruct them in the mode of fishing from the sea...; the method of making necessary utensils, raising huts, the use of clothing, and in time they may be induced by sufficient reward and kind treatment to allow the settlers to take their youths and teach them to work as labourers.³⁵

Angas arranged for Schürmann and Teichelmann to travel on the same ship as Governor Gawler, asking him to take them under his protection. He provided them with letters of introduction to David McLaren, Manager of the South Australian Company, and Rev Thomas Quinton Stow, a Congregationalist minister from the Colonial Missionary Society, both in Adelaide, and assured them of the Protector of Aborigines’ support.

In a letter to the missionaries on departure Angas made suggestions.³⁶ They were to learn the language and customs of Aborigines around Adelaide, compile a vocabulary and possibly start a school. After winning the natives’ confidence they should travel into the interior and establish a mission settlement. He suggested the Murray-Darling junction as the most likely spot. There he thought they would have easy year-round access via the river Murray to the Adelaide

³³ George Fife Angas, Draft Address to the London Missionary Society, 1811, PRG174/46, Angas Papers.

³⁴ Angas to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 28 May 1838, Angas Papers.

³⁵ C Mann, *Report of the speeches delivered at a dinner given to Capt. John Hindmarsh, R.N., on his appointment as Governor of South Australia*. (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1835; Facsimile reprint, Adelaide : Public Library of South Australia, 1962). 13-16.

³⁶ Angas to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 28 May 1838.

market.³⁷ Angas urged strict economy. Success depended on inducing Aboriginal people to give up 'habits of war and wandering' as their labour would be essential to the mission's financial viability. He anticipated considerable assistance from Kavel's followers. Some would 'doubtless' settle at the station as farmers along the lines of Moravian settlements in Africa. They would assist in teaching 'the arts of civilized life' so Aboriginal people could support themselves through agriculture while receiving education and Christian instruction.³⁸ Angas had earlier told Kavel he wanted the missionaries to focus on education for the young, including Christian instruction and, if possible, instruction in the English language.³⁹ He recommended the missionaries read missionary John Williams' account of his enterprises in the South Seas and 'exercise the same faith & use the same means.'⁴⁰

Angas warned that all previous efforts 'on behalf of' Australia's Aborigines had failed because efforts had been confined to settled districts where settlers had a demoralising influence. Angas believed success depended on settling among Aboriginal people and forming 'a Missionary Town' along the lines suggested. Unfortunately he saw no way to appropriate land for teaching agriculture under the 1834 Act.⁴¹ Elsewhere Angas revealed that he favoured the Murray-Darling junction location as a potential cross-road between NSW, Victoria and SA, far from the demoralising effects of white settlement.⁴² He thought his mission, if located over the border in NSW, could get a land grant or cheap land.⁴³ Angas' plans involved a contradiction. While advocating a mission far from white settlement he wanted Lutheran settlers to farm nearby, and envisaged other settlers also using Aboriginal labour. He assumed the Lutherans' presence would be protective and supportive. However, he seemed not to understand that even pious, well-meaning settlers could have a negative impact on Aboriginal people's prospects.

Initially Angas believed South Australia's founding principles augured well for the missionaries' success.⁴⁴ However, after reading an account of Major Mitchell's exploration of Western Victoria, he became more pessimistic. He feared conflict between colonists and Aboriginal people was inevitable 'given the Aboriginal desire for revenge.' He proposed unarmed

³⁷ The Murray's mouth is not navigable.

³⁸ Angas to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 28 May 1838.

³⁹ Kavel to DMS, 10 Jan 1837, ALMS 1.48/12, London Files, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives.

⁴⁰ J A Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Sea Islands*. (London: John Snow, 1837).

⁴¹ Angas to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 28 May 1838.

⁴² 'A City in the Wilderness,' PRG174/49/1, Angas Papers. Before the 1841 Select Committee Angas presented a letter from Stow saying 'at the Murray' was the best place for a mission station. 1841 Select Committee Report, Evidence 214. Edwin Hodder incorrectly claims Angas identified the influx of the Murray into Lake Alexandrina as a suitable mission location. Hodder, *George Fife Angas*, 144.

⁴³ 'A City in the Wilderness.'

⁴⁴ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838.

Chapter 2: Angas and the Civilising Mission

missionaries live with each tribe to teach them the gospel and the 'unlawfulness' of revenge. By learning to grow food they would become 'less jealous of the white man.'⁴⁵

Angas knew the missionaries' task was difficult and gave them spiritual counsel. He outlined a vision for their 'grand undertaking' combining Christianity and civilisation:

You have the light... to shine amidst the darkness; you have the moral image of a Christian, you go to show its influence amongst the subjects of Satan. You are in the enjoyment of the knowledge and comforts of civilized life; you go to allow others to share with you... Reflect how much of improvement and of advancement may spring from the residence of one individual only belonging to a more civilized community, among an uncivilized community!... such a visit as yours, may, under God, raise the Tribes of the insular continent from barbarism to the highest pitch of refinement, from being the subjects of Satan's kingdom to become the servants of the Most High God, the heirs of immortal bliss!!⁴⁶

Angas thought the mission's prospects were more 'auspicious' than ever before in British history because of South Australia's constitution, Governor Gawler's Christian principles and 'worth' and the great number of professing Christians amongst the settlers.

Angas' theological perspective was different from that of the Dresden men. As a Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist his focus was on sanctified Christian living which he saw in European cultural terms. He favoured a 'non-sectarian' approach while the DMS was committed to Lutheran teaching.⁴⁷ Believing in double predestination, he was unsure of God's intentions towards Aboriginal Australians. He noted the Aboriginal society had previously 'shrunk into consumption and decay the moment that it came in contact with the British' and instructed the missionaries

[To] test the problem whether it is a fair inference from the past that God has doomed the extermination of all the nations of the soil which he in his inscrutable Providence, has placed under the dominion of the British Empire.⁴⁸

Angas' religious ideas and the profit motive intersected. Wealth entailed a responsibility to use God's gifts to 'God's glory and the good of all men.'⁴⁹ In return God would bless the righteous

⁴⁵ Angas to Gawler, PRG174/10/170-172, Angas Papers.

⁴⁶ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, Postscript.

⁴⁷ George Fife Angas, Draft Address to the LMS, 1811, Angas Papers. Angas did not share the Lutheran position on the Real Presence in Holy Communion and baptismal regeneration. Hodder, 177.

⁴⁸ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, Postscript. Particular Baptists believed in limited atonement i.e. that Christ died only for the elect and not for all people.

with prosperity.⁵⁰ The poor deserved poverty: failure showed a lack of faith and morality.⁵¹ Angas believed the Christian 'becomes faithful, industrious and economical in the management of his worldly affairs and hence follow comfort and prosperity.'⁵² For this reason Angas wanted labour schools where Aboriginal people would learn industrious habits.⁵³ Angas believed that his colonial venture was a great work God had commanded him to perform.⁵⁴ Douglas Pike claims Angas saw making money as a religious duty, never sure whether religion or business was more important.⁵⁵ He hoped to use commerce and trade to promote religion and to lead Aboriginal people to accept Christianity through just treatment, protection of their rights and the benefits of civilisation.⁵⁶ Only briefly, when his business affairs were faltering, did he wonder whether he was mistaken and the gospel alone should be used to bring people to Christ.⁵⁷

Angas' 'prosperity doctrine' was at odds with the Lutheran emphasis on a 'theology of the cross': as Christ suffered, Christians too will suffer. One wonders how he interpreted the Dresden missionaries' poverty and seeming failure. His conviction that commerce could further God's Kingdom conflicted with the Lutheran teaching that only the gospel brings people to faith and builds the Church.

The Moravian Model⁵⁸

Angas urged the Dresden missionaries to establish 'Moravian-style' settlements as the best means of 'civilising' the Aboriginal people but also so the missionaries could support themselves.

The Moravians, or *Brüdergemeine* (Brotherhood), had roots in the fifteenth century religious movement inspired by Jan Hus in Moravia and Bohemia, a movement that also influenced

⁴⁹ Angas to Gawler, 25 March 1840, PRG174/10/250-255, Angas Papers.

⁵⁰ 'A City in the Wilderness.'

⁵¹ Rob Linn, "The mentalities of early South Australian pastoralists: the Angas, Keynes, McBean and Melrose families in central South Australia." (MA, University of Adelaide, 1984), 22-26.

⁵² Angas to Martin 15 Nov 1836 in Douglas Pike, *Paradise of dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957). 127.

⁵³ Hodder, 144.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁵⁵ Pike, *Paradise of dissent*, 127.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 140.

⁵⁷ Hodder, 246.

⁵⁸ See William H Edwards, "Moravian Aboriginal Missions in Australia." (PhD in History, Flinders University, 2007).

Martin Luther.⁵⁹ Moravian refugees underwent renewal in Saxony under the influence of the eighteenth century Lutheran pietist, Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf. Advocating a return to the early Christian church's simplicity and purity, their faith emphasised grace and a personal relationship with the crucified and risen Christ.⁶⁰ The movement was marked by zeal, practical service, pietistic devotion, scholarship and a commitment to worldwide mission. They influenced eighteenth and nineteenth century British evangelical revivals and the establishment of other missionary societies profoundly.⁶¹

The Moravians were admired for their willingness to go to the most difficult, remote mission fields and identify with the oppressed. Their Herrnhut refugee village modelled strong, egalitarian, uniquely structured Christian community life.⁶² Their mission approach involved establishing mission 'colonies' or largely self-supporting Christian villages comprising farmers, artisans and pastors. From this base they would reach out to the locals, preaching the Gospel, educating the children and teaching adults various agricultural, manual and domestic skills, the dignity of labour and habits of industry.⁶³ With nomads they saw no alternative but to establish mission stations where the local people were encouraged to settle. They emphasised Bible translation and the use of vernacular languages in worship.⁶⁴ Decimated Indigenous peoples survived where Moravians worked.

Roman Catholic monastic orders had for centuries established largely self-supporting mission settlements. Like the Moravians, other nineteenth century groups tried this method. Pastor J Gossner in Berlin dispatched companies of self-supporting builders, farmers and tradesmen to do mission work in Queensland in 1836 and later in India. In the 1840s Wilhelm Löhe, founder of the Neuendettelsau Mission Society, established Christian communities in Michigan, USA, hoping to reach out to Native Americans. The work was not successful until DMS missionary Eduard Baierlein was assigned to work exclusively with Native Americans and moved away from European settlement. Intrigued by the Celtic monastic communities' mission work, Louis Harms, founder of the Hermannsburg Mission Society, sent lay 'colonists', accompanied by pastors, to South Africa in the 1850s. He envisaged a network of mission stations encircling an entire region, enabling its people to resist European incursions. The mission stations were to

⁵⁹ Also called Bohemian Brethren.

⁶⁰ John Wesley criticised Moravians for undervaluing good works. Edwards, "Moravian Aboriginal Missions," 54.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Leslie B Grope, "Fruit That Remained: Zinzendorf's Influence on the Australian Lutheran Church," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 22, no. 3 (1988): 126.

⁶⁴ Edwards, "Moravian Aboriginal Missions," 61.

be communal, self-supporting and to model the Christian life.⁶⁵ The mission soon disintegrated into individual farms. Graul condemned the plan as naïve romanticism.⁶⁶ British societies were also influenced by the Moravian model.

The Dresden Mission Aid Society assisted the Moravians.⁶⁷ However, a growing desire for Lutheran doctrine among DMS supporters saw a drawing apart. The Moravians felt no need to study Hebrew and Greek which the DMS thought essential to maintain sound doctrine. Though the Herrnhut Moravians subscribed to the Lutheran Church's Augsburg Confession and Moravian missionaries in Australia used Luther's small catechism, as pietists they downplayed doctrine, and emphasised one's attitude of heart and sanctified life. Working ecumenically, they saw themselves as a society revitalizing existing denominations and creating new missions, rather than a separate denomination.

The DMS did not plan mission settlements. It envisaged its missionaries living among and identifying with the people they sought to reach while at least partially supporting themselves. This was an approach tried and tested through the centuries, beginning with the apostle Paul. The DMS debated 'civilising' objectives. In their 1838-1839 Annual Report they compared their objectives with those of the Moravians:

Our plan only diverges from the practice of the Moravians in this respect: In keeping with their whole communal arrangement, they take care not only of the spiritual but also of the physical circumstances of the mission stations. We on the other hand confine ourselves to what is in the spiritual interests of the people. Only incidentally do we also strive to take care of their physical needs. ..[O]ur policy [is] that we can only use our financial resources for spreading the Gospel, but not for earthly purposes.⁶⁸

Later Karl Graul rejected the Moravians' 'colonisation and civilisation' mission method and emphasised the training of Indigenous teachers.⁶⁹ While recognising the importance of humanitarian work, the DMS did not see 'civilising' as essential to its mission.

⁶⁵ H J Schmiechen, "The Hermannsburg Mission Society in Australia 1866-1895: changing missionary attitudes and their effects on the Aboriginal inhabitants." (Thesis (BA Hons), University of Adelaide, 1971), 2-4.

⁶⁶ James A Scherer, "The Triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions," *Missio Apostolica* 1, no. 2 (Nov 1993): 81. Scherer says, 'For both Loehe and Harms, the complexities of Gospel and culture relationships on the mission field were not truly foreseen.'

⁶⁷ Nineteenth century Australian Lutheran congregations financially supported Moravian missionaries in Victoria and at Mapoon, Queensland.

⁶⁸ Twentieth Annual Report of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden, 1838-39, 8.

⁶⁹ Karl Graul, *Dresdner Missionsblatt* 1847, 173ff; Scherer, 81. Graul's directorship lies largely outside the period of this study, but he was director during the missionaries' latter years of service. His views show the direction in which the DMS was moving.

John Williams (1796-1839) as a Model

It is obvious why Angas recommended that Schürmann and Teichelmann read John Williams' *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Seas Islands* and copy his methods. Williams' book described a success story combining ideals close to Angas' heart – the promotion of Christianity, European civilisation, commerce and British patriotism. Williams was a Congregationalist and LMS missionary in the Society Islands from 1817. The LMS' work began in Tahiti in 1797. Williams claimed by 1837 nearly all Polynesia had converted to Christianity. Williams' success lay largely in his policy of placing native teachers on remote islands rarely visited by missionaries. Though many became martyrs, they were remarkably successful in spreading Christianity throughout the Society Islands, Cook Islands, Samoa and beyond. Williams combined trade and evangelism. He introduced new crops and bought a ship to trade between Raiatea and Sydney. In England in 1834-38, he published his New Testament translation in the Rarotongan language and gave evidence to the 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines. In 1839 Williams was eaten by cannibals in the New Hebrides.⁷⁰

Williams' book explained the advantages he thought Christianity brought the Polynesians: knowledge of a loving God, with the promise of forgiveness, peace and eternal life; an end to idolatry, fear of the spirits, sorcery, human sacrifice, cannibalism, infanticide, warfare, the immolation of widows and degradation of women, religious self-mutilation, polygamy, slavery and other vices; and new animals, crops, skills and knowledge, manufactured goods, literacy and education. The rapid depopulation which followed contact with European explorers and traders was reversed as missionaries discouraged infanticide and promiscuity leading to venereal disease and infertility. Williams called the gospel 'the great catholicon for healing the social, the civil and the moral maladies of man.'⁷¹

Williams expounded Christianity's advantages to commerce and trade in order to persuade merchants to help spread the gospel and civilisation rather than misery and violence.⁷² Christianity meant merchants could access safe harbours without fearing cannibals and could profit from the Islanders' new produce. He wrote:

Whilst our best energies have been devoted to the instruction of the people in the truths of the Christian religion... we have, at the same time, been anxious to impart a knowledge of all that was calculated to increase their comfort and elevate their character. I am convinced

⁷⁰ *en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Williams_(missionary)*; *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: Australian National University 2006). Online. *adb.anu.edu.au/biography/williams-john-2793*.

⁷¹ Williams, *A Narrative*, 78.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 154.

that the first step towards the promotion of a nation's temporal and social elevation is to plant among them the tree of life, when civilisation and commerce will entwine their tendrils around its trunk, and gather strength from its support...[T]he missionary enterprise is incomparably the most effective machinery that has ever been brought to operate on the social, the civil and the commercial, as well as the moral and the spiritual interests of mankind...Wherever the missionary goes, new channels are cut for the streams of commerce.⁷³

Williams said his primary goals were spiritual and humanitarian. The LMS' only instruction was 'to make known the way of salvation as consummated by the death of Jesus Christ.'⁷⁴ Williams says this was his main aim.⁷⁵ Overthrowing cruel superstitions, raising people's 'scale of being', and introducing the laws, customs, arts, and comforts of civilised life were lesser fruits of mission work. He and his colleagues trained Indigenous teachers, using local tongues and translating the Scriptures.⁷⁶ However, Williams did not always distinguish clearly between the Christianity, the fruit of faith, and mere cultural preference.⁷⁷ He saw civilisation measured in material as well as moral terms as evidence of Christian faith, noting improvements in houses, clothing, skills and enterprise, as well as moral and spiritual changes. Williams wanted his own house to be as respectable as possible 'for the missionary does not go to barbarise himself but to civilise the heathen... [not] to sink down to their standard but elevate them to his.'⁷⁸

Williams' account showed Angas how trade and evangelism could serve each other. It seemed the perfect mission model. However, as agriculturalists, Polynesian land ownership was apparent and they were better able to incorporate Western innovations into their culture. Their chieftain system provided unified action and greater bargaining power in dealing with Europeans. They were not overwhelmed by a flood of European settlers and totally dispossessed as were Aboriginal Australians. When chiefs converted, their people often followed. The LMS and Islanders themselves provided generous support.⁷⁹ LMS missionaries had the independence to make decisions about strategic mission locations and there was less linguistic diversity. Hopes for similar results in South Australia were unrealistic.

⁷³ Ibid., 152.

⁷⁴ Ibid., Forward.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 7. Preface.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 32.

⁷⁷ Ibid. For example, encouraging a moral, 'Christian' lifestyle, he insisted on teaching women to sew and wear bonnets.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 124.

⁷⁹ In a short period, £10,000 was subscribed for the LMS' South Seas mission. Ibid., 1. A ship was purchased and 25 missionaries sent out in 1797. In 1821 Islanders formed a Native Missionary Society to support the work. Sometimes Christianity reached islands before missionaries did. Ibid., 107-10.

Teichelmann and Schürmann heard Williams lecture in London and read his book. Schürmann found it 'highly instructive', a good apologetic for the expansion of Christianity and amelioration of heathen societies.⁸⁰ Beyond that the missionaries made little reference to it except that Teichelmann compared his pecuniary situation unfavourably with Williams.⁸¹ They agreed with Williams' use of local languages and native evangelists. They shared his evangelical Christian faith, but with an important difference in emphasis. Williams said the child of God's 'eternal felicity' depended on 'a holy life.'⁸² This emphasis and his view of what holiness entailed influenced his keenness to 'civilise' the Islanders.⁸³

Angas' instructions were contradictory. He recommended emulating both the Moravians and Williams but the Moravian approach involved drawing people from their own communities into a settled Christian community, while Williams sent native evangelists/teachers to live in heathen villages to teach the gospel.

The missionaries agreed with Angas about the need to learn Aboriginal languages, translate the Scriptures, share the gospel and encourage sedentary Aboriginal communities, but disagreed with the dispersal implied in integrating Aboriginal people into the colonial economy as labourers, a role at odds with traditional culture. They did not see 'civilising' the people as their responsibility. They were afraid the expectation that they should be farmers as well as missionaries would distract them from their calling.⁸⁴

2.3 Conclusion

Most people involved in the planning and settlement of the new colony in South Australia assumed a close identification between Christianity and Western civilisation. As they took up their work, the Dresden missionaries were caught between the DMS' expectations and those of Angas and colonial authorities who saw colonising, Christianising and civilising agendas serving each other to assimilate Aboriginal people into the labouring class of colonial life. Like

⁸⁰ Schürmann to Wermelskirch April 1838. Collected letters from the missionaries and conference reports, 1838-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translators Marcus Krieg, Erich Meier, Herma Roehrs, and Werner Hebart.

⁸¹ Teichelmann to Pastor Wermelskirch, 30th August, 1841, TB41-44, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁸² Williams, *A Narrative*, 92.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸⁴ In this they were not alone. Norman Etherington has written about missionaries in South Africa who resented spending time on 'civilising.' Norman Etherington, "Individualism in Southeast Africa: Missions and the colonial state." (Paper presented at the *Individualization through Christian Missionary Activities?* conference, Max Weber Centre for Advanced Social and Cultural Studies, Erfurt, Germany, 25-28 April 2012).

Williams the Dresden missionaries believed Christianity would bring many blessings but their focus was on spiritual work. As will be seen in later chapters, these differing understandings of the core purpose of Christian mission created significant difficulties for the Dresden missionaries.

The missionaries did not share the colonial vision of Angas or the colonial authorities. Differing objectives became quickly apparent. En route to South Australia, Schürmann recorded conversations with Gawler's entourage.⁸⁵ Schürmann upset Gawler by challenging the legitimacy of British colonisation schemes. Further disagreements arose when Gawler advocated bringing Aboriginal people close to larger towns and assimilating them as servants. Schürmann and Teichelmann disagreed, advocating the retention of Indigenous languages, communities and identity. Undoubtedly the missionaries were largely ignorant of the situation ahead but they were certainly open to retaining aspects of Aboriginal culture and identity. They saw alternatives to Europeanization and assimilation into Western civilisation. While a relationship of mutual respect and appreciation developed between Gawler and the missionaries, from the beginning there was tension between the missionaries and the colonial agenda.

Though financial necessity robbed the Dresden missionaries of independence, they resisted South Australian government attempts to harness them to its purposes. In important ways, as will be seen in later chapters, the Dresden missionaries opposed the government's implementation of its 'civilising mission' and colonists' demands that they do more to eradicate Aboriginal culture. Other Christian churches agreed with the missionaries' spiritual aims but wanted to see an accompanying greater emphasis on a changed lifestyle in keeping with their understanding of what it meant to be a Christian.

In Chapter 3 I will give an overview of how the missionaries' vision played out in practice among the Kurna people and argue that the missionaries found themselves in a situation where it was difficult to achieve any of their goals.

⁸⁵ 1 Sept 1838, Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

3 VISION MEETS REALITY: THE MISSION TO THE KAURNA¹

As shown in earlier chapters, the Dresden missionaries in South Australia did not share the common early nineteenth century view that missionaries should both civilise/Europeanise and 'Christianise' Aboriginal people and so assist their integration into colonial society. The Dresden Society's core instructions to its missionaries were to share 'the Gospel of the grace of God,' establish an Aboriginal Lutheran church and 'remedy the physical sufferings' of the Aboriginal people – not to introduce a western lifestyle. This chapter and the next will give an overview of how the missionaries attempted to pursue their spiritual and humanitarian goals within the realities of the colonial situation. Against this background, later chapters will more fully analyse the missionaries' experience in light of the challenges of Aboriginal society and the agendas of the colonial state, society and church.

This chapter explores mission work among the Kurna people of the Adelaide Plains and chapter 4 the mission's expansion to the Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln areas.

3.1 The Missionaries

Christian Gottlob Teichelmann and Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann, the first missionaries to South Australia, arrived on 12 October, 1838. Teichelmann was born on 15 December 1807, the son of a master cloth-maker in Dahme, Saxony (now in Brandenburg).² His family was not religious. Training as a carpenter, Teichelmann studied with distinction at the Potsdam Royal Trade School. This gave him excellent prospects (and skills that proved handy as a missionary). In 1828 he experienced a spiritual awakening. Subsequently, a London Missionary Society tract inspired him to be a missionary, a vocation confirmed by his associations with students at the Jänicke Mission Institute in Berlin which accepted him as a student in 1831. In 1836 he transferred to the Dresden Mission Seminary for further studies

¹ A Ngarrindjeri term used today for the original inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains. The missionaries did not use this term but used clan names. Klose says other tribes called the Adelaide people *Taralye Meyunna* (split-wood people) in his time but formerly *Wito Meyunna* (reed people). Joyce Graetz, ed. *Missionary to the Kurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper no.2 (North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002). 35. Schürmann called them the *Tandanje* tribe in 'Natives of South Australia', Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

² After 1815 Dahme was in Prussia.

before accepting assignment to South Australia. He was ordained in Altenburg on February 4, 1838 and commissioned on February 8.³

Teichelmann was tall and well-built. Schürmann speaks of his courage in tackling the unknown.⁴ His writings reveal a perceptive, intelligent, hard-working, somewhat complex man. His insightfulness was matched with uncompromising opinions, determination, a keen sense of justice and forthright honesty that did not always win friends. He set himself high standards and expected the same of others. Professor Augustin Lodewyckx says he had an 'unusual gift for linguistic anthropological observation' and was 'greatly respected for his conscientious devotion to duty and his quiet unostentatious character.'⁵ Governor Gawler called Teichelmann and Schürmann 'sincere, intelligent and persevering men.'⁶ The *South Australian Register's* editor called Teichelmann 'amiable and excellent.'⁷ Nevertheless, not everyone found him easy to work with; his colleagues sometimes found him dictatorial and critical.⁸ His forceful manner also affected his relationship with some Aboriginal people though others appreciated the genuine compassion that lay within.⁹ Teichelmann acted as mission treasurer until handing over to Klose in 1844.

Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann was born in Ellerbeck near Osnabrück, Hannover, on 7 June 1815.¹⁰ His father died before his first birthday and his mother when he was ten. His mother's faith influenced him profoundly. Schürmann felt called to emulate his older brother, Johann Adam Schürmann (later Anglicised to John Adam Shurman), who studied at the Jänicke Mission Institute and served many years with the LMS in Bengal, translating the Bible into Urdu.¹¹ According to German custom, Clamor, as the youngest son, inherited his family's farm.¹² In 1832 he renounced his inheritance in favour of an older brother who supported him through his training as a missionary. He attended the Jänicke Mission Institute from July 1832

³ Autobiographical sketch 1836, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁴ Schürmann to Meyer, 14 Sept 1852, Schürmann, C W 2/Correspondence file no. 2, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁵ A Lodewyckx, Biographical Notes on Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann. 1935. D 8474 (Misc). Adelaide: SLA.

⁶ Gawler to George Fife Angas, 10 July 1840, PRG 174/1/158-79, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLA.

⁷ *South Australian Register*, 1 Jan 1841. (Hereafter: *Register*.)

⁸ 4 June 1838, Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁹ The Kurna called him Kartaman.

¹⁰ Known as Clamor in Australia today and Wilhelm in Germany.

¹¹ Johann Adam hoped to go to China, but was sent to Benares, India. He died while revising the Hindi Bible. His daughter Emily married Rev Dr John Woodstock. Together they started the famous Woodstock school in India.

¹² A large farm, important in the area. Schürmann would have learned practical skills. To renounce such an inheritance was unheard of.

to July 1836. Under circumstances outlined in chapter 2, he transferred to the Dresden Mission Seminary in September 1836. He was ordained and commissioned with Teichelmann.

Hoping to serve in India or China, Schürmann studied Chinese and English in Berlin. Instead he was sent to South Australia. He was linguistically gifted and had a rare ability to win the confidence and affection of Aboriginal people. Governor Robe (1845-1848) called him 'a very intelligent and zealous person.'¹³ Botanist C. Wilhelmi, who visited Schürmann's school near Port Lincoln called Schürmann a 'most excellent man.'¹⁴ A. Brauer reports,

Pastor Schürmann in [his] letters...always exhibits the spirit of charity...He was of small stature, and ruddy of complexion. He was of a particularly genial disposition. He was held in the highest esteem by the whole Lutheran Church, because of his geniality, meekness, kind-heartedness, straightforwardness and conscientious devotion to duty.¹⁵

Two more missionaries arrived in Adelaide on 9 August 1840. Heinrich August Eduard Meyer was born in Berlin on 5 May 1813.¹⁶ His father, Carl, was a lacquerer. Meyer wanted to be an artist but as his family could not afford the training he became a plumber. His family joined the Old-Lutheran congregation in Berlin, whose pastor, Friedrich Lasius, was imprisoned for resisting the Prussian church union.¹⁷ Meyer attended the Jänicke Mission Institute between July 1833 and October 1836. He was forced to leave before completing his studies because, like Schürmann and Teichelmann, he was unwilling to join the Church of England to work for an Anglican mission society. He informed the DMS:

I cannot bring myself to enter into involvement with another society because the Lutheran Church is, according to God's Word and my convictions, the only true one. Therefore it is my dearest wish and constant prayer to the Lord and Protector of the true church of Jesus Christ, that if he wishes to use me to proclaim His Gospel to the heathen, He may also in His grace bring it about that I will be sent out by a church to which I profess and upon whose confession I wish with God's grace to live and die.¹⁸

¹³ Governor Robe to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatch no.46, 27 April 1846. GRG2/6/3/1846/470-71, SRSA.

¹⁴ Charles Wilhelmi, *Manners and Customs of the Australian Aborigines*. (Melbourne: Mason and Firth, 1862).

¹⁵ Quoted in Ted Schurmann, *I'd rather dig potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia, 1838-1853*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987). 207.

¹⁶ Known as Eduard.

¹⁷ 'Old Lutherans': Lutherans who resisted the union.

¹⁸ Meyer to DMS, 30 Oct 1836, Applications from Prospective Students, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives. Translated by Lois Zweck.

The convictions Meyer expresses here are important in understanding why he eventually left mission work.

Meyer transferred to the Dresden Mission Seminary (1837-39). He then studied Tamil at Erlangen University, home to noted confessional Lutheran theologians and Friedrich Rückert, Germany's foremost Oriental languages expert. He was ordained with Klose in Greiz on 26 February 1838 and commissioned for mission service on 2 March in Dresden. Because of his 'need for a wife's care and assistance', Meyer was permitted to marry Friederike Wilhelmine Sternicke on 4 March 1838, days before sailing for Australia.¹⁹ Friederike was employed at Prince Carl of Prussia's summer palace in Potsdam. Meyer suffered high blood pressure and died of stroke aged forty-nine. Mary-Anne Gale describes Meyer as humble, compassionate, persistent and hardworking, and a thorough, capable linguist.²⁰ A. Brauer says he was described as 'a highly esteemed minister', 'a most intelligent and exemplary man', and 'extremely kind and able.'²¹

Meyer's intended destination was Tranquebar, India. However, he asked to go to South Australia on hearing about Schürmann's difficulties with Teichelmann and his plans to move to Encounter Bay. Meyer called Teichelmann an 'old and disapproving taskmaster' with a 'proud and contrary heart.'²² He believed Klose had the qualities to work with Teichelmann, while he himself planned to accompany Schürmann with whom he had developed a close friendship.²³

Samuel Gottlieb Klose was born 27 December, 1802, and came from Löwenberg, Silesia, in Prussia. He was a shoemaker and attended preparatory mission school in Gruenberg before entering the Dresden Mission Seminary. He graduated on 21 February 1840. In Supplementary Instructions the DMS said Klose and Meyer were Teichelmann's and Schürmann's equals. Decisions should be taken jointly. About Klose the instructions continue:

We believe ...that you, Brother Klose, should direct your attention less to the public preaching and more to teaching, private pastoral care and the external management of the

¹⁹ DMS to Missionaries, 27 July 1840, Correspondence from Dresden Mission Society to all missionaries as a group, 1839-1949. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translators Marcus Krieg, Erich Meier, Herma Roehrs and Werner Hebart. (Hereafter 'All Missionaries.')

²⁰ Mary-Anne Gale, "The Linguistic Legacy of H A E Meyer: Missionary to the Ramindjeri people of Encounter Bay, 1840-1848" (paper presented at The German Presence in South Australia conference, University of Adelaide, October 2005).

²¹ Unnamed sources in A Brauer, "A Further Page from the Life of the Fathers," *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1930. 55.

²² Meyer to Wermelskirch, 9...1839, and 2 July 1839, H A E Meyer, Correspondence with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden 1839-1850, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) 2/Folder M, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Heidi Kneebone, Cynthia Rathjen, Sandy Martin and Lois Zweck. (Hereafter: MC)

²³ Meyer to Wermelskirch, 9...1839, MC.

station. You will not thereby cease to be an ordained servant of the divine word among the heathen...we simply wish that you, and indeed each of the other brothers, should recognise his particular gift which he has received from the Lord, and use it ...with thankfulness and without resentment or status seeking...²⁴

The seminary recommended less linguistically capable students should become teachers rather than preachers. This may suggest languages were not Klose's strong suit, though he learned the Kaurna language. He was a conscientious and capable teacher, well-loved by his students. Klose's correspondence suggests a kindly, humble man, gently spoken in his convictions, who related well with everyone. The Colonial Secretary called him 'indefatigable' and 'really useful' in carrying out his duties.²⁵

Other colonial commentators were less kind in their assessment of these men's work, as will be seen in later chapters.

3.2 Inauspicious Beginnings

Teichelmann and Schürmann must have been apprehensive on arriving in South Australia. The choice of mission destination was 'entirely against their wishes' because the Aborigines' 'extreme poverty' and the 'obvious' impossibility of doing mission work without first establishing mission settlements demanded more financial commitment than the new DMS had means for.²⁶ There were no clear arrangements for the missionaries' financial support.²⁷ Angas was pessimistic about the chance of success.²⁸ Moreover, they were concerned that he expected them to be farmers as well as missionaries.²⁹ To whom were they answerable?³⁰ Instructions from the DMS and Angas differed, while Gawler insisted they were under the Protector of Aborigines' authority.³¹ Conversations with Gawler and his entourage had revealed they had different views about the Aboriginal people's place in colonial society from their own.

²⁴ Supplementary instructions on the commissioning of the missionaries Cordes, Meyer and Klose, 1838, HAE Meyer, Additional correspondence from Dresden and Leipzig Mission and individuals there, HAE Meyer, Biographical Box, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Lois Zweck and Heidi Kneebone.

²⁵ CSO to Teichelmann, 8 Feb 1846, GRG24/4/1845/156, SRSA.

²⁶ Schürmann to 'dear brother in office', 30 Dec 1892, SC; C W Schürmann, "Obituary for Pastor C G Teichelmann," *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote für Australien* (July 1887).

²⁷ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843. PRG174/5/21-26, Angas Papers.

²⁸ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, Angas Papers.

²⁹ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 8th June 1838, TC.

³⁰ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch 17 April 1838, Collected letters from the missionaries and conference reports, 1838-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

³¹ SD. 1 Sept 1838.

Uncertainty about their status as Lutheran clergy in a British colony was aroused when they were instructed to use the Anglican liturgy for ship-board services and were not permitted to perform a marriage.³² Confinement for months together in a tiny cabin strained the missionaries' relationship. The passage out was a nightmare of overcrowding and such poor food that, in desperation, Teichelmann asked to eat at the captain's table, incurring a debt he took years to pay back.³³ The low class of immigrants made the missionaries fear for the colony's future.³⁴ They arrived with a half-penny between them, unable to pay to transport their possessions from the ship to Adelaide. Not an auspicious beginning.

The missionaries found Adelaide a raw settlement not yet two years old with a settler population of less than 6000.³⁵ Schürmann called the settlers 'nothing but a heap of speculators who carry on such tremendous usury against one another that the few moderate people look forward with horror to the outcome.'³⁶ Prices were exorbitant as agriculture and competing shipping lines were discouraged to protect the SA Company's profits.³⁷ This strained the missionaries' resources. Feeding and clothing themselves became a challenge. Neither man had a chair until Pastor Kavel supplied two in July 1839.³⁸

The missionaries' financial position was precarious. Expecting payment from embarkation they were surprised when, on presenting Angas' letter at the SA Company bank in Adelaide, they were accused of fraud and told to work for three months before receiving Angas' quarterly payment.³⁹ This foreshadowed problems that were to bedevil them because of the arrangement to channel DMS funding through Angas' London-based company to the Adelaide bank. Gawler, a devout Christian who supported their humanitarian and evangelistic aims, rescued them by underwriting a £50 bill of exchange on Angas.⁴⁰ Rev Stow welcomed them. Recognising the inadequacy of the missionaries' support, Stow and the Wesleyan Rev William Longbottom started a fund to provide an extra £100 for the first year.⁴¹ (Records show they received only £40.)⁴² William Wyatt (Protector of Aborigines 1837-39) agreed they could stay in a leaking hut intended as a school-house at the Native Location. From arrival, they were

³² Schürmann to DMS, 6 August and 10 Dec 1838, SC.

³³ Gawler twice wrote to the Colonising Commissioners complaining about conditions onboard.

³⁴ Schürmann to LMS, 6 Aug 1838, SC.

³⁵ Approximate population, Jan 1839. "Population," *South Australian News*, 15 June, 1841.

³⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 10 Dec 1838, SC.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 10 July 1839, TC.

³⁹ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, TC.

⁴⁰ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 24 Oct 1838, TC.

⁴¹ Schürmann to DMS, 10 Dec 1838, SC. S36.

⁴² Financial Statement 1838-1839, TC. TB196.

dependent on sympathetic colonists and governors. These problems continued to cripple their work. A recurrent theme in Schürmann and Teichelmann's correspondence is the desire for a freer hand and independence from both government and colonists.

The missionaries' instructions were first to form a congregation among German-speaking settlers as a support base for mission work. Stow allowed them to use his church for their first German service on 4 November 1838. A subscription list was opened to build a church and assistance solicited from Germany. However, the approximately fifty Germans in Adelaide, mostly SA Company employees, were largely indifferent. Teichelmann said they were only interested in money-making and ministering to them was as difficult as it was to the Kurna.⁴³ On 18 November Pastor Kavel arrived with his followers and settled at Klemzig. Young women from his congregation worked in Adelaide but Kavel insisted his congregational members attend his services at Klemzig. In under a year, the missionaries' German services ended and hopes for a congregation to support their mission disappeared.

3.3 Competing Agendas

Schürmann and Teichelmann considered themselves answerable firstly to the DMS. However, it became clear that Angas and the government had plans that made the pursuit of DMS' priorities difficult. The missionaries envisaged Aboriginal people living on their own land in communities where they could retain their identity and language. Discussions onboard ship showed Gawler opposed separate Aboriginal communities. He wanted Aboriginal people dispersed and assimilated as servants. Teichelmann and Schürmann feared Aboriginal congregations would be impossible if the people were scattered.⁴⁴ They feared Aboriginal languages would disappear.⁴⁵ Questioned about his language policy Schurmann told Gawler his Society had instructed them to learn the people's language and translate the catechism and Bible; therefore they must maintain local languages. He would encourage individuals to learn English but not the people as a whole. He would encourage them to learn their own language well and use it in church and school. Fortunately, Schürmann was able to persuade Gawler to support the use of Aboriginal languages in education.⁴⁶

⁴³ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 11 Dec 1838, TC.

⁴⁴ SD. 1 Sept 1838.

⁴⁵ SD. 16 June 1838.

⁴⁶ SD. 1 Sept 1838.

The question weighing on the missionaries was, 'How can the power of [the] grace of God be brought to bear on [the] Aborigines with their present nomadic and begging way of life?'⁴⁷ As well as the difficulties of evangelising semi-nomadic people, the missionaries felt the need to provide for their physical well-being. Dispossession, violence, European vices and introduced diseases erased any possibility of working with stable Aboriginal communities. Teichelmann thought the Europeans' moral state in the 'so very highly-rated pious colony' was possibly worse than the Aborigines' and the evil Europeans introduced much greater than the blessings.⁴⁸ Schürmann complained dispossession was reducing a once honest and open people to begging and thieving.⁴⁹ By 1839 all wildlife had been driven from the Adelaide area, depriving local people of traditional food sources. Government rations were inadequate.⁵⁰ Schürmann wondered whether their mission had any hope of success.⁵¹ He criticised the government's assimilationist policies and suspected its 'protection' of Aboriginal people was mere window dressing. He feared the determination to deny Aboriginal people land would lead to Aboriginal deaths and make mission work impossible.⁵²

The influence of depraved Europeans on Aboriginal communities made the unjust refusal to recognise Aboriginal land ownership all the more destructive:

Among [the Aborigines] themselves the missionary finds enough sins and obstacles which stand in the way of his effectiveness. But when to these are added those of another race...one can only fear for a blessed outcome from all [our] teaching and labour. Nonetheless I have been amazed that the natives have not already sunk even deeper because of their constant association with people like the English rabble, rough and ungodly beyond all comprehension. Therefore the plan of bringing the natives into active contact with Europeans, indeed, where possible to let them disperse themselves among them – the plan which the Governor and the former Protector of Aborigines are fostering – is highly destructive for [the Aborigines], at least for the first decades... But... if the natives wanted to settle in a separate place, [the governor] has no power to appropriate an area for them.⁵³ This limitation appears to me to be so much more unjust in that the Aborigines as

⁴⁷ Schürmann to DMS, 5 Nov 1839, SC.

⁴⁸ 24 Nov 1839, C G Teichelmann, Diaries 1839-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TA, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Marcus Krieg. TA4; Teichelmann to Angas, 21 Dec 1840. PRG174/1/1670-1677, Angas Papers.

⁴⁹ Schürmann, 'The Natives of South Australia', SC. S57.

⁵⁰ Schürmann to Dresden, 8 Aug 1839, SC.

⁵¹ Schürmann to DMS, 5 Nov 1839, SC.

⁵² Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 8 Feb 1839, SC.

⁵³ Schürmann was mistaken. Angas shared this misconception. Second Report of the Select Committee on South Australia, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, no. 394, Minutes 2438.

members of a family are the owners of specific sections of land which the father of each family has inherited from his father.⁵⁴

Teichelmann and Schürmann thought it essential to reserve land where Aboriginal people could be helped to settle as an alternative to begging and thieving. This would also facilitate the ongoing contact necessary for language learning and evangelism. The missionaries preferred to concentrate on evangelism and not get involved in establishing settlements which were costly to develop, but the government was doing little so there seemed to be no alternative.⁵⁵ In 1838-1839, unable to obtain land and without the resources to go elsewhere, the missionaries could only grasp the opportunities presented by the Native Location.

3.4 The Piltawodli Native Location⁵⁶

In 1837 Governor Hindmarsh (1836-1838) reserved an area as a Native Location on the River Torrens' north bank in present day North Adelaide. It comprised fourteen acres by mid 1838. Huts were erected for Aboriginal use, rations distributed, a garden area fenced and a school planned. Wyatt hoped to teach Aboriginal people to be 'useful' to the colony.⁵⁷ Considering Christianity 'a part of civilization' and Christian instruction a necessary step in 'civilising' his charges, he welcomed the missionaries.⁵⁸ Teichelmann and Schürmann were concerned about the Location's proximity to Adelaide, its inadequate size, ambiguous ownership and government control but made the best of plans to settle Aborigines there. They had few options and it was difficult to accompany Aboriginal people in their 'wanderings.' Encouraged by Wyatt and Gawler, they took up residence there.⁵⁹

Teichelmann and Schürmann made learning the language, customs and beliefs of the Kaurna people their first priority.⁶⁰ They took every opportunity to mix with them, attending their ceremonies, visiting wurlies, inviting them into their homes and employing young men and boys. They joined Kaurna hunting expeditions. By February 1839 Schürmann reported they

⁵⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC. Translated by Greg Lockwood.

⁵⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, Jan 1839, TC; Schürmann to DMS 5 Nov 1839, SC.

⁵⁶ See Robert Foster, "The Aboriginal Location in Adelaide: South Australia's first 'mission' to the Aborigines," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* vol 28, no. 1 & 2 (December 1990): 11-37. Schürmann frequently calls the location *Piltewodlinga*.

⁵⁷ Quarterly Report of the Protector of Aborigines 1 April 1838, GRG24/1/1838/69, SRSA.

⁵⁸ Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon 'The Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860. Minutes of Evidence 609-612; Foster, "Aboriginal Location," 14.

⁵⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 13 Nov 1839, TC; Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1839, SC.

⁶⁰ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4th July 1839, TC.

could converse on everyday (though not religious) topics and had won the trust and affections of the people who visited them in large numbers. Schürmann, especially, developed close and empathetic relationships with Kurna men who, on the condition he told no 'black man', shared aspects of their culture usually kept secret. They urged him to be tattooed so their secret knowledge could be shared with him, as he spoke their language, was 'their man' and should be treated like one of them.⁶¹ His many adoptive brothers offered him their wives though this offer was not accepted.⁶² However, the Kurna's frequent movements and seasonal migrations in ever-changing small groups made on-going contact difficult. Teichelmann and Schürmann were frustrated by their lack of funds to provision themselves for accompanying the people on an ongoing basis.⁶³ Teichelmann thought if he had sufficient resources, it would not be necessary to follow the Kurna as they readily visited him when he had food to share. Informants were reluctant to share their language without remuneration. This taxed the missionaries' resources.⁶⁴ Moreover, two-thirds of the missionaries' time was spent providing for their own livelihood, limiting time for language learning.⁶⁵

Reluctantly, as their knowledge was far from complete, in 1840 Schürmann and Teichelmann published a Kurna grammar and vocabulary, *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology, of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia, Spoken by the Natives in and for Some Distance around Adelaide* at Governor Grey's urging. They used a phonetic orthography they had developed based on that of Lancelot Threlkeld. Despite Teichelmann's and Schürmann's reservations, Professor A Lodewyckz says this volume gives evidence of 'an unusual gift for linguistic and anthropological observation.'⁶⁶ In 1841 *Aborigines of South Australia*, Teichelmann's booklet on Kurna customs, was published. Teichelmann continued working on the Kurna language, even after the mission ended, sending his updated *Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect* to Governor Grey in South Africa in 1857 with further material following in 1858. By then few Kurna speakers remained and there was little interest in the manuscript.

In 1839 Gawler approved new houses for Teichelmann and Schürmann and huts for Aboriginal use at a new location further west at Piltawodli, a customary Kurna gathering spot in North Adelaide, near the present-day weir and opposite the Adelaide jail. Insufficient funding forced Teichelmann, with help from Schürmann and Kurna men, to build the missionaries'

⁶¹ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 19 June 1839, SC. Tattooing was one step in initiation into manhood.

⁶² Schürmann to Angas, 12 June 1839, PRG174/7/475, Angas Papers.

⁶³ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 Nov 1839, TC; TD. 24 Nov 1839.

⁶⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839, SC; SD. 24 Nov 1839; Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 Nov 1839, TC.

⁶⁵ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, undated letter (1841?), TC. TB198-9.

⁶⁶ A Lodewyckx. Biographical Notes on Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann.

houses on top of working for wages to survive and doing domestic chores and mission work.⁶⁷ Teichelmann and Schürmann encouraged the Kurna to settle on the Location so they could share the gospel. They feared if the Kurna did not settle 'like Europeans' they would be driven away.⁶⁸ They worked with the Kurna to build huts and plant gardens.⁶⁹ They were concerned that neither they nor the Aboriginal people owned the land and buildings and hoped land ownership would revert to its original owners.⁷⁰

However, according to Schürmann, Matthew Moorhouse (Protector of Aborigines June 1839-1856), believed it impossible to educate Aboriginal adults to be 'useful people' and discouraged them from settling at Piltawodli, preferring to disperse them among Europeans.⁷¹ Aboriginal agriculture ended at Piltawodli when Aborigines prepared the ground and waited in vain for seed potatoes promised by the government.⁷² In 1841 Teichelmann and Klose unsuccessfully applied for a twenty-one year lease of the two half-acres Gawler had allowed them to occupy at Piltawodli.⁷³ From December 1839 to July 1845 Piltawodli was the site for a school. With the school's closure, the school-house, attendant's house, Teichelmann's house and the last two Aboriginal houses were demolished following settler complaints about fights, tree cutting, begging, nudity and immorality.⁷⁴ Seven old people and two small children were physically removed in the process. Missionary Klose pleaded that at least one hut be left for shelter but the Governor ordered that no natives remain within the Piltawodli fence.⁷⁵ The Location was taken over by the Royal Sappers and Miners.

Aboriginal people continued using the area outside the fenced section as a winter camp and refuge when visiting Adelaide. In 1846, following Klose's advice about location, ten brick sheds were built as winter accommodation near the Torrens, seven on the north bank for the Pitta or 'Murray tribe' and three on the south for the Kurna.⁷⁶ In 1846 Klose again applied

⁶⁷ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, TC.

⁶⁸ TD. 24 Nov 1839.

⁶⁹ Teichelmann said he supervised Aborigines building 7 houses entirely alone. Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Sept 1840, TC.

⁷⁰ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, TC.

⁷¹ SD. 4 July 1839; Schürmann to DMS, 3 March 1840, SC. Moorhouse repeated this opinion before the Select Committee of the Legislative Council upon 'The Aborigines', 1860.

⁷² TD. April 1841. The missionaries and Moorhouse were blamed when a crop was not planted. *Southern Australian* 29 Aug 1841.

⁷³ CSO, GRG24/4E/1841/133, SRSA.

⁷⁴ Teichelmann says they were demolished because they were used for immoral purposes. Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, TC.

⁷⁵ 29 August 1845, Graetz, *Klose Letters*, 44.

⁷⁶ Schürmann calls them *Pitta Meyunna* (Pitta people). He also refers to *Marimeyo* or Eastmen.

unsuccessfully for land at the Location so that he might employ adults in gardening.⁷⁷ Settlers increasingly considered Aboriginal adults a nuisance. Efforts were made to stop them coming to Adelaide or confine them to their cluster of huts by enforcing the 1847 Vagrancy Act.⁷⁸

3.5 The Piltawodli School⁷⁹

In December 1839 Schürmann started a school for Kurna children at Piltawodli, partly to show Moorhouse they were capable of education.⁸⁰ Literacy would enable Aboriginal people to read the Scriptures. Not everyone was enthusiastic. Moorhouse doubted the possibility of success.⁸¹ Teichelmann considered it premature because the people were 'nomadic.'⁸² He believed mission work should start with adults. He wrote

I believe that I have to start with the parents. That is also the plan that I will adhere to. The children are dependent on their parents. If the parents are won over, the children will be too. However, in no way are the children ... won over if ... one word from the parents ... simply pulls the building down.⁸³

When Klose arrived and took over the school, the DMS warned against allowing it to conflict with his missionary calling.⁸⁴

Classes were conducted in the Kurna language, first in the open air, then in an unoccupied house, until the government completed a new schoolhouse in December 1840. Initially some adults also attended. One, Itjamaiipinna, learned so quickly he assisted in teaching.⁸⁵ Despite reservations, Teichelmann assisted, making teaching aids, translating Bible stories and hymns and sharing the teaching with Schürmann until the latter moved to Port Lincoln in September

⁷⁷ Klose to CSO, GRG24/6/1846/1165, SRSA. Klose's own garden included 50 vines and 50 fruit trees. Klose to CSO, GRG24/6/1848/207, SRSA.

⁷⁸ Foster, "Aboriginal Location," 28-29.

⁷⁹ For a detailed study see Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007).

⁸⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC. As schooling was compulsory in Prussia (from the mid eighteenth century) and Hannover, Aboriginal schooling was an obvious project. Education was not compulsory in England or the Australian colonies before 1870. Few early settlers' children had a chance of schooling. Consequently, literate Aborigines sometimes worked beside illiterate whites.

⁸¹ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC.

⁸² TD. 26-27 Nov1839.

⁸³ Teichelmann to Parents, 12 Dec 1838, TC.

⁸⁴ DMS to Missionaries, 25 May 1841, All Missionaries. 19.

⁸⁵ SD. 23 Dec 1839.

1840. Klose replaced Schürmann. Teichelmann taught religion while Klose was learning Kaurna. From mid-1841 Klose had full charge of the school.⁸⁶

Teichelmann, Schürmann and Klose were delighted with their students' aptitude. Klose found his pupils eager, equal to European children in ability and a joy to be with.⁸⁷ Teichelmann considered them superior in ability.⁸⁸ The school focused initially on reading, writing, arithmetic, general knowledge and Christian instruction, with Moorhouse teaching some English.

Kaurna cultural practices, values and priorities did not fit easily into a European educational model. Irregular attendance became the teachers' greatest frustration, hampering student progress and limiting the curriculum. Government rations provided an incentive for attendance but progress varied as the students came and went depending on their whims, their parents' seasonal migrations, and activities such as fights, initiations and funerals.⁸⁹ Teichelmann believed a 'complete educational institute' with a husband and wife team providing proper home comforts, food and clothes was necessary to deal with the problem and lamented the missionaries' lack of means for such a venture.⁹⁰

Aboriginal marriage customs and sexual practices also caused concern. At night older girls begged Klose for protection from their intended husbands who, though they already had wives, wanted to exercise their sexual privileges.⁹¹ They accused Klose of wanting sex with the girls as he had no wife. If he had had the money and a wife, Klose too would have liked to resolve the problem by taking the girls into his home or establishing boarding facilities.⁹² He thought a wife could also teach the girls handicrafts.⁹³ In March 1841 Rev John Eggleston arranged for Wesleyan women to teach sewing for which the girls showed exceptional aptitude.⁹⁴

The students' future on graduation became a question. Klose expected they would make a living among English settlers.⁹⁵ In 1842, two of Klose's best students, Kartanya and Kauwewingko, went to live and work at Moorhouse's house for a year as housemaids.

⁸⁶ Moorhouse to CSO, GRG24/6/1845/148, SRSA.

⁸⁷ 29 Dec 1840, Graetz, *Klose Letters*.

⁸⁸ Teichelmann Report, April-August 1840, TC. TB41-44

⁸⁹ e.g. Graetz, 22,25.

⁹⁰ Teichelmann to DMS August 1842, TC.

⁹¹ 10 Dec 1841, Graetz, 21. The girls were occasionally locked in the schoolhouse at night but were afraid to sleep there alone.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ 29 Dec 1840, Graetz, 14.

⁹⁴ 20 Aug 1841, Graetz, 20.

⁹⁵ 3 Sept 1844, Graetz, 35.

Relatives and friends persuaded them to return to their tribes and promised husbands. Klose claimed this was much against their wishes. Kartanya soon acquired venereal disease.⁹⁶

Governor Grey became increasingly involved in Aboriginal education. In June 1843 he decided to trial girls' boarding facilities at Piltawodli, employing Jane Russell as matron. Klose appreciated her care and Christian encouragement. He believed both the girls and their parents were happy as they were better fed and warmer than when living in the Kurna camps. Parents began voluntarily leaving their children at the school when they left Adelaide.⁹⁷ Klose supported Grey's initiative intended to overcome absenteeism, protect the girls and slow the spread of venereal disease to the children. There were always two or three students, girls or boys, with venereal disease, some as young as eight.⁹⁸ However, Aboriginal men still took the girls to nearby houses for sex.⁹⁹ Consequently Grey later demolished these houses erected by Teichelmann, Schürmann and the Kurna. Klose approved but Teichelmann and the Aboriginal people were most upset.

Boarding facilities improved attendance and progress. Fifteen children attended regularly in 1843, increasing to twenty when accommodation was provided for boys in 1844. In April and May, when Aboriginal people congregated in Adelaide in anticipation of Queen's Birthday handouts, attendance rose to forty-four. In 1844 Klose reported the children working well and making good progress in the secular subjects and that God's word was making an impression on them.¹⁰⁰ The curriculum expanded to include geography, English (which Klose considered necessary) and instruction in domestic and everyday practical skills.¹⁰¹ Klose recognised the need for the children to have breaks from study and time to accompany their parents. Students who attended school regularly for five months were given the sixth month off.¹⁰²

1844 saw further changes. Increasing numbers of 'Murray' people coming to Adelaide provoked conflict between Kurna and Murray children at Piltawodli. Grey started an English-language government boarding school for Murray children in Walkerville. He insisted that all instruction at the Piltawodli school be in English except for religion. On 16 April 1844, Klose married a devout High Anglican, Elizabeth Duncan, nee Holbrook, a widow with a five-year-old son. A teacher in England, she came to South Australia to teach on Gawler's advice. She took

⁹⁶ Letters no. 10 & 11, 1843, Graetz.

⁹⁷ 7 July 1843, Graetz, 25.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ 10 Feb 1844, Graetz, 33. Teichelmann says 14-18 year-old boys were the culprits. Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, TC.

¹⁰⁰ 3 Sept 1844, Graetz, 35.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 34-5.

¹⁰² Ibid.

a significant role in caring for the girls and teaching sewing and domestic skills. Klose wrote, 'In her I have a true helpmeet, who out of love for her Lord stands beside me in my vocation.'¹⁰³ Elizabeth took over sewing classes from the Wesleyan women who concentrated their efforts on the Walkerville school.

Teichelmann became increasingly uneasy about Grey's plans for Aboriginal education, especially the exclusive use of English. He criticised the rote religious instruction in English that Walkerville students received without any real comprehension. He considered the Walkerville school's emphasis on changing outward behaviour futile, believing only changes flowing from Christian conviction would have lasting effect.¹⁰⁴

In 1844, Teichelmann suggested the Piltawodli school too might be doing more harm than good.¹⁰⁵ He saw the need for better supervision of the boys out of school hours and 'proper control through manual labour.'¹⁰⁶ After consulting Aboriginal leaders, he suggested girls be kept at school until their twelfth year, then permitted to marry the men to whom they had been promised at birth. Otherwise the elders' authority and any hope of their co-operation would be destroyed.¹⁰⁷ Teichelmann wanted to end the relationship with government and move the Piltawodli mission school to Ebenezer, a farm settlement he was trying to establish at Happy Valley. Klose opposed this. The £60-70 a year Moorhouse said the school cost the government in food, clothing and school materials would fall on the missionaries. Klose believed Ebenezer's proceeds would not cover this cost.¹⁰⁸ With the establishment of the government's Native School Establishment in 1845 Kurna parents complained that their girls were pressured to marry Murray Aborigines. They often asked Teichelmann to start a school at Ebenezer but he lacked the funds.¹⁰⁹

The missionaries considered the Piltawodli school a mission school though subsidized by the government.¹¹⁰ Their salary came from Dresden while the government supplied accommodation, a school building, student rations, a matron's salary (from 1843) and £100 a year divided between the four missionaries 1842-1845.¹¹¹ The ownership question arose when

¹⁰³ Graetz, 36.

¹⁰⁴ TD. July 1844 and 25 Aug 1844.

¹⁰⁵ Teichelmann to DMS 4th Jan 1844, TC. TB253-54

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Graetz, 32.

¹⁰⁹ TD. 2 Nov 1845.

¹¹⁰ Teichelmann to Moorhouse, 27 Jan 1845, GRG24/6 /1845/115, SRSA.

¹¹¹ The latter was offered on the condition Schürmann continued working around Port Lincoln. From Oct 1844 Grey divided the £100 equally between Klose, Meyer and Schürmann, paying it directly to them. He considered Teichelmann to have left mission work. Memo, 22 Oct 1844, GRG24/6/1844/1179. In March 1846

Teichelmann employed Waitye and Paitya, two older boys he thought had outgrown the school, to help with Ebenezer's harvest, planning to employ them while providing further education.¹¹² He was concerned about the future of the Piltawodli students and the mission, writing:

If we let these children whom we have taught for several years go one after the other and do not bother to keep them together to guide them further in belief in Jesus Christ and to instruct them in practical living under our supervision and to lead them in the vital questions of the soul, we are nothing more than civilisers of the young for a period; the old ones are gradually dying out and then what use have we been to God's Kingdom or at least what benefit have we been to our church.¹¹³

In January 1845 Grey demanded the boys' return.¹¹⁴ Teichelmann was angry at the governor's interference in the school and his mission efforts. Grey made it clear the Piltawodli school was government property and under the Protector's control and supervision.¹¹⁵ Writing to Dresden, Teichelmann questioned the mission's future:

If we are to serve the government in its educational system, but from now on are unable to lay a foundation for forming an Aboriginal congregation with those who have outgrown the school, partly out of a lack of means, partly because the government as in the case before us lays claim to such individuals, then I hardly know whether our church is doing the right thing in spending its resources any longer on a field of work promising so little.¹¹⁶

Teichelmann thought Lutheran and English Christians in the colony had the duty and were numerous enough to care for the spiritual needs of Aboriginal people. He expressed willingness to transfer to another more fruitful field where he could give his undivided attention to preaching the gospel.¹¹⁷

In July 1845, the Piltawodli school buildings were demolished. Piltawodli and Walkerville students were moved to a new Native School Establishment near Government House on

Klose and Schürmann's payments were discontinued. Meyer's was continued a while longer. Memo, 23 March 1846, GRG24/4/1846/299.

¹¹² Teichelmann to Moorhouse, 27 Jan 1845, GRG24/6A/1845/115, SRSA; Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC. TB272-73.

¹¹³ TD. 14 Dec 1844, A57.

¹¹⁴ Moorhouse to Teichelmann, 27 Jan 1845. GRG24/6 /1845/115, SRSA

¹¹⁵ GRG24/6G/1845/724, SRSA.

¹¹⁶ Teichelmann to DMS, 11 Feb 1845, TC. TB278.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

North Terrace. Klose's students were distressed at losing their teacher.¹¹⁸ Shortly before the move they all ran away and joined their parents, something they had never done before. Klose persuaded most to return but the three eldest boys only complied when 'compelled' by Moorhouse.¹¹⁹ At Moorhouse's request, Klose and his wife continued to teach at the new school without a contract. With the school placed under the Anglican colonial chaplain, Rev James Farrell, Klose questioned his role as a Lutheran pastor. In February 1846 Klose informed the Colonial Secretary that the DMS agreed to his continuing in the school as long as the children's religious instruction was 'entirely entrusted to him.' The new Governor Robe terminated Klose's employment and all remaining government support for the Dresden missionaries.¹²⁰

Klose had done all he could to accommodate the government's wishes as long as he could proclaim the Christian message according to his conscience and further his Society's goal of an Aboriginal Lutheran church. When his services were dispensed with he was devastated. His letters reveal a deep level of trust and affection between him and his students. Writing to Robe, he said the children, while at Piltawodli, had been 'constantly' in his house or garden out of school hours. 'I was always happy when I had them with me, I assure your Excellency, it was a hard thing when they were taken from me.'¹²¹ Klose believed his school had proved Aboriginal children could be educated and without it the government would never have established its own school.¹²² Its influence is seen in Grey's instruction in 1844 that Mr and Mrs Smith should conduct the Walkerville school 'both as regards instruction and internal economy and arrangement...on precisely the same principles as those observed at the existing school for native children.'¹²³

The press saw it differently. In July 1845 the *South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal's* editor declared that 'not...the slightest good had been gained' from the educational plan followed for the previous eight years.¹²⁴ There was not 'the remotest hope of success' in civilizing 'the natives' but if there were any success it would be 'exclusively due to his Excellency.'¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Graetz, 44.

¹¹⁹ Graetz, 43.

¹²⁰ GRG24/6A/1846/96, SRSA.

¹²¹ GRG24/6/1848/207, SRSA.

¹²² Graetz, 45.

¹²³ GRG24/4E/1844/628, SRSA.

¹²⁴ 26 July 1845.

¹²⁵ 19 July 1845.

While focusing on the children, Klose never lost sight of the adult population. He hoped to develop textbooks that his students could read to their parents.¹²⁶ He held prayer meetings for the conversion of the Aboriginal people on the Location. He made weekly visits to the nearby jail to minister to, interpret for and comfort Aboriginal prisoners. On Sundays he gathered the people, or visited their camps if they were nearby, to discuss the Christian faith with them. When there was little response, he reminded himself of his own failings and those of other Christians who had heard the gospel for many years. He was confident God's word would eventually bear fruit. He saw his students' questions and enjoyment of prayer meetings and morning devotions as evidence of the stirrings of faith. He was encouraged when he heard children praying. Tainmunda and Kartanay, who helped Mrs Klose in the house, always prayed before bed. He was cautious about claiming any 'conversions' because he knew how the children liked to please. However, he thought it significant when he heard them formulating prayers in their own language, not just repeating prayers learnt in English, and consoled himself that his student were acquainted with 'the way of salvation.'¹²⁷

3.6 Schürmann's Mission Plans at Encounter Bay

In early 1839 Schürmann favoured establishing 'a peaceful place of refuge' for Aboriginal people five or six day's journey east, away from European settlement. One of his motives was probably to avoid being identified with government officials and policies. He believed many local people would be 'not disinclined' to accompany the missionaries there.¹²⁸ At this stage it seems he did not yet fully understand Aboriginal concepts of land ownership and territorial limits. Teichelmann preferred to stay within Kurna territory.¹²⁹ He felt called to the Kurna, believing they had a right to hear the gospel.¹³⁰ He thought the Kurna language was widely understood and through it the gospel was becoming widely known through the many Aboriginal visitors to Adelaide. He hoped that if he mastered Kurna, subsequent language learning would be easier and the gospel would spread while mission resources remained concentrated. He hoped to acquire one or two sections near an Aboriginal reserve adjacent to settled districts. This would facilitate contact with Aboriginal people while they could learn from Europeans without change being too rapid.¹³¹

¹²⁶ 20 Aug 1841, Graetz, 19.

¹²⁷ 14 Sept 1844 and 29 Aug 1845, Graetz, 36-38,43.

¹²⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839, SC.

¹²⁹ Teichelmann report, April-Aug 1840, TC. TB148.

¹³⁰ Teichelmann to DMS Aug 1842, TC. TB212-213.

¹³¹ *Southern Australian*. 20 Sept 1842. 2; Teichelmann to Angas, April 1842, PRG/7/720, Angas Papers.

Schürmann and Teichelmann agreed to part company.¹³² Teichelmann would stay in Adelaide for the time being for the sake of the Kurna and the German people becoming more numerous there. Schürmann would move away.¹³³ This had an added advantage: Teichelmann and Schürmann found working together difficult. Schürmann requested help from the DMS to acquire cattle and a few months' provisions.¹³⁴ Teichelmann and Schürmann requested further missionaries, one to accompany Schürmann, the other to work with Teichelmann.¹³⁵ Later as the mission faltered, Schürmann saw his request for additional missionaries as an error of judgement which he attributed to his inexperience and the way Gawler had whole-heartedly espoused the cause of the Aborigines.¹³⁶

Angas had suggested the Murray-Darling junction as the best location for a settlement. Before Easter 1839, Schürmann and Angas' geologist, Johannes Menge, made an exploratory trip as far as the present-day Morgan. The countryside's dryness and reports from overlanders they met persuaded them the Murray-Darling junction was not a promising site for an agriculture-based mission settlement. When Angas' hopes that the NSW government might provide land evaporated, neither he nor his company made provision for land for Aboriginal people or mission work within South Australia. However, the missionaries lacked money and, as foreigners, could not purchase crown land on credit.¹³⁷ They had to buy it at highly inflated prices from other purchasers.

After visiting Wirramu (Encounter Bay), Schürmann decided it was a more promising location for a mission station than the Murray-Darling junction (or Piltawodli).¹³⁸ In August 1839 Gawler asked him to settle there, promising him a house. He agreed enthusiastically though the Kurna were upset at his leaving them.¹³⁹ Schürmann considered Encounter Bay's Ramindjeri people a 'powerful race', superior in physique and spirit to the Kurna.¹⁴⁰ The location was some distance from Adelaide and gave access to larger populations around the Lower Lakes and along the Murray River. He already knew some Ramindjeri people and was learning their language.¹⁴¹ The move would mean working independently of Teichelmann and would forestall

¹³² Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 21 June 1839, SC; Teichelmann to DMS, 3 Feb 1840, TC. TB136-37.

¹³³ Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839, SC.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.; Teichelmann to DMS 4 July 1839, TC.

¹³⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S162.

¹³⁷ Despite earlier applications their naturalisation was not finalised until 1848.

¹³⁸ Wirramu is the Kurna name for Encounter Bay used by Schürmann. It is referred to as 'Wirramulla' on website <http://www.tourismvictorharbor.com.au>

¹³⁹ SD. 29 Jan 1840.

¹⁴⁰ 19 June 1839 and 5 Nov 1839, SC.

¹⁴¹ Schürmann, in Kurna, called them Wirramejunna or Wirramu-meyu, 'Encounter Bay men.'

a rumoured Lower Lakes Wesleyan mission so close to their own. He began planning while waiting for a house to be built. He hoped to take along Tammuruwe Nunkauere ('Encounter Bay Bob'), a Ramindjeri man staying at Piltawodli. However, the only way he could support Tammuruwe and, he believed, induce the Ramindjeri to stay put was through farming. He thought cattle should be introduced first, before moving to cropping. However, he would need land, fencing, cattle, implements, seed and draught animals.

The DMS Committee had debated establishing a Moravian-style settlement and 'civilizing' Aboriginal people. By 'civilising' they meant helping them adopt a sedentary rather than semi-nomadic life.¹⁴² The DMS' 1838-39 Annual Report said its primary concerns were spiritual – it could only support preaching and school instruction. It recognised that sometimes it might be necessary to found civil communities, as mission work needed 'orderly civil community life' if it was to flourish. It believed this was the task of lay people, however, not missionaries who should devote themselves to 'the preaching of the Word and the care of souls.' The experience of CMS missionaries burdened with 'earthly concerns' in the Wellington Valley (NSW) and the Moravians' good results persuaded the Committee that lay helpers were needed. Kavel's people could not support a mission until they had found their feet. The DMS offered to encourage German farmers and artisans to travel to South Australia and provide for the physical welfare of Aboriginal people so the missionaries could concentrate on spiritual work. Debate followed. DMS committee members were sent a questionnaire. D. Schmidt, Superintendent of the Evangelical State Church in Greiz, replied.¹⁴³ He thought heathen converts needed to see a Christian community living together in peace and comfort and realise Christ's promises were for this life as well as the next. He thought Moravians had shown that evangelism succeeded best in concert with civilising projects. The DMS decided to allow Christian tradesmen to join the missionaries and foster the 'civil culture of heathen proselytes' but they must pay their own way and support themselves. However, recruiting was 'postponed' at the 1840 AGM, with one exception: the already recruited Heinrich Lührs, a competent farmer and devout Christian able to pay his own fare, was permitted to proceed to South Australia.¹⁴⁴

The DMS agreed to support a second mission location in South Australia by sending Klose and Meyer but Schürmann's request for assistance for a settlement received this reply:

¹⁴² The missionaries sometimes spoke of the Aborigines becoming 'civilized.' They did not have in mind Western culture in a broad sense as many British settlers did.

¹⁴³ D Schmidt to DMS, 24 Dec 1840, Correspondence with Greiz, Leipzig Mission Archives, ALMW 1.33, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives. Schmidt ordained Meyer and Klose when Saxon and Altenburg authorities refused to.

¹⁴⁴ Naumann to Schmidt 11 Nov 1840, Parish Office, Greiz, Germany. Lührs arrived Jan 1, 1844.

It appears questionable to us that missionaries alone should undertake the civilising of the natives since by so doing they become distanced from their actual calling and enter a territory for which they are not experienced... we are convinced that you cannot do more towards furthering it than you indirectly do by way of the rallying voice of God's Word and by erecting schools and dispensing good advice.¹⁴⁵

The Committee recognised that 'civilising' projects were beyond their means. It suggested colonial artisans and tradesmen might support the mission and train Aboriginal people. It believed the government was ready to help with land and housing and admonished its missionaries to concentrate on their true calling:

You are not to establish a specifically civil community, but rather a religious one... Do not concern yourselves with the physical dependence or independence of the Aborigines but concern yourselves with their spiritual liberation through the spiritual means of grace.¹⁴⁶

Teichelmann also queried Schürmann's Encounter Bay plans. Provisions were more expensive at Encounter Bay, Schürmann would be even more dependent on the government and, more importantly, no land was to be provided for Aboriginal people.¹⁴⁷ Schürmann hounded Moorhouse until he persuaded Gawler to reserve three eighty-acre sections at Encounter Bay.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately all land within a couple of miles of the coast, where the Ramindjeri gathered to fish, had already been sold.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, government enthusiasm for settling Indigenous people on their own land was short-lived. The reserves were soon leased to Europeans. Schürmann's plans changed when Gawler insisted he go instead to Port Lincoln as Deputy Protector of Aborigines. In September 1840 Schürmann sailed for Port Lincoln.

¹⁴⁵ DMS to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 27 July 1840, All Missionaries.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Teichelmann to Brother in Dresden, 13 Nov 1839, TC.

¹⁴⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

3.7 Teichelmann's Ebenezer Settlement

Teichelmann believed Gawler had done all he could for Aboriginal people, in fact too much – providing houses and rations while requiring nothing in return was, he argued, turning them into idlers.¹⁵⁰ However he feared Grey was intent on demolishing everything Gawler had carefully built up.¹⁵¹ He claimed the Kaurna believed Gawler was well disposed towards them but they distrusted Grey.¹⁵² Teichelmann became increasingly disillusioned about government intentions. In 1843 he told Angas that the government would be guilty of exterminating the Aboriginal population if it did not provide more liberally for it.¹⁵³

Teichelmann had hoped to live near an Aboriginal reserve and so have contact with the people but there seemed no hope of this. From 1839 he began writing about the need for a settlement so the missionaries could live among the heathen he hoped would settle around them.¹⁵⁴ He believed this was necessary for the Aborigines' preservation and eventual Christianisation.¹⁵⁵ He asked Dresden for money for land and, believing Kavel's people were unlikely to help, for artisans to be sent out.¹⁵⁶ Over time his vision developed. He envisaged a 'haven' where mission personnel could be independent of government.¹⁵⁷ Here teachers and missionaries could be educated and, in their old age, live as mentors.¹⁵⁸ Living on the land would be cheaper than in town. Owning land and dwellings would provide some security from the uncertainty of government support and provide new converts with a home base and means of procuring a livelihood.¹⁵⁹ In his 'Plan for the Foundation of a South Australian Mission Station' dated April 1845, he suggested winning the adults' confidence so they would willingly leave their children to be educated and cared for. In addition to 2-3 hours classroom instruction they would be trained in handicrafts, domestic skills, carpentry and agriculture. He envisaged one missionary running the school while another worked with adults in their camps or in the city. Students would potentially form the nucleus of a Christian congregation with

¹⁵⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Sept 1840, TC.

¹⁵¹ Teichelmann to DMS, 10 July 1843, TC.

¹⁵² TD. 1 April 1845.

¹⁵³ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/22, Angas Papers.

¹⁵⁴ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 July 1839, TC.

¹⁵⁵ Extract from letter dated 22 Feb 1841, All Missionaries. 75.

¹⁵⁶ Teichelmann to DMS, 3 Feb 1840, TC. TB137-39.

¹⁵⁷ Teichelmann to DMS, Aug 1842, TC.

¹⁵⁸ Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841, TC.

¹⁵⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, TC.

visiting relatives providing an evangelism opportunity. The station would provide a comfortable and homey destination and employment and gradually become self-supporting.¹⁶⁰

Difficulties included high set-up costs and little good crown land still remaining.¹⁶¹ Already settled blocks cost ten times as much as crown land. Teichelmann believed at least 160 acres were necessary. To purchase and develop 80 acres of crown land would require at least £1,000.¹⁶² He consulted Stow, Eggleston, and William Giles, a SA Company agent.¹⁶³ Eggleston believed a settlement offering Aboriginal people 'temporal advantages' was the only way to curb 'nomadic' ways and achieve mission success but it should be remote from European settlement and would be expensive.¹⁶⁴ Stow and Giles considered Teichelmann's plan risky. All such plans in Australia had failed except the Wesleyans' Port Philip Bay station where costs were £1300 in 1841 alone.¹⁶⁵ They thought £1,000 in initial costs was not an overstatement. They recommended waiting. The government was contemplating settling Aboriginal people at a 'location' in the countryside which might serve missionary purposes.¹⁶⁶ Moorhouse sounded out Teichelmann about being stationed to the north of the colony, and in February 1842 travelled with Klose to find a suitable place. Nothing eventuated however.¹⁶⁷

When a DMS Committee member donated £100 to buy land near Adelaide to make the mission more financially independent, and the DMS seemed to be promising £100 to develop it, Teichelmann bought 80 acres at Happy Valley, nineteen kilometres south of Adelaide in October 1842.¹⁶⁸ He called the property Ebenezer. He hoped if this venture was successful, Klose could form a similar settlement north of Adelaide. His decision to go ahead was influenced by a promise of support from the South Australian Missionary Society in aid of the German Missionaries established in 1842. Teichelmann was, however, wary of the Society's desire to control the project.¹⁶⁹ Throughout 1843 he lived in a tent or with a neighbour while clearing the property and building two rudimentary houses with the hired help of a European

¹⁶⁰ 'Plan for the Foundation of a South Australian Mission Station', TD. 4 April 1845. TA67-68.

¹⁶¹ Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841, TC.

¹⁶² Teichelmann to DMS, 7 Aug 1841, TC.

¹⁶³ Teichelmann to DMS, undated letter (1841?), TC.

¹⁶⁴ John Eggleston, 10 Nov 1841, G22-23, Assorted Correspondence, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder G, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

¹⁶⁵ Graetz, 18; Lord Stanley to Sir G Gibbs, 20 Dec 1842, in Edward John Eyre, "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Aborigines," *An account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*. (eBooks@Adelaide, 2010). Chapter IX.

¹⁶⁶ Stow & Giles, 1841, G24, Assorted Correspondence.

¹⁶⁷ Teichelmann to Moorhouse, 1 March 1842, GRG24/90/302, SRSA; Meyer to DMS 12 Feb 1842, MC. Meyer says Moorhouse hoped to minimise conflict between Aborigines and Europeans.

¹⁶⁸ Section 502, survey B. Ebenezer now lies partially beneath the south-west corner of Happy Valley Reservoir. Teichelmann purchased 80 acres for £80, presumably crown land.

¹⁶⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 5 July 1843, TC.

and three to twelve Aboriginal workers (the number limited by funds). After spending £290 purchasing and developing Ebenezer, his money was exhausted. He decided to limit further development to what he could do with Kurna people interested in settling with him.¹⁷⁰

Teichelmann sold his horse and cart to complete his Ebenezer house. On 25 December 1843, he married Margaret Nicholson, a neighbour's eighteen year old daughter, and moved to Ebenezer in early 1844. He hoped to persuade Kurna families to settle and farm with him, move the mission school there and be independent of government.

The DMS Committee suggested all four missionaries relocate to Ebenezer to reduce costs.¹⁷¹ However, Klose, Schürmann and Meyer expressed concerns about Teichelmann's 'arbitrary initiative' at Ebenezer.¹⁷² They thought Teichelmann had misunderstood Dresden's intentions which they understood to be that profits from farming should go into mission funds to make the missionaries more independent of Europe. They believed Ebenezer's proceeds would be inadequate to feed and clothe Aborigines or hire farm labourers and there was no chance of government help. The government would not provide Aboriginal rations or invest in property not its own. They considered Ebenezer unsuitable for an Aboriginal settlement: it was too close to Adelaide, too small, in an area too closely populated by whites (making clashes inevitable), and the Kurna did not gather there in significant numbers.¹⁷³ Klose protested that they could not afford the set-up costs or the hired help needed because they knew nothing about farming.¹⁷⁴ The missionaries decided no more mission funds should go into agriculture – Teichelmann could only use his salary. Teichelmann felt aggrieved that his colleagues did not join him but continued their own attempts to farm with Aboriginal people. Possibly they wanted to continue independent of Teichelmann's control. Just as likely they did not want to relinquish more promising work begun elsewhere. Certainly Ebenezer could not support four families.

By early 1844 Ebenezer was in trouble. High wages and low cereal prices meant mounting debts. A missionary family could support themselves at Ebenezer but this would leave no time for evangelistic or language work. Hiring a skilled farm labourer would mean running at a loss. Ebenezer could not produce a profit sufficient to supplement mission funds or support Aboriginal people with food, clothes and shelter.¹⁷⁵ Heinrich Lührs arrived in January 1844. He

¹⁷⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, TC.

¹⁷¹ DMS to Teichelmann, 8 July 1843, TC; DMS to Teichelmann and Klose, 31 May 1843, All Missionaries.

¹⁷² 5 July 1843, Collected Letters. See also Missionaries' Conference Report, 15 April 1844, Collected Letters. Teichelmann had consulted Klose about a location and informed him of his decisions. Klose had left matters to Teichelmann's discretion. 'Defence of Missionary Teichelmann against the petition drawn up by Missionary Meyer and signed by Missionaries Schürmann, Klose and Meyer,' 5 July 1843, TC.

¹⁷³ Threlkeld advised a town location was better than one close to town as the Aborigines would run away to town. Threlkeld to Schürmann, 10 March 1842, TC. TB214-17.

¹⁷⁴ Graetz, 32. Only Schürmann had a farming background.

¹⁷⁵ Missionaries' Conference Report, 15 April 1844, Collected Letters.

worked fourteen days before deciding he could never do more than support himself at Ebenezer and no income would accrue to the mission.

Teichelmann's diaries describe his frustrations farming with Kurna people. He fed and clothed them while they worked, with the promise that the harvest would be theirs. They cleared, fenced, and planted potatoes and wheat, but preferred immediate remuneration to the promise of future rewards.¹⁷⁶ Teichelmann believed that nowhere else would they find 'such good treatment, food and prospects.'¹⁷⁷ He saw gradual improvement in their work habits, conduct, reliability and appreciation of his concern for them.¹⁷⁸ Margaret, under primitive conditions, fed workers at her table and trained Aboriginal women in domestic skills and sewing. Teichelmann was bitterly disappointed when, after a time away from the station, the workers failed to return to harvest their wheat as traditional obligations took priority. They neglected their potatoes and declined to put aside seed potatoes for their next crop.¹⁷⁹ Aboriginal people continued to come and go and Teichelmann employed them when he could. He initially blamed government rations and his neighbours' ability to pay higher wages for Aboriginal unwillingness to work consistently. Later he identified other factors – he expected his workers to attend his morning devotions, tried to address spiritual matters with them and was 'too well acquainted with their tricks.'¹⁸⁰ Aboriginal workers complained they had heard it all before and were expected to work too hard. Teichelmann recognised they could get more sustenance from the bush, with less effort, than a European could from his daily work. There was no incentive to emulate European work habits.¹⁸¹

Teichelmann had other frustrations. He lacked the resources to provide for workers' families or help the weak and elderly seeking sustenance at Ebenezer. He farmed four days a week to support his own family, time lost to his language and evangelistic work.¹⁸² His missionary colleagues and other Christians did not support him.¹⁸³ Governor Grey considered Teichelmann to be working only for himself. He opposed him training Piltawodli graduates in farming.¹⁸⁴ Teichelmann thought the governor opposed Ebenezer because he was against

¹⁷⁶ TD. 15 June 1844.

¹⁷⁷ TD. 23 Aug 1844.

¹⁷⁸ TD. 1844.

¹⁷⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC; TD. Sept 1844 and May 1845.

¹⁸⁰ TD. 17 Dec 1845.

¹⁸¹ TD. 4 Aug 1845.

¹⁸² Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan and 26 Aug 1844, TC.

¹⁸³ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC; "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Aborigines of South Australia," *Register*, 26 November 1842.

¹⁸⁴ Moorhouse to Teichelmann, 27 Jan 1845, GRG24/6/1845/115, SRSA.

settling Aborigines on their own land. Accusations he was neglecting his office to feather his own nest hurt him.¹⁸⁵

By late 1844 the Kurna were scattered 'all over the country' and Teichelmann doubted they would ever return to the Adelaide area.¹⁸⁶ It was clear Ebenezer could not be made profitable without additional capital.¹⁸⁷ Teichelmann told the DMS that they and Angas were unrealistic to expect unconverted heathen, through their labour, to support the mission. He could only continue if the DMS provided money for the needs of the Aboriginal people settling there.¹⁸⁸ Instead of spreading resources over three mission stations (Ebenezer, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln) he recommended two, each with two missionaries.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, given the fairly significant outlay, the small number of Aboriginal people and their 'unfavourable circumstances', even Teichelmann wondered whether it was possible to 'justify spending time, strength and means on a field the nature of which corresponds so little to the aims and means of our church.'¹⁹⁰

Teichelmann exhausted himself with manual labour while continuing to study the Kurna language and discussing spiritual matters with his workers at every opportunity. He regularly visited Aboriginal camps south of Adelaide and was distressed by the illness and neglect he found. On weekends he held Kurna services in the Piltawodli school-house and preached in the Adelaide Parklands – initially to the Kurna and later, using a translator, to Murray people, some of whom also understood Kurna. His diaries show that he challenged Aboriginal beliefs and engaged Aboriginal people in robust discussions.¹⁹¹ When visiting Adelaide he took time to hear the Piltawodli children say their prayers and his wife helped to teach them English. He saw signs of faith in old and young but also resistance. He and Klose both believed Aboriginal adults were dissuading children from accepting the Christian faith.¹⁹²

From February 1845 Teichelmann held services for about thirty Germans in Adelaide and from mid 1845 till February 1846 held fortnightly English services for a congregation of Independents near Ebenezer. In January 1846 the missionaries met in conference. They decided to lease (and later sell) Ebenezer. It had been the cause of 'significant and fruitless

¹⁸⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan/ 7 Feb 1844 and 7 Nov 1844, TC.

¹⁸⁶ TD. 10 Nov 1844.

¹⁸⁷ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ 'Plan for the Foundation of a South Australian Mission Station', TD. 4 April 1845.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. TA68. Translated by G Lockwood.

¹⁹¹ Entries for 1844, TD. Moorhouse reported an average of over one hundred attending in May 1844. Rations were given out. Letterbook of the Protector of Aborigines, 1840-1857, GRG52/7/1, SRSA. 98.

¹⁹² TD. July and Aug 1844; "Mr Teichelmann's Report on the Natives, at the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting (contd)," *Southern Australian*, 29 Jan 1841, 4C; Graetz, 21.

expense' and there seemed no prospect of the Kurna settling there.¹⁹³ It was decided Teichelmann would move to Adelaide to minister to city Germans, share the gospel with Aboriginal people and learn the language of Murray people displacing the Kurna. In April 1846 Teichelmann moved to Kensington, an hour from Adelaide.

Teichelmann had been unable to focus on language learning and mission tasks or achieve his settlement plans. He expressed bitterness about the DMS' inadequate support despite its Committee agreeing in 1844 that a settlement offered the best chance of mission success.¹⁹⁴ However, in 1844 Karl Graul became DMS Director. He opposed 'civilising' schemes and mission settlements and advocated grafting Christianity onto existing cultural and social foundations. He wanted missionaries to be financially independent of DMS support and wanted to focus on one mission field – India.

Teichelmann's aim was clear and consistent. While concerned for Aboriginal welfare he knew he could do little given government policies and lack of support. His primary aim had always been, not to 'civilise' Aboriginal people, but to have ongoing contact with them so he could learn their language and share the gospel.¹⁹⁵ 'We dare not,' he wrote, 'count on results or conversions so long as we cannot proclaim the Gospel to the heathen in their own language fully and with power.'¹⁹⁶ Proclamation was central: 'What point is there for me to work with the Aborigines,' he wrote, 'if I cannot preach the Gospel to them... it would be better for the Aborigines and me never to have seen each other.'¹⁹⁷ He believed if he had spent his time in undisturbed language study instead of developing Ebenezer he would have known the language better and Aboriginal people would have a better grasp of 'God's counsel for their salvation.'¹⁹⁸

In September 1846 the missionaries decided the South Australian Mission should relinquish DMS support because there were no tangible results. No longer would the missionaries meet in conference but would work independently as they were able. Teichelmann acquiesced reluctantly. He saw it as tantamount to giving up the mission as it was impossible to do mission work while working to support a family. He claimed that since purchasing Ebenezer he had endured censure but received no practical advice from his brothers. He had gone along with their decisions against his better judgement. They had been slow to recognise the need for independence from the government, allowing themselves to be 'bitterly deceived and

¹⁹³ Encounter Bay Conference Report, 22 Feb 1846, Collected Letters.

¹⁹⁴ DMS to Missionaries, 12 Nov 1844, All Missionaries.

¹⁹⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, TC.

¹⁹⁶ Teichelmann to DMS, 10 Jan 1843, TC.

¹⁹⁷ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, TC.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

imposed upon' by Grey. Teichelmann's conscience accused him of failing the Aboriginal people who might one day accuse him and his colleagues for not proclaiming to them 'the whole counsel of God.'¹⁹⁹ He continued to work on the Kurna language and address Aboriginal people in the Parklands.

3.8 Conclusion

Commentators such as Jenkin assume that the Dresden missionaries shared the government's civilising and assimilationist policies.²⁰⁰ Others such as Alfred Brauer and Anne Scrimgeour have portrayed the missionaries as segregationists.²⁰¹ However, the missionaries were theologically rather than ideologically driven. Segregation versus assimilation was not the crucial issue for them. Their 'core business' was to bring Aboriginal people to faith in Jesus Christ and found Aboriginal Christian congregations which implied the preservation of identifiable Aboriginal communities.

The missionaries were agreed on their key objectives. However colonial realities created uncertainties, differences of opinion and tensions about how best to proceed. The DMS' policy of focusing solely on spiritual work proved inadequate in the Australian situation, something Schürmann feared from the start.²⁰² It was inadequate firstly because of the difficulties of evangelising a people constantly on the move. Secondly, there was the need to provide for Aboriginal people's physical needs in a world falling apart under colonisation: to give them a temporal future as well as a spiritual one. Without this, mission work was impossible. Furthermore, the missionaries never received the financial support that would have given them independence from an assimilationist government unsympathetic to their objectives. Out of necessity, and with varying degrees of willingness, they co-operated with the government while protesting its inadequate response to Aboriginal need. Co-operation became increasingly difficult after the more sympathetic Gawler left the colony.

The missionaries had hoped to work among independent Kurna communities living on their own land, but such an objective ran counter to the Colonizing Commissioners' policies and majority colonial opinion. They were to try various means, as opportunity presented, to have

¹⁹⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 5 Jan 1847, TC.

²⁰⁰ Graham Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri: The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. (Point McLeay: Raukkan Publishers, Reprint edition 1985).10, 43-46.

²⁰¹ Anne Scrimgeour, "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s," *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 41 ff; A Brauer, "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia." Draft manuscript 303-000, 1947. (Adelaide: Lutheran Archives). Chapter 16, 8.

²⁰² Schürmann, "Obituary for Pastor C G Teichelmann," 8.

the ongoing contact necessary to learn Kurna language and culture and share the gospel while doing what they could for the Kurna's general welfare. They tried following them in their 'wanderings' and visited their camps. They used gifts and rations to gain the people's attention. They taught gardening and building skills at Piltawodli, encouraging the Kurna to adopt a sedentary life. They started a Kurna language school. Schürmann planned for a mission settlement at a location remote from European settlement while Teichelmann tried to develop a station within the settled districts. Klose, in addition to his evangelistic aims, focused on providing the skills needed if the Kurna's only future proved to be employment within colonial society. With time it became clear that the missionaries' goals were not in line with colonial objectives. Once the missionaries had lost government and community support they could not continue.

Mission work in the main concentration of European settlement, the Adelaide area, quickly came to an end. Schürmann and Meyer moved to less settled areas but faced many of the same dilemmas, with the added one that the government had less interest in their activities expecting only that they keep the peace between settlers and the people of the land.

Piltawodli ('Possum Home')



Figure 22: Dr Alitya Rigney at the Francke Foundation Archives, Halle, examining a letter written in Kaurna in 1843 by Waityi, one of Klose's Piltawodli students, thanking people in Germany for sending him toys and asking for more. (Photo: C. Lockwood)



Figure 23: Piltawodli Native Location showing the location of houses and school. Compiled using information on the Pitawodli monument.

Piltawodli



Figure 24: Piltawodli Aboriginal school and chapel.
(From W.A. Cawthorne's Diaries for 1843, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.
Ref: CYA 103 part 3 p 254.)



Figure 25: 'Aboriginal location, new one, west view.' Samuel Thomas Giles.
Adelaide 1840-49. (National Library of Australia. nla.pic-an2376875.)

Piltawodli Monument



Figure 26: Section of the Piltawodli Native Location and school monument looking towards location of school. (Photo C Lockwood)



Figure 27: Piltawodli monument features. Kadlitpinna, Kurna leader and language informant, left; possum below.



4 VISION MEETS REALITY: THE MISSION EXPANDS

The Dresden missionaries struggled to carry out their mandate among the Kaurna. It was not made easier by their financial dependence on a government whose policies they were unwilling to blindly carry out. When the mission expanded to Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln in 1840 it was at the government's instigation. In Adelaide the government wanted the missionaries to 'civilise' the people. In the new areas the concern was for racial harmony and law and order. Here, after Gawler's departure, the government had little other interest in the missionaries' activities and provided minimal support.

In 1839 Schürmann hoped to move away from European settlement and establish a mission settlement in an area with a larger Aboriginal population and more stable communities better placed to survive. However, he lacked resources to move beyond the limits of settlement, buy land and establish such an enterprise. An opportunity of sorts arose when Gawler invited him to move to Encounter Bay.

Believing two missionaries should always work together for mutual support, the DMS granted Schürmann's request for two additional missionaries so mission work could begin 'in the interior' as Angas requested, without giving up work in Adelaide.¹ Missionaries Klose and Meyer arrived on 9 August, 1840. Meyer planned to accompany Schürmann to Encounter Bay, but that same month Gawler asked Schürmann to go to Port Lincoln as Deputy-Protector of Aborigines instead. Thus the mission locations outside Adelaide were determined by government priorities. The work was now fragmented, the missionaries more isolated and their resources overstretched. Each location presented particular challenges.

4.1 Mission to the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay

The DMS directed Meyer and Klose to Teichelmann's and Schürmann's instructions, adding supplementary instructions. The four were to work as equals, making joint decisions. The DMS would support them as able but warned them to 'trust in the assistance of the Lord rather than in our care.' There were instructions for Meyer's wife. Friederike's first responsibility was her own household with the special request that she also help care for the domestic needs of her

¹ DMS to Angas, January 1840, ALMW1.48/144-145, London Files, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives.

husband's colleagues. She was not expected to have an active missionary role unless she had the time and inclination to visit and instruct the women.²

Meyer, accompanied by the heavily pregnant Friederike, was disappointed to proceed to Encounter Bay without Schürmann. Teichelmann thought he was too weak to work alone, especially as language work required much effort and, he believed, Meyer was not gifted linguistically.³ Meyer was to feel the lack of a colleague keenly, a situation he said would have been unbearable without his wife's companionship.⁴

The Ramindjeri, the western most of the eighteen Ngarrindjeri *lakinyeri* ('tribes' or dialect-linked units comprising a number of clans) of the Fleurieu Peninsula, Lower Murray Lakes and Coorong region, bore the brunt of European intrusions into Ngarrindjeri territory.⁵ Sealing began around Encounter Bay as early as 1800-1805, followed by whaling.⁶ By 1836 the Ramindjeri had learned to distrust Europeans, not the least because Kangaroo Island based sealers kidnapped and enslaved their women.⁷ In 1837 the South Australian Company established whaling stations at Rosetta Head (*Ramau* or *Ramong*) and Police Point (*Poltong*), the latter promontory now connected by causeway to Granite Island (*Ngalaikruwar* or *Nulcoowarra*). The whaling industry valued Aboriginal labour and provided the people with a plentiful supply of whale meat, but at a cost. Smallpox travelling down the Murray from the eastern colonies, possibly around 1830, had decimated the Ngarrindjeri with devastating effect on their morale and cultural and economic life.⁸ With whaling venereal disease and other European diseases spread.⁹ The 'godless' whalers' sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women

² Supplementary instructions on the commissioning of the missionaries Cordes, Meyer and Klose, 1838, HAE Meyer, Biographical Box, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

³ Teichelmann to DMS 1 Sept 1840, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁴ Meyer to DMS, 12 Aug 1840, MC.

⁵ Ngarrindjeri *lakinyeri* all speak dialects of the same language in which *Kornarrinyeri* or *Kornarrindjeri* means 'belonging to man.' Taplin called the people *Narrinyeri* in George Taplin, "The Narrinyeri: an account of the tribes of South Australian Aborigines," in *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, ed. J D Woods (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, reprint 2009. First published 1879). 1. *Kukabrak* was the traditional term according to Ronald M Berndt, Catherine H Berndt, and John Stanton, *A World That Was: The Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia*. (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1993). 19.

⁶ Charles R Hodge, *Encounter Bay: the miniature Naples of Australia: a short history of the romantic south coast of South Australia*. (Adelaide: C.R. Hodge, 1932). 120.

⁷ Graham Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri: The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. (Point McLeay: Raukkan Publishers, Reprint edition 1985). 26,30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁹ Meyer to DMS, 11 December 1840 and Meyer to Wermelskirch, 23 March 1841, MC; Chas. Driver, *South Australian Government Gazette*. 18 July 1850, 433. SA Co. manager John Macfarlen claimed his men introduced VD in 1837, Jenkin, *Conquest*, 46. Moorhouse believed it pre-dated formal colonisation. Protector of Aborigines Report, 14 Jan 1840, *Papers Relative to South Australia*. (London: printed by William Clowes, 1843). 324.

and children appalled Meyer.¹⁰ He was shocked as healthy individuals sickened and died.¹¹ Fertility rates plummeted.¹² However, whaling provided seasonal employment to the dispossessed Ramindjeri who were forced to leave the area when whaling declined from 1846. In 1840 Meyer had thought the numbers gathering at Encounter Bay justified it as a mission location but the community was already disintegrating.

Encounter Bay was surveyed in April 1839. Leading colonists, including Matthew Moorhouse and family members, purchased 122,500 acres. In 1840 Europeans numbered about 150. Meyer estimated Aboriginal numbers at 350.¹³ Numbers swelled during whaling season (April-October) when 200-300 Aborigines 'from the Murray' would congregate there.¹⁴ Gawler reserved five sections for the Aboriginal use.¹⁵ Unfortunately settlers had appropriated the best land, including the Ramindjeri's coastal fishing area.¹⁶ Meyer hoped to use the reserves for mission purposes but, following settlers' protests against reservations, they were leased to settlers.¹⁷

Gawler had good reason to want a missionary's influence at this point of contact between whalers and the Indigenous people who gathered there. With hindsight it did not prove to be a good location for an on-going mission enterprise. Taplin, supported by the Aborigines Friends Association, resumed mission work at Encounter Bay in 1859 but soon moved to Pt McLeay (now called Raukkan) on Lake Alexandrina, where more Aboriginal people remained and fish and game resources could sustain a more permanent population. In December 1840 Teichelmann and Moorhouse explored the area, establishing the Kurna and Ngarrindjeri language boundaries.¹⁸ Teichelmann recognised that the Ngarrindjeri population centred on Lake Alexandrina rather than Encounter Bay. However, Meyer did not have the resources to establish a station there.¹⁹ He received a minimal salary from Dresden but no financial assistance for a mission station and no support from Angas. His only option was Gawler's invitation to go to Encounter Bay.

¹⁰ Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841 and 2 Feb 1842, MC.

¹¹ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

¹² Jenkin, 49.

¹³ Angas gave a figure of 150 to the 1841 House of Commons Select Committee on South Australia.

¹⁴ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC. Other sources say 300 would gather for the whaling season. Jenkin, 50.

¹⁵ Section 14 near the Inman River mouth, Sections 173, 174 and 235 near Crozier's Hill, and Section 213 west of Currency Creek. Hodge, *Encounter Bay*, 47. Sections were usually 80 acres.

¹⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

¹⁷ *Southern Australian*, 28 July 1840.

¹⁸ Teichelmann to Angas, 27 Aug 1841, PRG174/1/1540- 43, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

¹⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, Aug 1842, TC. TB211.

The Meyers arrived there on 13 September 1840. They lived in extreme poverty, often short of food. Meyer reported eating birds their cat brought home as they could not afford meat.²⁰ They spent Friederike's dowry, borrowed money and relied on sympathetic colonists' donations and gifts in kind to care for sick and needy Aborigines and do mission work. Gawler supplied the Meyers with a one-roomed hut built for police near Police Point. By 1843 it was dilapidated. The location was unsuitable as there were no nearby Aboriginal camps, the soil was too poor for farming and Aboriginal people avoided it as it was too close to the police. Meyer said they hated the police after two Milmenrura men (part of the Ngarrindjeri confederation) from the Coorong were hanged on 23 September 1840 for killing survivors of the shipwrecked *Maria* in July 1840.²¹ Gawler's promised support fell victim to Grey's austerity measures in the 1840s' financial crisis.

Meyer's commission was 'to devote [his] time truly and diligently to proclamation of the Gospel.'²² To this end he applied himself assiduously to learning the Ramindjeri language.²³ His greatest difficulty was making contact with the Ramindjeri.²⁴ He wore his shoes out walking to their camps located at *Ramau*, four miles west of his hut, at *Kaindyenuald*²⁵ eight miles east, and on the 'Little Murray' twenty miles away where Aboriginal people were 'almost permanently settled.'²⁶ He could visit them only in the evenings as during the day they worked for whalers and settlers or looked for food. Trying to follow them as they hunted proved counterproductive.²⁷ Engaging informants was difficult as Meyer could not feed them the meat they expected or provide the remuneration they received elsewhere.²⁸ Efforts to persuade leading Ramindjeri man, Tammuruwe, to live with him had short-lived results.²⁹

Meyer started a school to learn Ramindjeri customs and language from the children and hoped they would provide access to the adults.³⁰ It was not, as Jenkin claims, because he was an assimilationist who, considering civilisation and Christianity synonymous, concentrated his

²⁰ Meyer to DMS, 7 Oct 1845, MC.

²¹ Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843 & 25 July 1844, MC.

²² Meyer to DMS, 30 Jan 1844, MC.

²³ Mary-Anne Gale, "Nothing Pleasing to Impart: H.A.E. Meyer at Encounter Bay, 1840-1848," in *The Germans: Travellers, settlers and their descendants in South Australia*, ed. Peter Monteath (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011). 70-71.

²⁴ Meyer to DMS, 11 Dec 1840, MC.

²⁵ Freeman's Knob, Port Elliot.

²⁶ Near Goolwa. Meyer to DMS, 21 August 1841, MC.

²⁷ Meyer to DMS, 11 Dec 1840, MC.

²⁸ Meyer to Wermelskirch, 5 Sept 1841, MC.

²⁹ Kneebone calls him Kung Kanevuri. Kneebone, Heidi Kneebone, "Why Do You Work? Indigenous perceptions of Lutheran mission work in the Encounter Bay area, 1840-47," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives* no.10 (October 2000): 25.

³⁰ Meyer to DMS, 11 Dec 1840, MC; von Wirsing to Meyer, 27 July 1841, MC.

efforts on civilising the young.³¹ Meyer began open-air classes in October 1840 with seven children, a neighbour initially supplying the children with sugar and rice but the one and a half hour walk discouraged the children. Without a building or rations the classes were short-lived. Gawler had promised to build Meyer a school six miles away on a fenced section reserved for the Aborigines but Grey reneged on this. Meyer blamed Moorhouse, claiming he was concentrating all resources on a show-piece Adelaide school to convince people a lot was being done for Aboriginal people.³² Finally, Grey gave Meyer a pony, rations for the children (for a short period) and permission to use a room in 'Government House', a slab hut at Encounter Bay for visiting police and officials.³³ Meyer was delighted on 5 December 1841 to gather 'my blacks' in the school house 'to proclaim to them the love of God which has been demonstrated in the sending of his Son.'³⁴ He realised that he would only succeed during the whaling season. At other times the children were scattered and pleaded tiredness because of the long walk to school.

Meyer became convinced a settlement was necessary if he was to learn Ramindjeri, share the gospel, hold the school children or provide alternative employment to the whaling industry. Heidi Kneebone says Meyer had a 'utopian vision' of an 'ordered, settled European lifestyle of spiritual guidance and work' as a 'prerequisite for spiritual understanding and sustainable conversion.'³⁵ However Meyer was not promoting a 'settled' lifestyle as being more 'Christian.' His motives were practical: to provide contact for language learning and evangelism and provide sustenance for a dispossessed people without which independent Aboriginal communities – and Christian congregations – were impossible.

Meyer's hopes for government assistance to teach farming came to nothing.³⁶ The financially strapped government leased Aboriginal reserves to Europeans, including the area promised for Meyer's use.³⁷ Meyer informed the DMS an Aboriginal church was impossible:

With regret we have already to admit that your desire to form Lutheran congregations ... cannot be realised under the present circumstances and also, unfortunately, probably not in the future; but your mission here can only be regarded as a work of compassion to lead

³¹ Jenkin, 43-46.

³² Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841, MC. Following Schürmann, Anne Scrimgeour attributes this motivation to Grey. Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007). 234.

³³ Grey memo, GRG24/1/1841/688.

³⁴ Meyer to DMS, 2 Feb 1842, MC.

³⁵ Kneebone, "Why Do You Work?" 25.

³⁶ Meyer to DMS, 12 Feb 1842, MC.

³⁷ Meyer to DMS, 2 Feb 1842, MC.

Chapter 4: The Mission Expands

the natives from darkness into light and to God away from Satan's might, and then to seek employment among the Europeans.³⁸

Meyer believed Grey's only concern was Aboriginal pacification and dispersal as casual labourers. He wrote:

The government has no other purpose in view than to keep the natives quiet... we are good people as long as we serve their purposes. But when we press for support or remind them of their duty regarding, for example, settling the natives somewhere or giving food for the children who wish to attend the school, we are unable to receive any other answer than: 'There are no means available for the purpose.' But perhaps the main reason lies deeper. The Governor has cherished a plan he hopes to realise, namely scattering the natives among the colonists in order that they might become of use to human society.³⁹

Meyer saw Grey achieving his aims:

The worst of this sad state of affairs is that because they are behaving peacefully here and are beginning to lend a hand to the colonists in their work the Government withdraws almost all means of support.⁴⁰

The DMS understood Meyer's desire for a settlement but believed it could only be achieved 'from the free will of the natives, as a fruit of the Gospel.'⁴¹ It urged Meyer to live with the people. It could not understand why Meyer was not in daily contact with them. His initial hopes dashed, Meyer concentrated on learning their language and customs in order to proclaim the gospel and perhaps help others through his language work.⁴² Two publications resulted: *Vocabulary of the Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern Portions of the Settled Districts of South Australia*, 1843, and *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribes, South Australia*, 1846.

Finally at Meyer's request, Grey reserved section 14 near the Inman River mouth at Encounter Bay for the benefit of Aboriginal people. Here they camped 'for months at a time.'⁴³ In February 1843 Grey agreed to lease Meyer twenty acres of this for his own use, free for twenty-one years, on condition Meyer remained a missionary, built a house there and used the section

³⁸ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

³⁹ Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843, MC.

⁴⁰ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

⁴¹ DMS to Meyer, 14 Oct 1842, MC.

⁴² Meyer to DMS, 12 Feb 1842, MC. Grey memos, GRG24/6/1843/145, 183, SRSA.

⁴³ Meyer to DMS, 13 March 1843, MC.

only for locating Encounter Bay language speakers – and on the understanding he would not request money.⁴⁴ Wanting to live among the Ramindjeri, Meyer borrowed money to build a house on two acres Moorhouse gave him from his adjoining section 82 and employed Ramindjeri to help clear, fence and cultivate them.⁴⁵ Using government rations as payment he also employed them to begin clearing and fencing the 20 acre lease. They took pride in their efforts, showing ‘great aptitude and liking for the work.’⁴⁶ Meyer hoped that when Grey saw this he would lend support and provide a supervisor. In the evenings Meyer visited the people. At last he was able to develop relationships.⁴⁷

Meyer farmed reluctantly, considering it outside his calling. He told the DMS:

Were it not generally agreed that the natives must first be civilised to a certain degree, and that the first step is to accustom them to work, it would be insufferable for me to spend my time on such peripheral matters, for I feel they have no relevance to our calling, and I also realise that it is not according to your will, since you require that the whole time be devoted to the preaching of the Gospel.⁴⁸

The DMS counselled him not to shun such labour: it would help him win the people’s confidence.⁴⁹ Meyer appreciated the opportunity to improve his language skills and influence his workers. Unfortunately the land was poor, white settlers having occupied the best land, and Meyer could not compete with the wages other settlers paid.⁵⁰ Moorhouse believed the people would never settle.⁵¹ The work ended when government rations used as payment ceased.⁵²

⁴⁴ Meyer to DMS 9 Nov 1843, MC; Grey memos, GRG24/6/1843/145, 183; Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary 21 Jan 1843 and 8 Feb 1843, Letterbook of the Protector of Aborigines, 1840-1857, GRG52/7/1, SRSA.. 66-67.

⁴⁵ Moorhouse says he would give one acre. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary 5 June 1843, Letterbook. 76-77. He may have later given another acre. Meyer declined to build on lease-hold land fearing his family would be homeless if he died. Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843. The Kloses forfeited the value of extensive improvements Mrs Klose’s money made possible to their government house and garden at Piltawodli.

⁴⁶ Meyer to DMS, 5 July 1843, 9 Nov 1843 and 25 July 1844, MC.

⁴⁷ Meyer to DMS, 5 July 1843, MC.

⁴⁸ By ‘civilised’ he meant living in permanent settlements. Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843, MC.

⁴⁹ DMS to Meyer, 20 Jan 1844, MC.

⁵⁰ Salomo complained about the inadequacy of clothing Meyer provided. Meyer to DMS, 4 Oct 1846, MC. Clothing became an issue with the demise of possums used for possum skin cloaks and the government ban on Aboriginal nakedness in settled areas.

⁵¹ Moorhouse to CSO, 10 June 1846, Letterbook.

⁵² Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843, MC.

The school and Sunday gatherings at 'Government House' had proved temporary. Meyer believed a school in the new location was necessary.⁵³ When Meyer told Grey he would request another posting from the DMS, Grey promised £20 a year in sugar, clothing and other articles for the children and a subscription for a school building.⁵⁴ With subscriptions, a small donation from the SA Missionary Aid Society, loans and settlers' donations, Meyer completed a schoolhouse, doing much of the building himself, with Aboriginal assistance. It began operation in November 1844 and doubled as a chapel for Europeans.⁵⁵ The children lived at the school, their numbers limited to eighteen by the supply of blankets. Meyer taught both in Ramindjeri and, acceding to Grey's wishes, in English, recognising the children were learning English from whalers.

For a while real progress seemed to be made. Supported by Friederike, Meyer was very happy in his work. He found the Aboriginal children quick to learn, keen, intelligent and responsive.⁵⁶ He reported growing faith in both children and adults.⁵⁷ Friederike enjoyed teaching the girls to knit, sew and make clothes for themselves and the boys.⁵⁸ In the evenings Meyer taught European children without charge. On Sunday he held services for Europeans (which some Aborigines attended) and gathered and addressed Aboriginal adults. He grasped every opportunity 'to be of use in some way or other to the natives,' employing them for food and clothing, visiting their huts, caring for the sick, elderly and dying (sometimes taking them into his own home), and comforting and interpreting for Ramindjeri prisoners on trial in Adelaide.⁵⁹

There seemed to be progress on another front too. Meyer hoped some Ramindjeri would settle nearby. He discussed the benefits with them, pointing out that as European numbers increased finding food in traditional ways would be increasingly difficult.⁶⁰ After seven months of whaling the Ramindjeri workers had nothing to show for their efforts: what they had earned was lost to drink or relatives. If they settled and grew food, he said, they would have a more secure food supply.⁶¹ Two men promised to build houses nearby. Nakandcanambe (or Salomo) completed his but came and went, torn between his tribal obligations and the new

⁵³ Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843, MC.

⁵⁴ Meyer to DMS, 30 Jan 1844, MC; *Adelaide Observer*, 2 Nov 1844. Robe tried to renege, only grudgingly granting it in October 1845 after numerous reminders.

⁵⁵ On 10 April 1844 Meyer reports 'moving into' the incomplete schoolhouse a few weeks earlier but it was completed and opened on 27 October and boarders taken in in November.

⁵⁶ Meyer to DMS, 30 Sept 1844 and 17 March 1845, MC.

⁵⁷ Meyer to Graul, 18 April 1845; Meyer to DMS, 7 Oct 1845, MC.

⁵⁸ Meyer to DMS, 17 March 1845, MC.

⁵⁹ Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843, MC.

⁶⁰ Meyer to DMS, 27 Aug 1844, MC.

⁶¹ Meyer to DMS, 7 Oct 1845, MC.

ways, his affection for Meyer and his ability to earn more elsewhere.⁶² In March 1846 forty Encounter Bay settlers petitioned Governor Robe for more support for Meyer's school and for six huts to be built as some local people had shown a desire to settle. Robe agreed to supply £50 from the land fund for the school but not for huts as Moorhouse doubted they would be lived in.⁶³

Without a co-worker Meyer found it difficult to run a school, visit distant Aboriginal camps, preach, teach and farm while often in Adelaide interpreting for prisoners. He lamented the fragmentation of mission work, its lack of common purpose and the failure to ensure two missionaries worked together.⁶⁴ When he requested an experienced colleague, the DMS refused as it considered its Indian mission's needs greater.⁶⁵ In 1844 Heinrich Lührs assisted Meyer for six months before seeking better pay elsewhere.⁶⁶ In 1845, a young German, Ernst Wilhelm Mackenzie, assisted in the school.⁶⁷ His services were dispensed with when Schürmann joined Meyer in March 1846. By then the mission was struggling to survive.⁶⁸

With the collapse of whaling in 1846 most adults moved away. School children came and went. They tired of the discipline of school life, unable to see its benefits, and adult influence drew them back into the old way of life, especially the girls. Grey had encouraged the police to return truants but Robe opposed forcing children to go to school.⁶⁹ By late 1846 the children had all left. Schürmann and Meyer decided to focus on the adults and bought land nearby. Cultivating it would lessen their financial demands on their Society which bothered their consciences given their limited results.⁷⁰ It would also provide contact with Aboriginal workers who would at least take part in evening prayers. Salomo and Sjirbuke chose to live near the Meyers.⁷¹

Meyer worked tirelessly. His letters suggest a warm relationship with many Aboriginal people who adopted him as their brother, calling him 'black man' because he spoke their language.

⁶² Meyer to DMS, 4 Oct 1846, MC.

⁶³ Moorhouse to CSO, GRG24/6/1846/261, SRSA.

⁶⁴ Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841 and 25 July 1844, MC.

⁶⁵ Meyer to DMS, 11 Dec 1840, MC; von Wirsing to Meyer, 27 July 1841, MC. Meyer repeated his request in December 1843. Klose believed both Schürmann and Meyer needed helpers. Letter 3 Sept 1843, Joyce Graetz, ed. *Missionary to the Kaurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper no.2 (North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002). 36.

⁶⁶ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

⁶⁷ Meyer fed him and borrowed money to pay him £10 a year. Meyer to DMS, June 1845, MC.

⁶⁸ Meyer to DMS, 4 Oct 1846, MC.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Like Teichelmann and Schürmann, Meyer recognised that caring for people's physical welfare must accompany concern for their spiritual welfare.⁷² Church historian Alfred Brauer claims he won their confidence and love. They mourned his departure and premature death and forty years after the mission's closure still spoke affectionately of their old teacher. After Meyer's death, they annually visited Friedericke and daughter Maria in Hahndorf as long as they lived.⁷³

The Ramindjeri repaid Eduard's and Friederike's kindness with affection and concern for them, but were frustrated at the Meyers' inability to make permanent settlement attractive.⁷⁴ Grey and Robe promised enough assistance to keep Meyer at his post but never delivered enough to give his plans any chance of success. The infertility of the only land he could acquire necessitated much toil for so little reward that the Ramindjeri questioned the whole enterprise.⁷⁵ They saw no incentive to copy Meyer and try farming for themselves. Alternatively they could work for Meyer but he was unable to pay enough to persuade them to do so for long. If they wanted money, more could be made elsewhere. Meanwhile the pull of their traditional lifestyle and obligations remained strong.

Meyer felt keenly his failure to convince the Ramindjeri to leave their former religion and embrace his offer of salvation in Christ Jesus. In 1844 he reported:

I, for my part, have been compelled to look back on the past year with shame and humility, because I have accomplished so little for the honour of my God and for the salvation of those who have been redeemed along with me.⁷⁶

Both adults and children did show interest in Christianity with its promise of eternal life. Meyer thought he saw gratitude when he debunked 'superstitions' holding people in the grip of fear.⁷⁷ On the other hand, he caused offence with his criticism of practices such as infanticide and sexual mores leading to venereal disease and threatening the people's very existence. They were annoyed by his questions about death and the ancestors, his talk of eternal rewards and punishment, and his seeing them as sinners accountable for their actions. The Aboriginal community's influence remained stronger than Meyer's message. Meyer blamed their 'innate

⁷² Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844 and 26 Jan 1847, MC.

⁷³ A Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1956). 167-69. Friedericke died in 1889 and Maria a few years later. Maria and her husband, Rev Aldoph Stempel, periodically cared for Encounter Bay Aboriginal children in their home.

⁷⁴ Meyer to DMS, 4 Oct 1846, MC.

⁷⁵ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

⁷⁶ Meyer to DMS, 3 Jan 1844, MC.

⁷⁷ Meyer to DMS, 21 Aug 1841, MC.

enmity towards God', preoccupation with 'bodily well-being' and an unwillingness to admit their sinfulness and need for a Saviour.⁷⁸

Despairing of success, Meyer told the DMS,

You have chosen a field of whose difficulties you had no idea...[P]erhaps not until the bones of all of us have decayed will the scattered seed grow and bear fruit... if God in His mercy should preserve the original inhabitants of Australia for long enough to give them time for repentance.⁷⁹

Meyer baptised no-one and no Christian congregation resulted directly from his work but Brauer claims many children and a number of adults were 'brought to a knowledge of the saviour and confessed their faith before the world.'⁸⁰ He records that Meyer said he instructed James Ngunaitponi (Anglicised as Unaipon) in the faith and claims he was one of Meyer's converts.⁸¹ James became the most influential figure among his people at the Point McLeay mission where George Taplin worked 1859-79.⁸² Brauer (1866-1949) was about 41 when James died. He probably knew him or knew of him during his lifetime so he would have been careful about making such a claim. James (1834-1907) was born into a Ngarrindjeri clan at Piwingang, a Murray River lagoon (west of Tailem Bend), South Australia. When he was a boy, his family moved to Wellington. Here in 1861 Rev James Reid baptised him at about age 27. Graham Jenkin and Philip Jones call him Reid's first convert. Jones says 'Taught by Reid ... he became one of the first Ngarrindjeri to read and write.'⁸³ Taplin heard of James from Reid. After Reid drowned on 24 July 1863, James consented to go to Point McLeay in 1864.⁸⁴ Brauer quotes Taplin: 'His coming ...gave me what I had long needed – a steady Christian, adult native who would always take the side of truth and righteousness. He became also a nucleus around which those who were impressed by divine truth could rally. There were Christians among the blacks, but they were isolated, and had no united communion.'⁸⁵

Brauer may be right in claiming James was converted under Meyer's influence before Reid arrived. Meyer records people 'from the Murray' spending the whaling season at Encounter

⁷⁸ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, 167.

⁸¹ A Brauer, "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia." Draft manuscript 303-000, 1947. (Adelaide: Lutheran Archives). Chapter 17, 21. James' son was David Unaipon, a polymath who appears on the Australian \$50 note.

⁸² Jenkin, 185.

⁸³ Ibid; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Canberra: Australian National University 2006). Online.

⁸⁴ Jenkin, 117.

⁸⁵ Brauer, "History of the ELCA (Draft)," Chapter 17, 21.

Bay each year.⁸⁶ During this time his school enrolments would jump. Meyer's students were reading and writing long before 1861. James was about fourteen when Meyer left Encounter Bay in 1848 and the Meyers remained in contact with their Aboriginal friends. Reid arrived at Wellington early in 1861. He was truly remarkable if, fresh from Scotland, he converted James so quickly. If he taught the adult James to read and write in English from scratch he did a remarkable job in under eighteen months. Jenkin records James corresponding in English with Mrs Smith (Reid's supporter) in Scotland in 1867.

Whether Meyer converted James or not he certainly laid foundations for Taplin's work. Initially negative towards Ngarrindjeri language and culture, Taplin learned Ngarrindjeri with the assistance of Meyer's grammar and vocabulary and developed an interest in Ngarrindjeri culture. Harris attributes the people's acceptance of Taplin to Meyer's popularity.⁸⁷ Taplin expresses appreciation of Meyer's influence in his journal.⁸⁸ In 1867, he wrote to Teichelmann, 'I realise that I am only reaping the fruit of the seed sown by Pastor Meyer and yourself, and I desire to give to both of you the credit to which you are entitled.'⁸⁹

4.2 Mission to the Barngarla of the Port Lincoln District

In 1839 South Australia abandoned its policy of containing the expansion of European settlement. Settlers rapidly moved beyond the reach of European law and order.⁹⁰ Port Lincoln's harbour had been used by whalers and sealers for many years when, in 1839, a small settlement was established. It soon became the most vulnerable European outpost in the colony.⁹¹ As settlers appropriated the best coastal areas and began moving their flocks inland, clashes with local tribes over limited resources were inevitable. In 1849 Moorhouse reported the Port Lincoln District had witnessed 'more disastrous occurrences with the natives than any other in the colony.'⁹²

⁸⁶ Meyer to DMS 25 July 1844, MC.

⁸⁷ John W. Harris, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*, 2nd ed. (Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1994). 354.

⁸⁸ George Taplin diaries 1859-1879, PRG 186/1/3, SLSA.

⁸⁹ Taplin to Teichelmann, 12 March 1867. Translated by Lois Zweck from a German translation of the original letter published in the *Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt*, 15 April 1867, 58.

⁹⁰ Alan Pope, *One Law for All? Aboriginal people and criminal law in early South Australia*. (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011). 5-6.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹² Protector's Report 15 July 1849, SAGG. 313.

In 1840 Schürmann was enthusiastically planning how to use the land reserved for Aborigines at Encounter Bay. He had been learning Ramindjeri, a door to understanding the languages of the strong Murray and Lake Alexandrina tribes.⁹³ However, Gawler visited Port Lincoln mid-year and realised the local people mistrusted Europeans. Hoping to improve relations, he urged Schürmann to accept instead a position as Deputy Protector of Aborigines at Port Lincoln and 'explain that the Europeans did not intend to be on hostile terms with them.'⁹⁴ Schürmann had gained Gawler's respect. His rapport with the Kaurna and knowledge of their language was well known.⁹⁵ Gawler's request was influenced by his fears after the *Maria* massacre that settlers would take the law into their own hands.⁹⁶ Schürmann accepted with a heavy heart in gratitude for Gawler's support and in the hope it would bring recognition to the mission. More importantly, Schürmann feared Aboriginal people would suffer unless someone concerned for their welfare filled the position of Protector. Race relations around Port Lincoln were bad and isolation made the position hard to fill. Meyer's taking his place at Encounter Bay made the decision easier. Nevertheless he lamented not working with Meyer and had doubts about combining the offices of missionary and Protector.⁹⁷ He saw the Port Lincoln appointment as difficult and involving considerable sacrifice.⁹⁸ Schürmann introduced Meyer to the Ramindjeri, 'almost all' of whom knew Schürmann, as he wanted to be able to face them 'as a man who keeps his promise.'⁹⁹

Arriving in September 1840, Schürmann found the Port Lincoln tribes suspicious of Europeans, largely, he suggested, because European 'crab-catchers' from Kangaroo Island were abducting Aboriginal women.¹⁰⁰ His efforts to learn the language and gain the trust of both Aborigines and settlers were hampered by clashes, thefts, and killings on both sides. Provided with a house in Port Lincoln, he encouraged local people to live with him. However, settlers wanted them kept out of town. He visited Aboriginal camps and travelled extensively with local people but became increasingly frustrated by the limited opportunities for ongoing contact. He believed 'one can come close to a person's heart only in the language entrusted to him,' but language learning was slow.¹⁰¹ Later, in 1844, he published *A vocabulary of the*

⁹³ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 7 August 1840, SC

⁹⁴ Protector's Report, 20 Feb 1841, *Papers Relative to South Australia*, 326.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Pope, *One Law?*, 136; Governor Gawler, Proclamation 17 October 1840, SAGG, 22 Oct 1840.

⁹⁷ Schürmann to Angas, Jan 1841, PRG174/1/1682, Angas Papers.

⁹⁸ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 7 August 1840, SC.

⁹⁹ Schürmann to DMS, 14 Aug 1840, SC.

¹⁰⁰ Schürmann uses the term *Krabbenfänger*. He may have misunderstood an Aboriginal reference to sealers. Schürmann to DMS, 27 Dec 1840 and 1 July 1841, SC. See Philip Clarke, "The Aboriginal presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia," in *History in Portraits: Biographies of nineteenth century South Australian Aboriginal people*, ed. Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus, *Aboriginal History: Monograph 6* (Canberra: Aboriginal History, 1998), 18-19.

¹⁰¹ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1841, SC.

Parnkalla language spoken by the natives inhabiting the western shores of Spencer's Gulf: to which is prefixed a collection of grammatical rules hitherto ascertained. In 1846 he published *The Aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia: their mode of life, manners, customs, etc.*

Schürmann became increasingly convinced the Aborigines' physical circumstances needed addressing. He saw the Aborigines' lack of food and the resultant 'nomadic' lifestyle as the main hindrances to mission activity.¹⁰² He questioned Dresden's sole emphasis on spiritual work:

You warn us wisely and correctly not to trouble ourselves too much with the outward affairs of the natives, but who can observe their situation without being impressed by how much they are dependent on external influences? Who, therefore can refrain from ... considering how to shape their external circumstances where possible so as to make them open to the inner influences of the Gospel of God and subject to it? In the whole range of the present missionary activity there is no people that can be compared with the aborigines of this land... Therefore I am beginning to fear that to limit mission activity to the spiritual domain alone – as correct as this usually is - is scarcely applicable here, and that the physical and spiritual deliverance of the aborigines cannot proceed from this alone.¹⁰³

Schürmann contemplated living with them but realised he would soon be stripped of all his belongings through begging or by force. As it was, his possessions were repeatedly stolen or 'borrowed' and he could not afford to employ anyone to protect them while he joined hunting trips and seasonal migrations. The delayed arrival of his DMS salary had meant letting go Gottfried Kappler, his young German servant, and giving up 'undisturbed contact' with the 'inland tribe' (the Battara yurrarri or Gumtree people, a sub-tribe of the Barngarla).¹⁰⁴ The cost of living was double that in Adelaide. His £50 salary (plus rations and £20 for rent) was totally inadequate. This made independent initiatives difficult.¹⁰⁵

Schürmann was strengthened in his conviction that the only hope to succeed in evangelism and avoid Aboriginal pauperization was to encourage the people to settle and practice farming. He hoped to establish an Aboriginal settlement some distance from European settlement to discourage them begging and picking up European diseases and vices in town.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Schürmann to DMS 19 Aug 1844, SC.

¹⁰³ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1841, SC. Translated by Greg Lockwood.

¹⁰⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1841 and 18 May 1842, SC.

¹⁰⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1841, SC.

¹⁰⁶ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 22. Aug 1842, SC; Schürmann to Angas, Jan 1841, PRG174/1/ 1685, Angas Papers. This was despite missionary Günther in the Wellington Valley saying his similar cause was hopeless. Schürmann to DMS, 14 Aug 1840, SC.

He believed the government was obligated to care for Aboriginal people as it had taken away their land and sources of sustenance.¹⁰⁷ He asked the government to reserve land for them, build him a small house on it and provide a labourer to teach farming and similar skills.¹⁰⁸

By 1842 Port Lincoln was under siege as Barngarla men attacked pastoral stations and police and settlers retaliated indiscriminately in order to teach them a lesson.¹⁰⁹ While Schürmann despaired of his ability to protect *Aboriginal* people, settlers felt he was not sufficiently representing their interests or protecting *them*. His official position often conflicted with his missionary role. He was expected to accompany police expeditions as interpreter. He witnessed the shooting of innocent, unarmed Aborigines, including some he knew personally and who had been friendly and helpful to settlers.¹¹⁰ He was pressured to inform on and testify against Aboriginal people and then to minister to those condemned to death. In April 1842, following three murders on Mr. Biddle's station, Schürmann was persuaded to interpret for an expedition accompanied by troopers led by Lieutenant Hugonin. He agreed in the hope of protecting innocent Aboriginal people but left the expedition in protest when the innocent Numma, whom Schürmann knew personally, was shot and killed. Following his report to Moorhouse his office was abolished on 30 September 1842.¹¹¹

Grey then offered the Lutheran Mission in South Australia £100 annually on the condition a missionary remained in Port Lincoln. Schürmann stayed but under the supervision of Government Resident Driver with whom he had clashed when Driver ordered innocent Barngarla shot.¹¹² Driver's policy was to subjugate the local population. He was to silence Schürmann and make sure no more negative reports reflected poorly on Grey's administration.¹¹³ Schürmann felt his efforts to protect and build a relationship of trust with the Barngarla were hopeless.

Schürmann despaired that Aboriginal people would ever receive justice.¹¹⁴ Thoroughly disillusioned, he begged the DMS for reassignment to any sedentary people.¹¹⁵ His activities

¹⁰⁷ Entry 1846, TA90, C G Teichmann, Diaries 1839-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TA, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Marcus Krieg.

¹⁰⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1841, SC.

¹⁰⁹ Pope, *One Law?*, 137-8; Geoffrey Grainger, "Matthew Moorhouse and the South Australian Aborigines, 1839-1856." (BA Honours thesis, Flinders University, 1980), 41-42; Richard Penney, "Port Lincoln," *Adelaide Examiner*, 19 Oct 1842.

¹¹⁰ 2 and 25 April, 7 and 8 May 1842, Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

¹¹¹ Moorhouse to Schürmann, 19 Oct 1842, Letterbook.

¹¹² Moorhouse to Grey, 10 Sept 1842, GRG24/6/1842/648, SRSA; SD. 2 April and 9 May 1842.

¹¹³ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 242-43.

¹¹⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843 and 15 April 1844, SC.

¹¹⁵ Schürmann to Pastor Wermelskirch, 22 Aug 1842, SC.

reduced almost exclusively to language learning, he advised the Society to give up mission work made hopeless by a lack of support and the Aboriginal people's migratory habits.¹¹⁶ Grey withheld support, Schürmann said, because he believed Aborigines were dying out and money spent on them was wasted.¹¹⁷ The DMS refused Schürmann's request.¹¹⁸ It was not convinced all was hopeless and urged Schürmann to greater dedication and faith.

In 1843 Schürmann began farming on six acres near the coast about four kilometres south of Port Lincoln, where he employed Barngarla men and used government rations as payment.¹¹⁹ He explained his actions to Dresden:

Even though the preoccupation with such external affairs is not the immediate and actual purpose of my mission it nevertheless gives me pleasure partly because it presents me with the best opportunity of advancing my knowledge of the language, partly also because the natives do not fail to appreciate the good outcome of such care.¹²⁰

Through farming Schürmann hoped to awaken a desire in Aboriginal people to make a living via agriculture, give them the necessary skills, and show the government what they were capable of if given the opportunity. He also hoped to provide support for school children.¹²¹ Results were mixed. The men worked with a will but, Schürmann claimed, lost heart when relatives demanded a share of their food. Other obstacles included the burning of fences, crop loss to fire, animals, birds and theft, and tribal obligations.¹²² Grey denied requests for land, tools and further rations believing the plan impractical and preferring to assimilate Indigenous people as servants.¹²³

In 1844 local tribesmen told Schürmann they would like to settle at Kunta, 30 miles from Port Lincoln, if he would live with them and help them farm.¹²⁴ Schürmann believed it was impossible to achieve much on his own and half-measures were futile.¹²⁵ He repeatedly

¹¹⁶ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 22 Aug 1842, SC.

¹¹⁷ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S159. Meyer also contemplated seeking reassignment to another country. Teichelmann to DMS 10 Jan 1843, TC. TB266

¹¹⁸ Dresden to Schürmann, 5 April 1843, SC.

¹¹⁹ 'half a German mile.' 1 German mile =7.5 kilometres.

¹²⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843, SC.

¹²¹ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844, SC. S176.

¹²² Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844, 19 August 1844, 28 May 1845, SC.

¹²³ Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843, SC.

¹²⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC. Mitchell erroneously accuses Schürmann of wanting to concentrate Indigenous groups at a single Port Lincoln station and of dismissing any suggestion of negotiating with Indigenous leaders. Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia Through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*. (ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc, 2011). 57.

¹²⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844, SC. S177.

approached the government with a proposal for a settlement at least 10 miles out of Port Lincoln. He believed this was more likely to succeed in the Port Lincoln area than elsewhere because the white population was sparse and the local people were more willing to work.¹²⁶ He said delay would be disastrous as the Port Lincoln tribes would decline in number like the almost extinct Adelaide tribe. Schürmann described his plan to Moorhouse. He proposed that Aboriginal people should be prevented from wandering among the Europeans, begging or doing odd jobs. Unless they had a regular work agreement with Europeans they should choose between maintaining their traditional lifestyle or supporting themselves on an agricultural settlement.¹²⁷ Government rations should only be provided at the settlement as rewards for good conduct and industry.¹²⁸ Hopefully such a station would be self-supporting within two or three years, and would reduce conflict with settlers and government expenditure on rations.¹²⁹ He claimed such a plan had never yet been fairly tried in the colony.¹³⁰ Hermann Kook, supervisor of the Hahndorf German settlement, promised his services free for the first year.¹³¹ In 1845 the DMS offered £100 for the project provided the government matched it.¹³² However, Grey judged Schürmann's estimated cost of £300 as unrealistic, suggesting £1500 would be needed. Moorhouse claimed any lesser attempt would certainly fail, be 'more trouble than use' and would frighten others off trying anything similar.¹³³ Grey left a final decision to Governor Robe who felt unable to grant such an amount.¹³⁴ Schürmann continued farming his few acres with local Aborigines until the repeated burning of his fences forced him to give up in 1845.

In addition to informal conversations, Schürmann gathered Aboriginal people on Sundays for a short address followed by lively discussion on religious matters. He also pressed the governor to support a school at Port Lincoln. In February 1844 Grey made Schürmann the offer to take over the Walkerville school with an increased salary of £70. Schürmann refused, unsure of DMS' approval, unwilling to submit to all the government's educational policies and reluctant to leave Port Lincoln for a situation that showed no additional promise.¹³⁵ Grey asked Schürmann

¹²⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844, SC; Schürmann to Moorhouse, 7 Sept 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488, SRSA.

¹²⁷ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488, SRSA; Missionaries' Conference Report, 15 April 1844, Collected letters from the missionaries and conference reports, 1838-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

¹²⁸ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844.

¹²⁹ Hermann Kook, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488.

¹³⁰ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 7 Sept 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488.

¹³¹ Schürmann and Kook to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488; Schürmann to DMS, 19 August 1844, SC.

¹³² DMS to Grey, enclosure no. 4, GRG24/6/1844/488.

¹³³ Schürmann to Dresden, 2 Feb 1846, SC.

¹³⁴ Robe to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatch no.46, 27 April 1846. GRG2/6/3/1846/470-71, SRSA.

¹³⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844, SC.

to submit an estimate for a school. Even when Schürmann reduced his request to £100 Grey said there were no funds – the government's Adelaide school needed the money.¹³⁶

4.3 The Mission Ends

At a conference in January 1846 and in line with DMS' wishes, the four missionaries decided to concentrate work in two locations, Adelaide and Encounter Bay.¹³⁷ The government's refusal to match the DMS' offer of £100 for a Port Lincoln Aboriginal settlement convinced them it would never help Aborigines settle. Without government help they were powerless to do anything. They decided Schürmann should join Meyer at Encounter Bay and the £100 be used there. With no prospect of the Kurna settling at Ebenezer, they decided Teichelmann should move to Adelaide and minister to recently arrived Germans and 'Murray' people congregating there. In February Klose lost his position at the Native School Establishment. With the Kurna mostly gone from Adelaide, Klose and Teichelmann ministered to Germans. They tried reaching out to Murray people some of whom knew Kurna, but with little success. They could no longer gather people in the Piltawodli schoolhouse or provide rations. The Vagrancy Act of 1847 discouraged Aboriginal people congregating in Adelaide. Schürmann moved to Encounter Bay reluctantly as he felt the Barngarla people depended on him.

Teichelmann insisted it was the DMS' responsibility to support its missionaries but Meyer accepted its wish that they become independent and was reluctant to take money which could more profitably support the DMS' flourishing Indian mission. Despite Teichelmann's reluctance, at Meyer's instigation the missionaries decided in September 1846 to retain their association with the DMS but relinquish its monetary support.¹³⁸ They decided to support themselves, seizing whatever evangelistic opportunities arose.¹³⁹ Schürmann and Meyer supported themselves while farming with Aborigines at Encounter Bay. Meyer supplemented his income working as a bullocky.¹⁴⁰

With the Adelaide Anglican diocese' formation in 1847, Bishop Short demanded the right to supervise the Dresden missionaries, with all converts becoming members of the Church of

¹³⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 11 Dec 1844, SC.

¹³⁷ Meyer and Schürmann to DMS, 22 Jan 1846, Collected Letters.

¹³⁸ Teichelmann to DMS, 5 Jan 1847, TC.

¹³⁹ Meyer to DMS, 26 Jan 1847, MC.

¹⁴⁰ Meyer to DMS, 4 Oct 1846, MC.

England as they were English subjects.¹⁴¹ Seeing no future for a Lutheran church, the missionaries asked the DMS to release them. Advice that the DMS had granted their request reached them early in 1848.¹⁴² The Lutheran Mission was closed, the four missionaries planning as individuals to assist Indigenous people as they were able.¹⁴³

In April 1848 Meyer was called to serve the Bethany Lutheran congregation in the Barossa Valley. He accepted, citing the Lutheran settlers' needs, the opportunity to work more effectively as a pastor and the poor prospects for an Aboriginal Lutheran Church.¹⁴⁴ While at Bethany Meyer started new congregations at Eden Valley, Hoffnungsthal, Rosenthal, Schönborn, Ebenezer, Neukirch, Karlsruhe, Friedrichswalde, Peter's Hill, Gnadenberg and Steinau. He assisted Pastor Daniel Fritzsche to train the first Australian Lutheran pastors and through his congregation supported the Leipzig Mission in India. He was the first elected President of the Bethany-Lobethal Synod (later the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia or ELSA) 1851-61.

In 1846 Klose and Teichelmann organised Trinity Lutheran congregation among Adelaide Germans. Some members later formed the still flourishing Bethlehem Lutheran Church. Klose served the congregation 1846-1851. He bought Ebenezer and in retirement lived and farmed at Happy Valley where he became involved in the local Congregationalist congregation. From 1848 Teichelmann supported his family by farming at Morphett Vale, taking fortnightly services at Trinity 1851-1856.¹⁴⁵ He assisted Pastor Fritzsche to train future pastors and was a member of the mission board which planned the Killalpaninna Lutheran mission started in 1866. He served as Lutheran pastor at Salem near Callington 1856-58, Callington and Kanmantoo 1858-64, Peter's Hill and Karlsruhe 1865-1867 and Monarto 1871-1872. In retirement he moved to Yorke Peninsula in 1874 and became a founding member of the Stansbury Methodist Church.

4.4 Schürmann Returns to Port Lincoln

Though legislation passed between 1844 and 1849 allowed for Aboriginal evidence and unsworn interpreters to be used in court, a lack of interpreters denied Aboriginal people justice

¹⁴¹ *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*, 1 July 1849 (Dresden: ELMS). 195; Meyer to Dresden, 29 August 1848, MC.

¹⁴² Hermann Karsten, *Die Geschichte der evangelisch-lutheran Mission in Leipzig*. (Guenstow, 1893). 65.

¹⁴³ Klose to Robe, 15 Feb 1848, GRG24/6/1848/207, SRSA.

¹⁴⁴ Meyer to DMS, 29 Aug 1848, MC.

¹⁴⁵ Section 615, hundred of Noarlunga.

and caused lengthy court delays which tempted settlers to seek redress outside the law.¹⁴⁶ Concerned, Robe asked Schürmann in 1848 to return to Port Lincoln as court interpreter. Schürmann hesitated, remembering earlier confrontations with the justice system, but a regular salary and Aboriginal need persuaded him to accept. This time he was accompanied by a wife and an infant son. On 11 February 1847, he had married Wilhelmine Charlotte Maschmedt (Minna) from Osnabrück, Hannover. Minna was described as 'kind, loving, gentle and placid, but hardworking and willing.'¹⁴⁷

Schürmann was expected to do much more than interpret in court. There was a 'reign of terror' on the Eyre Peninsula.¹⁴⁸ Schürmann was expected to accompany the Protector and police in murder investigations and write reports. He was distressed as settlers took the law into their own hands and police punished guilty and innocent Aborigines alike.

Aware of Schürmann's close relationship with the people, in late 1849 Governor Young (1848-54) offered him a salary of £50 to start a school for Aboriginal children.¹⁴⁹ 'If not productive of ... permanent and general good,' wrote Young, it would 'at least have a tendency to generate and maintain kindly feelings between the Natives at Port Lincoln and the European settlers.' Should no other benefit ensue, he thought it was worth the cost.¹⁵⁰ Schürmann started a school at 'Wallala', near North Shields, 12 kilometres north of Port Lincoln.¹⁵¹ Government expenditure was minimal. In 1851 Moorhouse reported the students were still sitting on the ground with no forms or tables.¹⁵² Government Resident Driver reported that 'the parents as well as the children appear favourably disposed towards the institution.'¹⁵³ Schürmann taught in the Barngarla language. He had few attendance problems, the number of students only limited by the government rations supplied.¹⁵⁴ Schürmann reported that the adults 'have given me every

¹⁴⁶ Pope, *One Law?*, 64.

¹⁴⁷ Ted Schurmann, *I'd rather dig potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia, 1838-1853*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987).182.

¹⁴⁸ Police Commissioner Tolmer quoted in *ibid.*, 185.

¹⁴⁹ Moorhouse to Schürmann, 3 Nov 1849, Letterbook.

¹⁵⁰ Gov. Young to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatch no. 50, 21 March 1850. GRG2/6/1850/5, SRSA.

¹⁵¹ Cynthia Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task: Clamor Schürmann and the language achievements among the Parnkalla, Port Lincoln –1840-1852," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 8 (October 1998). 91. Port Lincoln Resident Magistrate Driver reports that Schürmann's school opened 1 May 1850 (SAGG, 18 July 1851, 433) but Hale say it commenced in 1849 (SAGG, 2 June 1853, 363). The school possibly began without a dedicated school building, as happened at Piltawodli. The school came under Hale's management 1 Jan 1853 (SAGG, March 24, 1853, 193) and closed in February 1853 (Peggy Brock, *Outback Ghettos: Aborigines, institutionalisation and survival*, Studies in Australian history. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 41.)

¹⁵² Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, 20 Jan 1851, Letterbook.

¹⁵³ SAGG, 18 July 1859, 433.

¹⁵⁴ Phillipa Walsh, "The Problem of Native Policy in South Australia in the C19th with Particular Reference to the Church of England Poonindie Mission, 1859-1896." (BA hons., University of Adelaide, 1966), 70. Attendance temporarily dropped when the government withdrew meat rations, SAGG, 30 June 1851, 81.

support in their power to keep the children at school.¹⁵⁵ He won his students' confidence and affection and continued sharing the gospel also with adults. The botanist, Charles Wilhelmi, visiting the school in 1851, reported that 'twenty-four native children attended his school, and had made pretty considerable progress in reading, writing, &c., which was rendered the more easy to them by the advantage that all information was by this most excellent man conveyed to them in their own language.'¹⁵⁶ Schürmann wrote to Meyer in 1851: 'The black children in the school are giving us a joyful expectation and on the whole we are very happy.'¹⁵⁷ Schürmann supplemented his income by farming and continued to share the gospel with adults.

Schürmann's school was short-lived. Governor Young preferred supporting his own church's initiatives. As Anglicans entered mission work Young transferred his support to them.¹⁵⁸ With Moorhouse's backing, Archdeacon Matthew Hale approached Young with a proposal for a Christian settlement.¹⁵⁹ In October 1850 Hale established an agriculture-based mission settlement for young couples from the Adelaide Native School Establishment on a native reserve at Poonindie on the Tod River (a site Schürmann had suggested for his proposed settlement), five kilometres from Schürmann's school and sixteen kilometres north of Port Lincoln.¹⁶⁰ Barngarla adults and students were initially excluded. Schürmann's school was for Barngarla children and 'wild' Aborigines could visit it.¹⁶¹ Hale repeatedly asked Schürmann to join him at Poonindie.¹⁶² Schürmann feared Hale wanted to reduce his school's influence and would find a way to move it to Poonindie, but he was unwilling to leave the Lutheran Church and join a church with whose theology he disagreed.¹⁶³

In 1852 German and Wendish Lutherans moving to Western Victoria asked Schürmann to accompany them as their pastor. Schürmann was unwilling to desert his students.¹⁶⁴ He suggested Teichelmann or Klose be called as neither had an ecclesiastical appointment.¹⁶⁵ He

¹⁵⁵ SAGG, 24 March 1853, 193.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Wilhelmi, *Manners and Customs of the Australian Aborigines*. (Melbourne: Mason and Firth, 1862). 2.

¹⁵⁷ Schürmann to Meyer, 23 Aug 1851, Schürmann, C W 2/Correspondence file no. 2, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

¹⁵⁸ Harris, 338.

¹⁵⁹ Moorhouse report, 26 June 1850, Letterbook.

¹⁶⁰ Hale's mission began on Boston Island Sept 1850 and moved to Poonindie a month later. Mathew B. Hale, *The Aborigines of Australia: Being an Account of the Institution for Their Education at Poonindie*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889. 14-15.

¹⁶¹ Walsh, "Native Policy," 74.

¹⁶² Schürmann to Meyer, 23 Aug 1851, SC. Translation by G. Lockwood.

¹⁶³ Ibid.; Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Dec 1852, TC.

¹⁶⁴ Schürmann to Meyer, 17 Jan 1852, SC.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

was convinced his call was to be where he was. 'I [have] finally found my settled place and made it comfortable,' he told Meyer, 'I would be quite wretchedly crucified by the change.'¹⁶⁶ However, the economic impact of the eastern states' gold rushes forced the South Australian government to lay off officials.¹⁶⁷ In January 1852 Schürmann's employment as interpreter was terminated. The Adelaide school's closure in 1852 cut off Hale's main source of students. Poonindie's death rate was very high and some students absconded. It seems this forced Hale to seek replacements.¹⁶⁸ Young acceded to Hale's request to transfer Schürmann's students to his charge.¹⁶⁹ Schürmann bowed to the inevitable. From 1 January 1853 Hale assumed responsibility for Schürmann's school. In February it was closed, twenty-one students were transferred to Poonindie and Dresden Mission work in South Australia ended.¹⁷⁰

Schürmann moved to the Hamilton, Victoria, area in 1853 where he served the rest of his life. From Hochkirch (Tarrington, five miles from Hamilton) he served Lutherans as far afield as Mt Gambier, Portland, Warrnambool, Geelong and the Wimmera. From 1885 he was President of the Victorian District of the ELSA.

In 1862 an Adelaide pastor and former Leipzig missionary in India, Rev Johann Friedrich Meischel expressed regret about the relinquishment of Lutheran Aboriginal mission work in South Australia and challenged local Lutherans to make another start.¹⁷¹ ELSA and Langmeil-Light's Pass Synod Lutheran congregations on 8 March 1863 decided to begin mission work in the Lake Hope region of the Lake Eyre Basin.¹⁷² Schürmann was asked to undertake this work.¹⁷³ Although his 'heart felt inclined to accept,' he declined. At forty-eight he believed a younger, stronger man was needed. He had a sick wife and 'numerous growing children.' More importantly, his Hochkirch congregation opposed his accepting and he felt obliged to continue serving them.¹⁷⁴ Writing to missionary Cordes in India, Schürmann mentioned other concerns: he predicted factionalism among supporting congregations, believed the mission

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Mathew B. Hale, *The Aborigines*, 70.

¹⁶⁸ Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task," 93; Peggy Brock, Doreen Kartinyeri, and Aboriginal Heritage Branch, South Australia, *Poonindie: the rise and destruction of an Aboriginal agricultural community*. (Adelaide: Government Printer and the Aboriginal Heritage Branch, Dept. of Environment and Planning, South Australia, 1989).

¹⁶⁹ Young to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatch no. 64, 7 May 1852 GRG2/6/6/1852, SRSA.

¹⁷⁰ Protector's Report, SAGG, 2 June 1853, 362.

¹⁷¹ *Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt*. (1862). No.1. Meischel left India in protest over the Leipzig Mission's caste policy.

¹⁷² For a fuller account see Lois Zweck, "For they are our neighbours," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives* no. 22 (December 2012). Mission work began in 1866 at Kooperamma and later Killalpaninna.

¹⁷³ Ph. J Oster to Schürmann, 8 March and 16 March 1863, Minute Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in South Australia 1863-1875, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Werner Hebart.

¹⁷⁴ C W Schürmann to Rev P Oster, 12 April 1863, *ibid*.

required greater means than they were willing or able to contribute, and, like Meyer, preferred to continue supporting Indian mission work.¹⁷⁵

4.5 Concluding Remarks

The Dresden missionaries' core mandate to share the gospel was overwhelmed by the difficulties of evangelising and responding to the needs of a semi-migratory people whose existence was threatened by settler society. At Encounter Bay Meyer found a dwindling, disease-ridden people, dispossessed of their land and exploited by the whaling industry and settlers. On Eyre Peninsula, conflict over meagre natural resources, settler violence and the difficulties of procuring justice for Aboriginal people frustrated Schürmann efforts.

From 1840 Aboriginal pacification became a major government preoccupation. While unrest threatened, a missionary presence suited government purposes. Beyond the reach of the Adelaide public's gaze the 'civilising mission' was not a government spending priority, nor were the needs of Aboriginal people. Gawler had sympathised with the missionaries' evangelistic aims and showed confidence in them. In requesting that they extend their work to Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln he was, however, instrumental in fragmenting their work, over-stretching their resources and sentencing Schürmann and Meyer to lonely roles beyond the capacity of one man to perform. Governors Grey, Robe and Young saw the missionaries' main contribution as serving law and order and better race relations. Grey gave just enough aid and made just enough promises to keep them at their posts, but not enough for them to be able to achieve anything lasting. The orderly expansion and well-being of settler society was of greater importance. When supporting Anglican mission efforts became an option, Robe and Young withdrew support from the Lutherans.

The government's failure to provide for Aboriginal welfare and protection compelled the missionaries to try to fill the void but the DMS was out of touch with colonial realities and unable to provide the funds needed for its missionaries to independently pursue their goals. Dependent on government and local charity, they were constantly frustrated and forced to compromise. Schürmann in particular felt this while employed by the government. Teichelmann too was outspoken on the issue and critical of Klose's and Meyer's willingness to compromise in return for government support. In time the missionaries became irrelevant to government purposes, their vision out of step with government policy and colonial attitudes.

¹⁷⁵ Schürmann to Cordes, 14 Aug 1863, SC. S209. Schürmann's predictions proved largely correct.

Chapter 4: The Mission Expands

The missionaries were forced to relinquish their work before they had baptised anyone, let alone established Aboriginal congregations, but Brauer reports that Pastor Daniel Fritzsche, Meyer's good friend, claimed the Dresden missionaries made a number of converts.¹⁷⁶ Certainly the Dresden missionaries laid the foundation for Anglican mission work and that of Taplin. Given the colonial situation and the inadequate support from the DMS and government, it is amazing the Dresden men achieved what they did. They built relationships, gained the confidence of many Aboriginal people and recorded their languages and customs. Rathjen pays tribute to Schürmann's contribution to healing wounded relationships between Aboriginal people and Europeans.¹⁷⁷ Brauer claims Schürmann was influential in reducing the violence between Aboriginal and settler populations.¹⁷⁸ He quotes police inspector Captain Alexander Tolmer as saying that Meyer's mission 'was of more advantage in maintaining peace and good order among the natives, and between themselves and the white settlers, than half a dozen police constables could have been.'¹⁷⁹

Not all the Dresden missionaries' instruction was lost and others carried on their pioneering work. John Bull reports some Adelaide-educated Aboriginal people became his servants. He observed, 'some good moral sense arose from that establishment, and good impressions were not lost in all instances by such scholars after many years of wandering and mixing with untaught members of their own tribes.'¹⁸⁰ Observers reported Aboriginal shepherds and stockmen in the late 1850s reading their Bibles, something some European workers were unable to do.¹⁸¹ Bishop Short reported meeting former Aboriginal students who had not forgotten what they had learned at school, including a dying man who sought comfort in his New Testament.¹⁸² Archdeacon Hale baptised some of Schürmann's Barngarla students, considering them ready for baptism.

But the missionaries felt they had failed Aboriginal people. The next chapter will explore more fully some of the reasons the missionaries gave for their 'failure.'

¹⁷⁶ Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, 150.

¹⁷⁷ Rathjen, 59-60.

¹⁷⁸ Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, 178.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁸⁰ John Wrathall Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an extended colonial history*. (Adelaide, E S Wigg & Son and Sampson Low, London 1884; repr., Facsimile edition 1972). 64.

¹⁸¹ "A Black Subject," *South Australian Educational Journal* 1, no. 9 (1858).

¹⁸² Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon 'The Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860. Minutes of evidence, 10.

Encounter Bay



Figure 28: Encounter Bay looking towards the Bluff 1846.
George French Angas. (SLSA B15276_16)



Figure 29: Raukkan looking towards chapel 2007.
(C. Lockwood)

Meyer Artefacts



Figure 30: Meyer's relief illustrating John 1:17
'The law was given though Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.'



Figure 31: Meyer's crucifix.
A gift from DMS Committee member, Count von Einsiedel.
(Crucifix and relief in possession of descendant Naomi Hoff)

Port Lincoln Area



Figure 32: Location of Schürmann's Wallala school and Poonindie.
(Aerial photo T Modra. Details adapted with modification from G. Ruediger.)

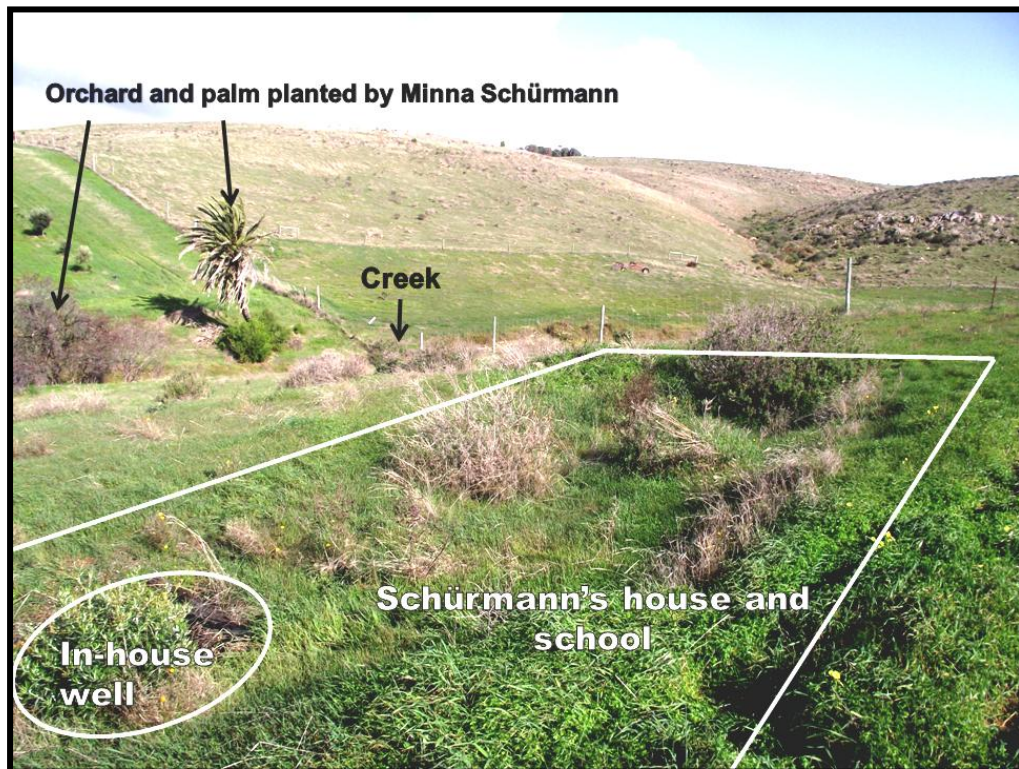


Figure 33: Remains of Schürmann's house and school at Wallala.
(Courtesy G Ruediger)

Poonindie



Figure 34: St Matthews Church Poonindie
ca. 1875 (SLSA B27581)

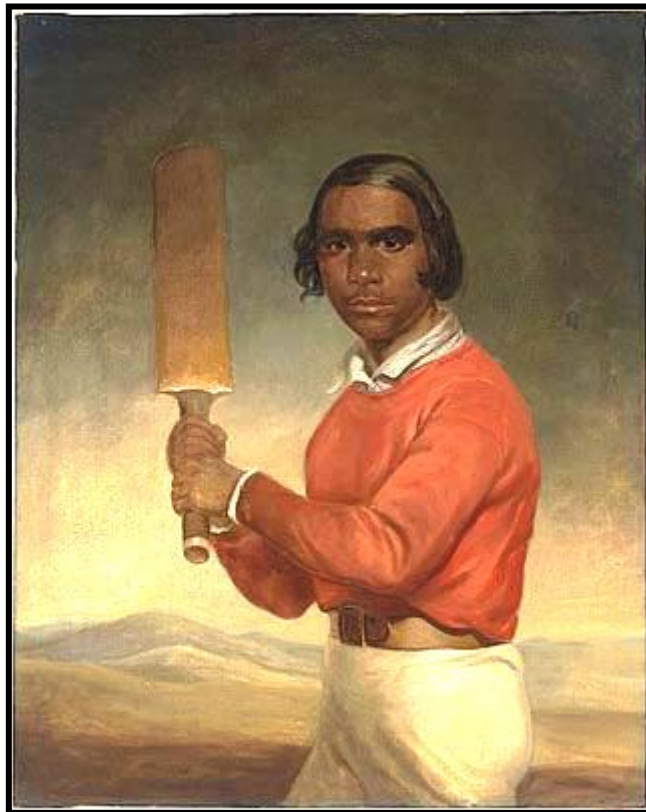


Figure 35: Portrait of Nannultera, a young Poonindie cricketer.
J M Crossland 1854. (NGA IRN 62236)

PART II

5 CHALLENGES FROM ABORIGINAL SOCIETY IN A 'RUPTURED' WORLD ¹

No Australian Christian mission of the first half of the nineteenth century lasted long. That of the Dresden missionaries was no exception. The DMS lacked the resources and commitment to fully fund its missionaries. A lack of local support finally brought the mission to an end. By 1844 the missionaries already believed their cause was unlikely to succeed. In their Conference Report of 15 April 1844 the missionaries outlined their difficulties. They believed all Christian missionaries faced resistance but Aboriginal Australia presented particular obstacles: a sparse, scattered population in rapid decline since European contact; the 'wandering' (*wandernde*) Aboriginal lifestyle combined with the government's unwillingness to provide them with separate settlements; and a diversity of languages. Meyer and Klose believed there was little hope of conversion. They were afraid Aboriginal people would die out before they could master their languages. Teichelmann and Schürmann were more hopeful. Teichelmann was convinced the key to conversion was to preach God's word in Aboriginal languages 'more and more clearly and intelligibly'. Schürmann agreed, but on the sparsely populated Eyre Peninsula he believed conversion also depended on each 'tribe' having exclusive ownership of a large area of land on which a school and settlement were established so missionaries could master their language and 'acquaint them with [God's] plan for their salvation.'² When the government failed to support this plan, Schürmann declared their cause hopeless.

This chapter argues that Aboriginal society presented the missionaries with particular challenges. These challenges were exacerbated by the destructive impact of European settlement. They forced a modification of the DMS' preferred mission approach and combined with government policies to defeat the missionaries' goals.

¹ 'Ruptured world': a term used by Robert Kenny, *The Lamb enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007).

² Conference Report, 15 April 1844, Collected letters from the missionaries and conference reports, 1838-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. A63. By 'tribes,' Schürmann meant large extended families.

5.1 'Rapid decline in numbers and worsening of their condition overall'³

The missionaries' April 1844 Conference Report described Aboriginal populations as small and suffering a 'distressingly rapid' decline in numbers since European contact and a 'worsening of their condition overall.' The Report of the 1860 Select Committee of the Legislative Council on 'the Aborigines' also noted the suffering, rapidly dwindling numbers and dispossession of Aboriginal people who had 'lost much, and gained little or nothing' from European contact.⁴ The devastating effect of European settlement on Aboriginal society is important to note for several reasons. Firstly, it shows the impracticality of the DMS policy of building on existing cultural and social foundations. With Aboriginal survival threatened the missionaries felt compelled to seek new economic foundations for Aboriginal life. Secondly, it helps explain difficulties all Christian missions faced in areas of closer European settlement where demoralised Aboriginal populations went into steep numerical decline. Thirdly, it highlights the contradictions and inadequacy of the government's Aboriginal policies. Fourthly, some commentators have made missionaries scapegoats for Aboriginal cultural destruction and even the dispossession and suppression of Aboriginal people.⁵ However, the interaction of Europeans and Aboriginal society made cultural change inevitable irrespective of missionary influence.

The DMS policy of respecting existing social structures presupposed a relatively intact, stable society. The Society sought to emulate the work of eighteenth century Lutheran missionaries in Tranquebar, India, but Tranquebar had a dense, sedentary, 'civilised' population with previous Christian contact and a literary tradition. The Hindu caste system which treated many as 'untouchable' (Dalits) provided motivation for conversion. Arriving in 1706 Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg employed an educated informant. He learned Tamil within eight months, baptised five converts within ten months and translated the New Testament by 1711. He died in 1719 leaving 350 converts, a seminary, a Tamil grammar and 60,000 word lexicon, and the entire Bible, Luther's catechisms and other works translated into Tamil. DMS missionaries a century later could learn Tamil before going to India and use a Tamil Bible immediately. No wonder the Dresden/Leipzig mission work progressed more quickly in India than Australia. On one occasion Dresden missionary Ochs was invited to an Indian village, offered land and promised 200 students if he started a school.⁶ By 1862 the Dresden/Leipzig Mission begun in 1840 could

³ Ibid.

⁴ Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon 'The Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860. 1.

⁵ Kenny, 318-27.

⁶ *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*. 15 Sept 1846 (Dresden: ELMS). 277.

report their mission in South India had 11 missionaries, 2 Indigenous ordained candidates, 27 catechists, 29 lay-readers and 53 Indigenous school teachers.⁷

In Australia DMS' missionaries found Aboriginal society disintegrating under British colonisation in a way not experienced by village-based societies. This began with whalers and sealers visiting the southern coast from the 1790s but rapidly escalated with official South Australia colonisation and the expropriation of all Aboriginal land from 1836. In 1844 Schürmann claimed 'the way of life of the Aborigines of New Holland which is developing as a result of the loss of their livelihood, is the main obstacle to missionary efforts.'⁸ The missionaries were soon convinced it was impractical and undesirable to solely concentrate on spiritual work given the grave injustices suffered by Aboriginal people.

The colonial administration endorsed a policy of protecting Aboriginal people but in practice colonists' interests were always paramount. Within ten years white settlement fully occupied the lands of the Kurna and Ramindjeri, largely destroying their traditional livelihood while providing no satisfactory alternative. Since all aspects of traditional Aboriginal economy and culture – religion, ritual, the kinship system, socialisation, authority and the like – revolved around land, losing it undermined their whole culture. During the period covered by this study, Eyre Peninsula's European population was small but the Aboriginal population began losing their land with the establishment of pastoral stations accompanied by violent confrontations throughout the 1840s.

European settlement destroyed the economic basis of Aboriginal life. Game disappeared. Bans on burning prevented traditional Aboriginal land management using fire to maximise production and ease of habitation, and make their resources, in Bill Gammage's words, 'not merely sustainable, but abundant, convenient and predictable.'⁹ Settlers took advantage of the managed 'park-like' landscapes, occupying areas Aboriginal people prized most – water resources, good fishing spots, and prepared grazing areas. Settlers' animals competed with native fauna, destroying its habitat and the bulbs, lilies and tubers that Aboriginal people carefully tended for food.¹⁰

Teichelmann and Schürmann considered Aboriginal dispossession and loss of traditional livelihood a major cause of population decline. Teichelmann informed Angas:

⁷ Lois Zweck, "For they are our neighbours," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives* no.22 (December 2012). 40.

⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁹ Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines made Australia*. (Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, London: Allen & Unwin, 2011). 3.

¹⁰ Kenny, 148, 79.

Surely if the home Government do not more liberally provide for the Aborigines, they will load upon themselves the blame for having exterminated the Aboriginal race without actual bloodshed by merely suffering them to dwindle away into nothing after having dispossessed them of their natural resources and made them a more wandering people than before...[trespassers] on their formerly aboriginal property.¹¹

Joseph Orton, influential Wesleyan Methodist preacher in Sydney, Hobart and Melbourne, believed the greatest obstacle to mission work was not Indigenous nomadism but the loss of their land.¹²

Alan Pope describes Aboriginal people's attempts to find new sources of sustenance in the late 1830s and 1840s.¹³ They worked in whaling and fishing, or as shepherds, farmhands, labourers, porters, domestics, guides, trackers, messengers, interpreters, informants, seamstresses, tradesmen's apprentices and the like. Many were reliable, hard-working and capable. However despite an official policy of encouraging Aboriginal employment, few stayed long in the mainstream European economy. Employment was casual, seasonal and mostly paid in handouts or a pittance insufficient to sustain a family. Fickle European attitudes towards their assimilation, failure to provide regular work opportunities and a refusal to pay living wages led to disillusionment.¹⁴ Pope suggests begging, theft and prostitution appeared more profitable, reliable and independent occupations.¹⁵ Schürmann claimed Aboriginal people were being turned into pilfering mendicants. In 1839 Teichelmann told Angas it was impossible for Aborigines to support their families through employment because their efforts were not valued, work was scarce, costs were high and they could not work as hard as Europeans.¹⁶ To Pope's reasons for disillusionment could be added the competition between Aboriginal cultural obligations and employers' expectations.

The missionaries spent years learning the languages of rapidly disappearing people. Similarly, Threlkeld in NSW found by the time he had translated Luke's Gospel (1831) and produced his Awabakal grammar (1834) few speakers remained.¹⁷ Rob Amery suggests the Kaurua

¹¹ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843. PRG174/5/22, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA. Teichelmann speaks of their 'extermination', rather than their 'becoming extinct' as preferred by many, including Bishop Broughton, Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, no. 425, 11.

¹² Quoted in Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia Through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*. (ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc, 2011). 94.

¹³ Alan Pope, *Resistance and Retaliation: Aboriginal-European relations in early colonial South Australia*. (Bridgewater: Heritage Action, 1989). 24-35.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁶ PRG174/7/503, Angas Papers.

¹⁷ John W. Harris, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*, 2nd ed. (Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1994). 58-60.

numbered several thousand before European contact.¹⁸ A R Brown estimates the Ngarrindjeri possibly numbered 4000-6000, with their territory the most populated area of pre-colonial Australia.¹⁹ Around 1829-1830, and possibly also as early as 1789, smallpox decimated the Adelaide Plains and Lower Murray populations.²⁰ With colonisation the remaining people were rapidly overwhelmed by European settlers who numbered 63,700 in SA by 1851, with 30,000 in and around Adelaide.²¹ Moorhouse said 'almost whole tribes' had disappeared by 1846.²² In a cover note to his 1857 vocabulary Teichelmann said the Adelaide district Aboriginal population had 'disappeared to a very few...the Tribe has ceased to be.' When Taplin counted 613 Ngarrindjeri in 1877 the Ramindjeri had long since disappeared as an entity.²³ Schürmann believed without government action the Barngarla would suffer the same fate.²⁴ In 1887 Schürmann said, 'The happy and healthy and numerous tribes around Adelaide and the neighbourhood have been so decimated by excesses, sexual offences, disease, exposure and malnutrition that there would now be scarcely one remaining to tell the tale.'²⁵

Introduced diseases devastated a people with no immunity, whom the government made little attempt to treat or immunise.²⁶ In addition to smallpox, deaths occurred from venereal disease, tuberculosis, measles, whooping cough, typhus, typhoid fever, dysentery and influenza.²⁷ Tuberculosis killed ninety percent of infected Aborigines.²⁸ Kurna leader Mullawirraburka died,

¹⁸ Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kurna! : reclaiming an Australian language*. (Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers, 2000). 65.

¹⁹ A R Brown, "Rough Notes on the Social Organisation of Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 48 (Jul-Dec, 1918). 230.

²⁰ In 1840 the Kurna said smallpox had been universal a decade earlier. C G Teichelmann and C W Schürmann, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology, of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide*. (Largs Bay, S. Aust.: Tjintu Books, 1982. First published 1841). 35. Smallpox depopulated the Murray River's banks for a thousand miles during the NSW 1789 epidemic, according to George French Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: being an artist's impression of the countries and people at the Antipodes*. (London: Stewart and Murray, 1847). vol 2, 226.

²¹ T Griffin and M McCaskill, eds., *Atlas of South Australia* (Adelaide: 1986). 11-12.

²² Matthew Moorhouse, *A Vocabulary and Outline of the Grammatical Structure of the Murray River Language*. (Adelaide: Andrew Murray, 1846). 47.

²³ Brown, "Rough Notes."

²⁴ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 7 Sept 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488, SRSA.

²⁵ C W Schürmann, "Obituary for Pastor C G Teichelmann," *Der Lutherische Kirchenbote für Australien* (July 1887).

²⁶ Conference Report, 15 April 1844; Edward John Eyre, *An account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*, (eBooks@Adelaide, 2010). Chapter VI; Judith Raftery, *Not part of the public: Non-indigenous policies and practices and the health of indigenous South Australians 1836-1973*. (Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2006). 70.

²⁷ C G Teichelmann, *Aborigines of South Australia*. (Adelaide: SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxilliary Missionary Society, 1841). 8; H A E Meyer, *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; South Australia*. (Adelaide: Dehane, 1846), 6.

²⁸ Kenny, 186-7.

probably of TB, in 1845.²⁹ He had previously lost two of his four wives and six of his nine children (two to infanticide). Leaders' premature deaths contributed to a loss of hope and clan cohesion.³⁰ Prostitution to supplement food supplies, rape by Europeans and traditional wife-sharing sanctioned within the kinship system spread gonorrhoea and syphilis.³¹

Mullawirraburka exchanged his wives' sexual favours for money or food for his kin.³² VD killed newborn babies and rendered women infertile. In 1842 Dr David Wark said a majority of Ramindjeri women were sterile or miscarrying because of it.³³ Moorhouse estimated half the Aboriginal population between the Para River and Encounter Bay had VD.

Meyer wrote:

[I]t is heartbreaking to look at the poor heathen ... The huts of the natives are close to the fishing stations where every year from April to October about 100 people of the lowest class are employed who make use of most of the poor blacks of the female sex for sinful and shameful purposes, thus causing sickness and death among the tribes. Young people with whom I was able to engage in strenuous work in the previous year now look like old men and are not able to leave their camp; women who were once sprightly and cheerful now creep around emaciated, like skeletons..., indeed even children are afflicted ... All this they suffer with a passivity which cannot be put into words. If they are questioned about it ... the women say: 'We were forced to do it by our men so that they might obtain tobacco and flour from the Europeans.' The men reply: 'We can do nothing about it. The women love those men too much.'³⁴

Other factors also contributed to the small size of the population. George French Angas and Edward John Eyre blamed warfare, polygamy and infanticide.³⁵ Colonisation destabilised tribal relationships. Conflict over women, food, suspected sorcery and trespass increased.³⁶

²⁹ Tom Gara, "The Life and Times of Mullawirraburka ('King John') of the Adelaide Tribe," in *History in Portraits: Biographies of nineteenth century South Australian Aboriginal people*, ed. Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus, *Aboriginal History: Monograph 6* (Canberra: Aboriginal History, 1998), 125.

³⁰ Amery, *Warrabarna Kaurna!*, 67.

³¹ Luisa O'Connor, "Kudnarto", in *History in Portraits* ed. Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus, 137.

³² Protector's Report, 14 Jan 1840. *Papers Relative to South Australia*. (London: printed by William Clowes, 1843). 323.

³³ *Ibid.*, 324; Wark to Grey, GRG24/1/1842/65, SRSA.

³⁴ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1845, Meyer to Wermelskirch, 9...1839, and 2 July 1839, H A E Meyer, *Correspondence with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden 1839-1850*, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) 2/Folder M, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. (Hereafter: MC). Kenny suggests TB, manifesting itself differently in previously unexposed populations, was sometimes mistaken for syphilis. Kenny, 186-87.

³⁵ Angas, *Savage Life*, vol 1, 81. Eyre. Chapter VI.

³⁶ Cawthorne, W A. "Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives, 1844." Adelaide Royal Geographical Society, 1927?, 29; Joyce Graetz, ed. *Missionary to the Kaurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper no.2 (North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002). 20; Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 7; 30 Nov 1839, C G Teichelmann, *Diaries 1839-1846*, Adelaide Missionaries

Epidemics exacerbated conflict as people believed death and disease were caused by malevolent human or spiritual agents, sorcery, broken taboos or offence given to spirit beings.³⁷ Deaths demanded identification of a suspect and retribution.³⁸ Bearing the brunt of early contact with Europeans the Kurna and Ramindjeri were weakened vis-à-vis other tribes.³⁹ In the 1840s the more numerous 'Murray' tribesmen moved into Kurna territory stealing women and terrorising the Kurna whose attempts to defend themselves were frustrated by government suppression of tribal fighting.⁴⁰ By 1847 the remaining Kurna had sought refuge in the northern reaches of their territory or assimilated into other tribes.⁴¹ Clashes also occurred as the Encounter Bay fishery attracted the Parnkamejunna from Lake Alexandrina into Ramindjeri territory.⁴²

Schürmann also believed infanticide limited population size.⁴³ Schürmann and Taplin believed an itinerant life-style necessitated infanticide if an older child was still breast-feeding or unable to walk.⁴⁴ Taplin suggests half of all Ngarrindjeri infants were killed before European settlement.⁴⁵ Mainly females were killed.⁴⁶ Malformed, weak, illegitimate and fatherless infants, twins and sometimes mixed-parentage children were killed.⁴⁷ Schürmann said Eyre Peninsula women raised three or four children. George French Angas thought this typical for South Australia.⁴⁸ Kurna and Ramindjeri women, however, said raising more than two children

(Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TA, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives; Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839 and 16 March 1840, SC; Schürmann to Angas, 3 April 1840, PRG174/7/531-2, Angas Papers.

³⁷ Schürmann recounts a year-long conflict between the Nauo and Parnkalla because a woman died from snake-bite. Schürmann to DMS, 28 May 1845, SC. These early accounts are consistent with anthropological and archaeological observations discussed in Peter Sutton, *The Politics of Suffering*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2011). 87-114, 144-62, 185-86, 217-18.

³⁸ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives; Schürmann to Angas, 3 April 1840, PRG174/7/532, Angas Papers.

³⁹ Rob Amery, "Sally and Harry: insights into early Kurna contact history," and Philip Clarke, "The Aboriginal presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia," in *History in Portraits* ed. Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus.

⁴⁰ Klose to CSO, GRG24/6/1848/207; *South Australian*. 15 June and 17 Sept, 1847. The Murray River people were in turn decimated.

⁴¹ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/21-26, Angas Papers. Moorhouse says Kurna territory extended ten miles north of Adelaide. Norman Tindale put the boundary near Crystal Brook.

⁴² Schürmann to DMS, 5 Nov 1839, SC.

⁴³ 20 July 1839, Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁴⁴ 'The Natives of South Australia,' SC; SD. 23 Jan 1840; George Taplin, "The Narrinyeri: an account of the tribes of South Australian Aborigines," in *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, ed. J D Woods (Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, reprint 2009. First published 1879), 14; C W Schürmann, *The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*. (Adelaide: George Dehane, 1846). 11.

⁴⁵ Taplin, "The Narrinyeri." 13.

⁴⁶ Schürmann, Meyer, Bull, Taplin, Teichelmann, Wyatt, Cawthorne and George French Angas all make this observation. Teichelmann says when there were more than four girls, the rest were killed. TD. 24 Nov 1839.

⁴⁷ SD. 3 June 1839; Cawthorne, "Rough Notes," 30; Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," 14; Meyer, *Manners and Customs*, 1-2; SD. 3 June 1839; Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 8. Taplin say half of all mixed-race children were killed.

⁴⁸ Schürmann, *Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*, 10; Angas, *Savage Life*, vol 1, 81.

would prevent them providing for their husbands.⁴⁹ Pressure from European settlement may have increased infanticide, hindering population recovery after epidemics. Historian C D Rowley claims demoralised Aboriginal people lost the will to rear the next generation.⁵⁰

Clashes over European exploitation of Aboriginal women and control of land and water, especially in marginal areas like Eyre Peninsula, caused significant loss of Aboriginal life and demoralisation.⁵¹ Deprived of customary food sources and angered at European insensitivity, brutality and failure to meet reciprocal obligations, Aboriginal people resorted to sorcery, theft, and attacks on Europeans and their livestock.⁵² With authorities unable to ensure their safety, settlers increasingly took the law into their own hands. They were backed by military and police expeditionary forces when European deaths mounted. Schürmann struggled to win the Barngarla's confidence, especially as he was associated with colonial authorities. Already in 1841 Teichelmann was writing, '...a large number of the English would just like to hang or shoot all the Aborigines, rather than have them in the country. That is the old way of the English in their colonies.'⁵³

Like missionaries elsewhere, Schürmann believed depraved colonists undermined all Europeans' credibility and were a major obstacle to conversion.⁵⁴ Pastor Kavel agreed.⁵⁵ In their early contacts with Europeans Schürmann described Aboriginal people as 'peaceable, friendly, kind, open, unprejudiced, and honest' with an 'inherent capacity for spontaneous and well-meaning actions.'⁵⁶ However, the colonists' 'pernicious influence' was leading to 'shamelessness and impudence,' begging, pilfering, prostitution, robbery and murder.⁵⁷ He observed that 'British justice' failed to deliver justice to Aboriginal people who were not blind to this or the violence in European society.

European settlement also eroded Aboriginal society's religious and cultural foundations. Elders could no longer traverse their territory at will performing increase rituals. Abundant

⁴⁹ Meyer, *Manners and Customs*, 2; Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 13.

⁵⁰ C D Rowley, *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*. (Ringwood Vic: Penguin Books Australia 1972).

⁵¹ Schürmann to Moorhouse, enclosure no.2, GRG24/6/1844/488, SRSA; Schürmann Diaries; Alan Pope, *One Law for All? Aboriginal people and criminal law in early South Australia*. (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011). 164-65; John Wrathall Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an extended colonial history*. (Adelaide, E S Wigg & Son and Sampson Low, London 1884; repr., Facsimile edition 1972).

⁵² SD. 16 & 18 June 1839; Bull, *Early Experiences*; Pope, *Resistance*; Pope, *One Law?* 120-21.

⁵³ Teichelmann to Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, 6 Jan 1841, published in James Lehmann, ed. *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, vol 21-22, no. 125 (19 Oct 1842). 297. Translated by James McElvenny.

⁵⁴ Schürmann to Angas 3 April 1840, PRG174/7/525-37, Angas Papers; Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 28, 41, 176; Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC.

⁵⁵ Kavel to Angas, 2 Aug 1839, PRG 174/7/487, Angas Papers.

⁵⁶ 'The Natives of South Australia' 1839 in SC; Conference Report, 15 April 1844.

⁵⁷ Schürmann to Moorhouse, enclosure no. 2, GRG24/6/1844/488, SRSA.

European food supplies challenged confidence in Aboriginal rituals and 'law'.⁵⁸ Paul Albrecht believes 'the erosion of Aboriginal culture began when Aborigines began eating white man's food.'⁵⁹ He claims '[I]t was the inability of the belief system to validate itself in the face of the different adaptive system introduced by the European settlers that "white-anted" the Aboriginal culture.'⁶⁰ Rowley claims that Aboriginal society's autonomy was shattered by the attraction of new things, hindering its ability to satisfactorily adjust to change.⁶¹

European settlement undermined tribal authority.⁶² Traditional social controls and authority structures based on consensus struggled to deal with influences not covered by 'law,' when the whole basis of tradition was questioned, and when Europeans disregarded Aboriginal 'law'.⁶³ Dispossession diminished elders' ability to make decisions about land use, seasonal movements, camp locations and rituals at sacred sites. Authority was usurped by officials, police, judges, settlers, teachers and employers and challenged by missionaries' teaching. Schools interfered with children's socialisation and kinship rules governing association.⁶⁴ Attempts to disperse and employ Aboriginal people disrupted communal life and resource allocation along kinship lines. Schürmann noted increased conflict because people were not sharing food as before.⁶⁵ European sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women destabilized communities.⁶⁶ Towns and fringe-camps provided escape for Aborigines wishing to avoid traditional obligations and discipline.⁶⁷

Distressed by what they witnessed the Dresden missionaries realised the temporal needs of Aboriginal people needed addressing before they would be open to the Christian message. Schürmann wrote to the DMS:

I am almost afraid that [I] will draw your blame onto me afresh as dealing too much with external affairs ... [A]fter five years experience I have gained the firm conviction that the

⁵⁸ Paul G E Albrecht, *Relhiperra: About Aborigines*. (Quadrant Online, 2012). 6, 47; Gammage, *The Biggest Estate*, 131; Rowley, *The Destruction*, 80. 'Law' is the generic English term used by many Aboriginal people to denote the totality of their culture.

⁵⁹ Paul G E Albrecht, *Aboriginal Australians*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1988). 15.

⁶⁰ Albrecht, *Relhiperra*. 48-49.

⁶¹ Rowley, 22, 32.

⁶² Graham Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri: The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. (Point McLeay: Raukkan Publishers, Reprint edition 1985). 70.

⁶³ Rowley, 31.

⁶⁴ TD. 2 Nov 1845.

⁶⁵ SD. 4 July 1839.

⁶⁶ John Strehlow calls white settlers taking Aboriginal women 'the chief destabilising factor' in Arrernte society, the real reason for the Old Men's loss of control. John Strehlow, *A Tale of Frieda Keysser, Frieda & Carl Strehlow: an historical biography*, vol. 1. (London: Wild Cat Press, 2011). 691; 1837 Select Committee Report, 25.

⁶⁷ Pope, *Resistance*, 26.

spiritual welfare of the natives is so intimately bound up with their external welfare that one is in danger of laying too little rather than too much emphasis on the latter.⁶⁸

...[I]t is ... the undeniable and plain truth that one can promise oneself only little fruit from one's mission work without at the same time considering the external circumstances of the aborigine and improving them. Of course the physical person must live if the spiritual person is to thrive.⁶⁹

The missionaries realised 'settlement was the only future.'⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the DMS was unwilling and unable to provide funds for 'temporal purposes.'⁷¹ Meanwhile the government neglected Aboriginal needs. The missionaries' goals became impossible as the people they had grown to love – at least the Kurna and Ramindjeri – died, leaving only a remnant.

5.2 Evangelising a constantly 'wandering' people

The missionaries' 1844 Report said the scattered, 'nomadic' Aboriginal population's 'deep-rooted aversion to living in fixed homes' presented a major difficulty. While not strictly nomadic, Aboriginal people moved seasonally throughout their territory. Some missionaries have tried evangelising non-sedentary peoples with limited success. Seventeenth century Jesuits lived with Native-American tribes. In nineteenth century pre-colonial Botswana, missionaries of the Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission Society accompanied largely nomadic people and their cattle with considerable success until English colonial ambitions forced them out. However, it was generally accepted that mission work among itinerant people was impossible unless they adopted a sedentary lifestyle.⁷² Angas urged the Dresden missionaries to emulate Moravian mission settlements in North America and southern Africa. William Walker (1821-24), the first missionary to Australia's Aborigines, decided a permanent Aboriginal settlement was necessary.⁷³ Early mission settlements including those of the LMS at Lake Macquarie, NSW (1825-41), CMS in the Wellington Valley, NSW (1832-43), and Wesleyans at Buntingdale, near Colac, Victoria (1838-48) provided models for the DMS missionaries though none proved successful for long.⁷⁴ Asked for advice, Threlkeld told

⁶⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844, SC. S177.

⁶⁹ Schürmann to DMS, 11 Dec 1844, SC. Translated by G Lockwood.

⁷⁰ Kenny, 337.

⁷¹ Schürmann to Angas, Jan 1841, PRG174/1/1685, Angas Papers.

⁷² Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2008). 32.

⁷³ Harris, *One Blood*, 49.

⁷⁴ Schürmann to Angas, Jan 1841, PRG174/1/1684, Angas Papers.

Schürmann the people's migratory habits were the missionary's greatest problem. He thought settlements were necessary in which 'the blacks shall feel their own interest therein is most intimately connected'. While he thought training for work with Europeans was acceptable, 'collective operations' were preferable.⁷⁵

The missionaries thought the Australian situation was more difficult than with nomadic peoples evangelised up to that time. They said such North American tribes grew corn in summer and dried meat so they could winter in one location; southern Africans followed their cattle in larger groups; and American and African chieftains maintained order and social cohesion within larger groups.⁷⁶ Australian groups, they reported, were smaller and moved more constantly. Meyer wrote:

The tribal relatives rarely wander about together unless it is for their periodic games, or when plentiful food can be found at the one place: otherwise it is only the family, and if it is numerous and foodstuffs scarce, even they divide up during the day and return to their shared huts only at night, but not in order to stay for months at one and the same place. Often that same evening one can encounter them already miles away.⁷⁷

They became 'more wandering than before' as settlers claimed the best areas where Aboriginal people had previously camped for extended periods.⁷⁸

The DMS pointed to missionary success under Greenland's extreme conditions and urged its missionaries to live with Aboriginal people.⁷⁹ Dr Richard Penney criticised them for not following the people to 'distant retreats' far from European settlement.⁸⁰ Schürmann and Teichelmann tried this. In 1839 Teichelmann claimed Aborigines had more confidence in them than other Europeans because they went out with them and lived like Aborigines.⁸¹ However, their initial lack of money for horses or provisions made this difficult.⁸² They informed the DMS that joining the people in their traditional lifestyle long-term was impossible:

⁷⁵ Threlkeld to Schürmann, 10 March 1842, TC.

⁷⁶ Conference Report, 15 April 1844.

⁷⁷ H A E Meyer, "The Aborigines of South Australia," *Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt*, no. 3 (March 1862). Translated by Lois Zweck.

⁷⁸ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, Angas Papers.

⁷⁹ DMS to Schürmann, 5 April 1843, SC.

⁸⁰ "The Aborigines," *Adelaide Examiner*, 24 Sept 1842. 2CD.

⁸¹ Teichelmann to Angas, PRG174/7/502, Angas Papers.

⁸² Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July and 13 Nov 1839, TC; Schürmann to Angas 12 June 1839, PRG174/7/475F, Angas Papers.

[T]his would not be possible, partly because the Aborigines are often dispersed into a number of smaller groups of two or three families each and partly because they would be likely to pester the missionary for his provisions and would then consume the lot, or if turned away, would become dissatisfied with him ... [A]ny attempt on the part of the missionary to exist on the aborigines' diet would soon be likely to have an injurious effect on his health.⁸³

Schürmann travelled widely with Aboriginal men and frequented their camps. However, the Eyre Peninsula's barrenness meant the people moved more frequently than in well-watered places. Schürmann described the difficulty of maintaining contact with them:

[A]s long as you do not go with the natives and live with them, but wait until they come to you, you will not accomplish much... [T]o live amongst the natives is what I have wanted, what I have tried to achieve... But how this is to be accomplished other than by allotting the natives a piece of land as their enduring and inalienable property and to assist them in its cultivation, I do not know... Of course I visit them but that does not mean living with them... This, in the present conditions would only be possible if one completely became a wild person, wore a kangaroo skin instead of clothing and nourished himself with their often meagre diet... [I]t is a fallacy to apply one standard to all of the natives of South Australia; on some parts of the coast and by the rivers they are numerous and almost always to be found in the same vicinity and relatively civilised compared with the wanderers through bush and scrub ... It is a hard task laid upon us, especially for one single person.⁸⁴

The missionaries decided settlements were necessary to provide Aboriginal people with an alternative means of livelihood and themselves with a means to 'exercise [their] office' among them.⁸⁵ John Harris attributes another motivation to them. He says their work ethic linked Christian behaviour with a European lifestyle and 'they did not always separate the gospel from what they saw as the benefits of a settled, productive, agricultural European way of life.'⁸⁶ Missionary records do not support this view. Nor does Lutheran theology's clear distinction between law (what humans should do) and gospel (what God has done for humanity and its salvation), its doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, or its teaching on *adiaphora* (that the Christian is free in things not commanded in Scripture). Anne Scrimgeour claims the missionaries 'saw subsistence farming as a noble and godly form of living most suitable for a civilised Christian community.'⁸⁷ However, the Lutheran teaching on vocation holds that Christians serve God

⁸³ Conference Report, 15 April 1844.

⁸⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843, SC.

⁸⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1844, SC. S133.

⁸⁶ Harris, 330, 33.

⁸⁷ Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007). 110.

and contributes to society through their daily vocations, whatever they may be. No legitimate vocation is to be despised. The missionaries considered sedentary living a means to an end, not a Christian imperative. They became farmers and encouraged Aboriginal involvement in agriculture reluctantly.

Settlements were never given the necessary support even when Aboriginal people showed interest. More often they doubted the hard work involved in agriculture was worth it, frustrating efforts to accustom them to 'work' as a step towards sedentary life.⁸⁸ When they chose, they worked with a will and were valued workers but they did not always choose to work. Meyer observed:

[W]hen the point is reached with these people where they should build small huts and feed themselves from the land, this appears to some of them to be quite impossible for the present, and they assure us that they will do that when they have died and returned as white people; others laugh at such a proposition and start to extol their easy way of life, as one of them remarked ...: 'Why do you work? Then you sit down and read or write. You will not live long – come with us, if you are hungry catch a fish for yourself, eat and lie down to sleep. If you are hungry again, do the same thing and you will live for a long, long time.' These and similar utterances are only heard in summer, for on cold nights and especially during the rainy season they are heartily pleased to receive some food and be able to sleep with us or sit at our fireside.⁸⁹

Schürmann believed a religious or moral motivation was necessary if Aboriginal people were to work (in the European sense) for any length of time.⁹⁰ They avoided 'boring' farm work if their immediate needs were already met. They preferred the bush's ready-made harvest.⁹¹ Teichelmann acknowledged they could get more from the bush, with less effort, than Europeans could in a day's work, and still have time to sleep and 'play'.⁹² He said they were anxious to maintain their independence and would not work long for Europeans because they were 'accustomed to live independently and to be their own masters'.⁹³

The religious imperative to perform increase rituals throughout clan territory undoubtedly also lay behind the reluctance to settle. A parallel can be seen when governor of Upper Canada

⁸⁸ Meyer to DMS, 9 Nov 1843, MC.

⁸⁹ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

⁹⁰ Schürmann to Angas, Jan 1841, PRG174/1/1682, Angas Papers.

⁹¹ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April 1844 and 10 Oct 1846, SC.

⁹² TD. 4 Aug 1845.

⁹³ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 6. Similarly, Bill Edwards points out that there is no word for 'boss' in the Pitjantjatjara language: it is dangerous for an Aboriginal to assume this role over others as he would be speared. (Comment at History Seminar at Flinders University, 30 April 2010.)

offered local tribes assistance to settle. A tribal chief rejected the offer. He explained: 'Who knows but the Munedoos (gods) will be angry with us for abandoning our ways.'⁹⁴ Albrecht says traditional Aboriginal Australians considered increase rituals the truly productive, all-important 'work' which required them to traverse their territory calling the plants and animals into being and what Europeans called 'work' Aborigines considered 'collecting.'⁹⁵ Aboriginal people were reluctant to leave their own land to which they had spiritual ties. Protector Thomas Dredge in Victoria suggested settlements had failed because land was selected where people did not want to live.⁹⁶ The DMS believed living on settlements should be voluntary and 'nomadic' people would not choose this option while still attached to tribal religion and afraid to breach ancestral 'law.' The DMS wrote to Meyer:

[I]t seems to us, on the basis of mission history, that ... a settlement of the natives could and should not emerge from human endeavour or on the part of a secular government, but from the free will of the natives, as a fruit of the Gospel.⁹⁷

Aboriginal society's social organisation also provided challenges. John Williams and the LMS worked successfully through Society Island chiefs. When chief Pomare II became Christian, Tahiti was rapidly converted.⁹⁸ The Dresden missionaries looked for chiefs through whom to work. They found none. Tribes had a common parent language but no hierarchical structure. The effective political unit was the local patriarchal clan.⁹⁹ Teichelmann described these as 'large families, or bodies of relatives which might be called a republican tribe.'¹⁰⁰ These were the basic land-owning unit, independent and autonomous, managing their affairs through consensus.¹⁰¹ Size varied. Ngarrindjeri clans had 25 to 100 members.¹⁰² Depending on available resources, clans divided into smaller groups, hunting in groups of six to twelve and camping in groups of possibly fifteen to thirty-five.¹⁰³ Rigid observance of custom maintained camp harmony.¹⁰⁴ Language, marriage, totems and mythology linked clans which came

⁹⁴ 1837 Select Committee Report, 45.

⁹⁵ Albrecht, *Relhiperra*. 11.

⁹⁶ Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 91.

⁹⁷ DMS to Meyer, 14 Oct 1842, MC.

⁹⁸ If chiefs opposed Christianity this had the opposite effect. Timothy Keegan, ed. *Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier*. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents, 2004). xxv-xxvi; Norman Etherington, "Individualism in Southeast Africa: Missions and the colonial state." (Paper presented at the *Individualization through Christian Missionary Activities?* conference, Max Weber Centre for Advanced Social and Cultural Studies, Erfurt, Germany, 25-28 April 2012).2-3.

⁹⁹ T G H Strehlow, *The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies*. (Melbourne: Hawthorne Press,

¹⁰⁰ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*. 6.

¹⁰¹ Brown, "Rough Notes," 222.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 231.

¹⁰³ Schürmann to DMS, 5 November 1839, SC. Sutton, *Politics*, 128.

¹⁰⁴ Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," 9.

together for trade, marriage, warfare, initiations and corroborees.¹⁰⁵ Elders were natural leaders with a good knowledge of 'law' and sorcery through which they enforced their authority.¹⁰⁶ Taplin described Ngarrindjeri clans as headed by a *Rupulle* who led in war and headed the clan's *Tendi*, comprised of family heads, which dealt with infractions of the 'law'.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes joint *Tendi* meetings settled disputes.

Observing Aboriginal men, Schürmann pronounced himself 'delighted with the propriety and good manners amongst the completely free and equal aborigines, and, especially, with the willingness of the young to follow the older men.'¹⁰⁸ He wrote:

All grown-up men are perfectly equal...none ever attempts to assume any command over his fellows; but whatever wishes they may entertain with regard to the conduct and actions of others must be expressed in the shape of entreaty or persuasion.¹⁰⁹

However the missionaries believed small autonomous units and no chiefs with authority over larger groups hindered missionary engagement and dialogue.¹¹⁰ Schürmann said 'the unlimited freedom of the natives is their boundless misfortune. The lack of any sort of authority among them inhibits any co-operation.'¹¹¹

Jenkin says missionaries should have consulted 'the governments of the various tribes or nations,' in the case of the Ramindjeri, the combined *Tendi*.¹¹² This implies a more formal structure than there may have been. Meyer omits *Tendi* or *Rupulle* from his *Vocabulary*. This suggests that Meyer was ill-informed, these roles were hidden from the outside observer or Ramindjeri authority structures (as opposed to those of other Ngarrindjeri *lakinyeri*) were collapsing. Moreover, anthropologists have debated whether Aboriginal ritual leaders' decision-making authority extended beyond the religious domain and the enforcement of customary law.¹¹³ In a preface to Ronald and Catherine Berndt's book on the Yaraldi, a Ngarrindjeri *lakinyeri*, Anthropologist Robert Tonkinson writes:

¹⁰⁵ Brown, "Rough Notes," 231-32; Strehlow, *Sustaining Ideals*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," 32-34; Brown, 239.

¹⁰⁷ Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," 32-36.

¹⁰⁸ SD. 13 Sept 1839. Translated by G Lockwood.

¹⁰⁹ Schürmann, *Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*, 12.

¹¹⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843, SC; Conference Report, 15 April 1844; "Mr Teichelmann's Report on the Natives, at the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting," *Southern Australian*, 26 Jan 1841, 3CD.

¹¹¹ Schürmann to DMS, 28 May 1845, SC.S196.

¹¹² Jenkin, 46.

¹¹³ Ronald M Berndt, Catherine H Berndt, and John Stanton, *A World That Was: The Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia*. xxvii.

Chapter 5: Challenges from Aboriginal Society

Earlier attempts to construe government and leadership in terms of formal structures and roles have given way to a view of Aboriginal societies as more open and flexible, allowing for the existence of a strong ethos of autonomy within the constraints of kinship, and a minimum of formalization in decision-making and the maintenance of social control.¹¹⁴

He suggests that while the Ngarrindjeri may have been more formally organised than elsewhere, the Berndts' twentieth century informants may have been reflecting years of European influence.¹¹⁵

Behind Schürmann's perception of 'unlimited freedom' lay intricate class and kinship rules governing Aboriginal life which the missionaries did not fully master.¹¹⁶ However, Schürmann and Meyer recorded vocabularies rich in family and clan relationship terms.¹¹⁷ They were constantly reminded of kinship obligations and the importance of reciprocity. Attempts to educate children, influence Aboriginal behaviour and beliefs and encourage sedentary living were frustrated by group pressures. Moreover, loyalties and obligations did not extend beyond those demanded by kinship, class or totem. Hostile relationships and language differences made it difficult to combine different tribes into one school or settlement.

Aboriginal people expected reciprocity in dealings with Europeans. Having forfeited the use of their land, they felt entitled to food and houses. Teichelmann suggested this lay behind their begging which even Aborigines considered 'despicable'.¹¹⁸ While recognising the injustice of their dispossession, Teichelmann complained about demands on him personally for food, clothing, houses and assistance.¹¹⁹ The missionaries also had to compensate informants, build relationships by exchanging gifts, share their possessions and provide rations in exchange for attendance at school or Sunday gatherings.¹²⁰ This strained their meagre resources. Schürmann wrote, 'We have won their affection and trust so far that they visit us often and in large numbers... they have become a pleasant but real burden.'¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Schürmann knew of moieties, complex relationship and marriage rules but admits not having mastered them. Schürmann, *Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*, 10.

¹¹⁷ Cynthia Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task: Clamor Schürmann and the language achievements among the Parnkalla, Port Lincoln –1840-1852," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 8 (October 1998). 82; Mary-Anne Gale, "Two by Two: The Linguistic Heritage of H.A.E. Meyer" (paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, University of Adelaide, 6 July 2012).

¹¹⁸ "Mr Teichelmann's Report on the Natives, at the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting.," Teichelmann report, Southern Australian, 7 June 1842, 3. Threlkeld said begging was not a traditional custom. Threlkeld to Schürmann, 10 March 1842, TC.

¹¹⁹ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*. 6,11.

¹²⁰ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 Nov 1839, TC.

¹²¹ 'The Natives of South Australia', 1839, SC.

Aboriginal people tried incorporating the missionaries into their kinship system. Schürmann, Teichelmann and Meyer were adopted as clan 'brothers.' The missionaries attended corroborees, initiations and other ceremonies. Schürmann was welcome at all but the most secret ceremonies, even being invited to suggest new names for initiates undergoing the final stage of initiation into young manhood.¹²² However, the missionaries' poverty relative to other Europeans did not impress their Aboriginal 'brothers.'¹²³ Friendship and influence were based on liberality.¹²⁴ The missionaries could not display the generosity necessary for status in Aboriginal society and balked at being stripped of their meagre possessions through 'demand sharing.'¹²⁵ Similar considerations affected Aboriginal workers entering the European economy. Schürmann believed kinship obligations helped defeat Aboriginal farming at Port Lincoln. Farmers lost enthusiasm when relatives unwilling to work demanded a share of the harvest.¹²⁶

Inculcating a commitment to kinship obligations in order to produce co-operative and harmonious group members was central to Aboriginal children's socialisation. Up to puberty training was informal and permissive. Children were largely left to themselves from an early age to encourage independence and self-reliance.¹²⁷ Students appreciated the warmth, food and care the missionaries provided but chafed at discipline and regular school attendance.¹²⁸ Absenteeism was rife in Adelaide and Encounter Bay.¹²⁹ Schooling beyond puberty was problematic. At puberty boys underwent an important stage of initiation. Considering themselves men, they resented being told what to do.¹³⁰ At puberty or earlier girls married men they were promised to from birth.¹³¹ Some parents appreciated the care their children received and their opportunity to learn skills necessary in the intruder's world. However, they considered it more important that children filled assigned clan roles. Most actively countered the missionaries' religious teaching.¹³²

The Dresden missionaries struggled to engage with an Aboriginal society organised into small, autonomous, itinerant groups committed to maintaining customary law and kinship obligations. Where authority was breaking down dissolute individuals and dysfunctional communities

¹²² Schürmann to DMS, 28 May 1845, SC.

¹²³ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 March 1841, TC.

¹²⁴ Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/503, Angas Papers.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ *Southern Australian*, 8 Sept 1843, 2D; Schürmann to DMS, 3 July, 1843, SC.

¹²⁷ By puberty boys had been finding their own food for some years, Meyer, *Manners and Customs*, 2, 6.

¹²⁸ Protector's report 20 February 1841, *Papers Relative to South Australia*, 326; Graetz, *Klose Letters*.

¹²⁹ Parents encouraged their children to attend Schürmann's Port Lincoln school.

¹³⁰ Meyer, *Manners and Customs*, 2.

¹³¹ Meyer says girls married at age ten or twelve. Ibid., 4.

¹³² Graetz, 21; "Mr Teichelmann's Report on the Natives, at the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting (contd)," *Southern Australian*, 29 Jan 1841, 4C.

resulted. The missionaries hoped Aboriginal reservations and settlements would provide an opportunity for ongoing missionary contact but also assist the survival of Aboriginal communities and languages. They had hoped to work through community leaders but this proved illusory. It would not have helped that clan leaders were typically sorcerers and custodians of the religious beliefs the missionaries challenged.

5.3 Language Difficulties

The missionaries' 1844 Report complained of the multiplicity of Aboriginal languages, all unwritten and with but a few speakers. They spent years analysing and learning languages to communicate with a small, dwindling population. Working in three different languages hindered co-operation. Initially Schürmann hoped Kurna could become a lingua franca.¹³³ Tribes visiting Adelaide had previously learned Kurna. This ceased as Kurna numbers dwindled. The people's 'wandering' and mistrust of Europeans, especially after the execution in 1839 of two Aboriginal men, hindered the development of relationships in which informants felt confident to share not just words but customs and beliefs without which true understanding was impossible.¹³⁴ In line with cultural expectations, informants expected their whole families to be fed and clothed in exchange for their knowledge.¹³⁵ The missionaries regretted their inability to pay full-time informants and focus on language learning instead of supporting themselves.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, as testimony to the trust that developed, Teichelmann and Schürmann were able to learn and record correct Kurna rather than the pidginised form the Kurna used with other Europeans. Teichelmann believed this was to keep the latter ignorant of the language.¹³⁷

When the missionaries looked for spiritual and abstract terms they and their informants struggled to communicate. Only senior men possessed full religious knowledge. It was communicated only to certain persons through various levels of initiation throughout adult life. Kurna friends urged Schürmann to undergo tattooing, the third and final stage of Kurna initiation in manhood, so he could receive the knowledge he sought.¹³⁸ He declined. According to linguist Cynthia Rathjen, it is now recognised that Aboriginal languages contain ancillary vocabularies containing abstract terminologies used by certain tribesmen under special

¹³³ 'The Aborigines of South Australia', in Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839, SC.

¹³⁴ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 July 1839, TC.

¹³⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, 8 Dec 1838, TC.

¹³⁶ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 March 1841, TC.

¹³⁷ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, TC.

¹³⁸ Schurmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC. Christian Teichelmann and Matthew Moorhouse, "Report on the Aborigines of South Australia", presented to the Statistical Society in Adelaide, 1841," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* vol 28 no. 1 (December 1990). 44.

circumstances.¹³⁹ These terminologies were not made accessible to the Dresden missionaries. This made the task of finding linguistic and cultural equivalents for Christian concepts extremely difficult. Even finding an equivalent for 'God' was problematic.¹⁴⁰ At first Schürmann translated 'God' as *Munaietjerlo*, who the Kurna said made everything.¹⁴¹ He later realised *Munaietjerlo* was a collective term for ancestral spirits.¹⁴² Unwilling to introduce English terms, but unable to find an appropriate Kurna term, he and Teichelmann used *Yeowa* or *Yowa* from the Hebrew *Yahweh* ('Jehovah'). Schürmann introduced *Jehova* into Barngarla. This may have been a mistake. Paul Albrecht says an Aboriginal pastor told him that more than anything else, the missionaries' adoption of *Altjirra inkarta* for 'Lord God' helped Christianity to penetrate Arrernte culture. *Altjirra* means 'ancestral totemic spirit' and *inkarta* is used of a ceremonial chief.¹⁴³

Other problematic concepts were grace, sin, righteousness, forgiveness, guilt, salvation, repentance, damnation, even 'son.'¹⁴⁴ As favours carried reciprocal obligations there was no word for 'thankfulness', an important Christian concept. Schürmann lamented that it was easier to translate law concepts than gospel concepts, the Ten Commandments than the Lord's Prayer with concepts like holy, will, temptation and kingdom.¹⁴⁵ He wrote:

Most of all it is hard to find ... a fully appropriate word for ... forgiveness... perhaps for the reason that I have never seen a native seeking forgiveness for an offence he committed. They ... resolve [wrongs] either by abuse or with blows.¹⁴⁶

Schürmann regretted his inability to find words to spiritually comfort prisoners facing execution like Ngarbi, executed as an accessory to murder in 1843.¹⁴⁷ Meyer struggled with the word 'believe' when counselling a man dying of TB.¹⁴⁸ Ronald and Catherine Berndt point out that

¹³⁹ Rathjen, 80-81.

¹⁴⁰ For similar translation difficulties among the Arrernte see Diane Austin-Broos, "Translating Christianity: Some keywords, events and sites in Western Arrernte," *Journal of Anthropology* 21 (2010).

¹⁴¹ SD. 5-6 June 1839.

¹⁴² Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC.

¹⁴³ Paul G E Albrecht, "Learning from past missionary work in central Australia for ministry to Aboriginal people today," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 47, no. 2 (August 2013).

¹⁴⁴ DMS to Meyer, 14 Oct 1842, MC; Graetz, 25; Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Sept 1840, TC; Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC.

¹⁴⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 15 April and 11 Dec 1844, SC.

¹⁴⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC. Schürmann elsewhere describes ritualised violence used in settling disputes. Cf Sutton, *Politics*, 96-98.

¹⁴⁷ Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843 and 19 Aug 1844, SC.

¹⁴⁸ Meyer to DMS, 23 March 1841, MC.

many Aboriginal communities do not have a word equivalent to 'believe' as opposed to 'know.' In Christianity the distinction between 'knowledge' and 'faith' is important.¹⁴⁹

Some colonists believed it was impossible to convey Christian concepts in Aboriginal languages.¹⁵⁰ Meyer and Klose doubted their ability to master the languages sufficiently to fully convey the doctrine of salvation. Teichelmann, however, believed God's word was intended for all 'tongues' and a way would be found to translate it. He chided Meyer for assuming too quickly the necessary concepts did not exist in Ramindjeri and suggested he lacked the humility needed for language learning.¹⁵¹

The missionaries wrote hymns and prayers. They translated hymns, Bible stories and sections of Luther's *Small Catechism* but not whole biblical books. They were still struggling to translate religious concepts when their work came to an end. They had not yet reached a point in their knowledge of the language where a breakthrough with adults could be expected. When Teichelmann updated his *Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect* in 1857 few Kurna speakers remained.

5.4 'The power of unbelief and superstition'¹⁵²

Evangelising peoples without written languages has typically entailed many years' work before the first conversions. The language needs to be learned, analysed and documented before Scripture translation can begin or literacy can be taught and evangelists trained. Johannes Flierl, Papua New Guinea's first Lutheran missionary, worked thirteen years before baptising two schoolboys in 1899 and seventeen years before any adults were baptised, even though the people are sedentary. The LMS worked sixteen years in Tahiti before the first conversions. Conversions followed rapidly in both Papua New Guinea and Tahiti once Indigenous evangelists began spreading the faith. The DMS' South Australian mission ended within ten years, before the missionaries fully understood the local languages, religion and culture sufficiently for conversions to be expected.

¹⁴⁹ Ronald M Berndt and Catherine H Berndt, *The World of the First Australians*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1977). 228; Kenny, 202-09.

¹⁵⁰ For example, Wesleyan missionary Francis Tuckfield at Buntingdale shared this view. Amanda Barry, "Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-eastern Australia, 1837-1937." (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2008), 86.

¹⁵¹ TD. 29 Dec 1844.

¹⁵² Conference Report, 15 April 1844. A60. Discussing the use of the term 'superstition' c.1825-1870, Tony Swain says 'religion' was reserved for rational comprehension of a moral Supreme Being. Tony Swain, *Interpreting Aboriginal Religion: an historical account*. (Bedford Park, S. Aust.: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1985). 28-30.

The DMS wanted its missionaries to focus on transforming 'the inner man' and not the external trappings of culture or 'civilisation.' They were to preach reconciliation with God through the crucifixion of Christ. For Aboriginal people this was a foreign message, focusing on the individual's relationship with a Supreme Being rather than, as in Aboriginal spirituality, the rituals that ensured community harmony and the physical world's continuity and productivity.

The missionaries were discouraged by Aboriginal adults' resistance to the Christian message as they explained:

[T]he attainment of [our] goal is attended by obstructions at all times and among all peoples, as for example: the innate disinclination towards all things divine; a carnal attitude which resists any pressure to renounce human appetite and its satisfaction; and the power exerted by unbelief and superstition which becomes all the stronger as the true faith threatens to take hold of human hearts.¹⁵³

Teichelmann reported, 'If God does not work wonders of grace, we labour in vain for their salvation.'¹⁵⁴ The local people 'express[ed] themselves perfectly satisfied with the traditions of their forefathers.'¹⁵⁵ Each tribe had its own local Dreaming Stories and rituals. They saw missionary teaching as the Europeans' 'dreaming stories' and resisted Christianity's universal claims.¹⁵⁶ Teichelmann records one angry response to his criticisms of their beliefs:

'[W]hy do you charge us with a lie, i.e. reject our opinion. We do not charge you with lies; what you believe and speak of Jehovah is good, and what we believe is good.'¹⁵⁷

The missionaries looked for belief in a Supreme Being but found none.¹⁵⁸ They thought Aboriginal people were spiritually indifferent and preoccupied with physical satisfactions, in Teichelmann's words, 'eating and drinking, sleeping and playing and bloody slaughters.'¹⁵⁹ Without belief in a Supreme Being he thought there could be no moral accountability:

[I]t is evident that we have neither to expect ...the idea of any being superior to themselves...From the visible world they derive their existence; from the visible world they expect good and evil, and the whole creation again they believe to have under their control.

¹⁵³ Conference Report, 15 April 1844.

¹⁵⁴ TD. 12 Dec 1841.

¹⁵⁵ Teichelmann and Moorhouse, "Report on the Aborigines, 1841," 48.

¹⁵⁶ Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/502, Angas Papers.

¹⁵⁷ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 13.

¹⁵⁸ Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841, TC. Later missionaries found belief in a supreme but remote being in Aboriginal religion.

¹⁵⁹ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC; Teichelmann to DMS, 8 Dec 1838, TC.

Therefore, we cannot expect to find morality or any idea of final and individual responsibility amongst them; and we have met in them with nothing but superstition and human endowments...¹⁶⁰

These 'superstitions' included the belief that supernatural totemic ancestors formed the heavens, land forms, animals and humans before returning to eternal rest in the earth.¹⁶¹ Through performing ancestral incantations and rituals, humans participated in calling plants and animals into being and ensuring the ongoing functioning of the physical world. Life was dominated by fear of the spirit world. Schürmann documents the Kaurna names of forces such as *Jura*, a great evil animal that devoured people in great numbers. *Kuinjo*, when no fire was burning, sat in the stomach or on the shoulders, causing pain.¹⁶² *Nokunna*, a supernatural assassin, visited at night. The *karkanya* stole children's souls, its cry heralding death. Phenomena such as comets and earthquakes heralded doom. Malignant forces required magic formulae to combat them. Death, except from wounds and old age, was considered the result of sorcery.¹⁶³ Neglecting ritual practices brought supernatural retribution.¹⁶⁴ Sorcerers were feared for their ability to manipulate the spirits. Schürmann recorded similar beliefs among the Barngarla and Meyer among the Ramindjeri. Kenny says the introduction of European diseases concurrently with evangelism often led Aboriginal people to think the Christian spirit brought illness, contributing to their wariness of missions.¹⁶⁵

Against such beliefs the missionaries taught that Jehovah, the Supreme Being, out of his goodness created and sustained the universe. This challenged the spirits' power and the need for Aboriginal increase rituals. It raised the question of one's relationship with God and with people outside the kinship system. Teichelmann wrote:

I tried to impress on them that as we had all been created by one God and we had all descended from one pair of parents we were therefore also all brothers and sisters and that whatever we did to one another we did to a blood-relative.¹⁶⁶

The missionaries tried to overcome the fear of sorcery, the spirit world and spirits of the dead. Belief in sorcery caused pay-back killings and the fear, with each death, of being wrongly

¹⁶⁰ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 10-11.

¹⁶¹ Strehlow, *Sustaining Ideals*, 11-13.

¹⁶² Schürmann to DMS, 2 Feb and 19 June 1839, SC.

¹⁶³ Schürmann, *Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*, 20. Schürmann gives these exceptions. Sutton claims many homicides and accidental killings are even today attributed to a sorcerer manipulating the killer. Sutton, *Politics*, 89.

¹⁶⁴ Such as tattooing. Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 13.

¹⁶⁵ Kenny, 256.

¹⁶⁶ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1844, TC.

accused of sorcery and targeted for revenge. They taught that in his resurrection Christ won victory over death and evil forces.¹⁶⁷ Meyer, Schürmann and Teichelmann all reported confrontations with sorcerers and healers.¹⁶⁸ Practitioners responded angrily but onlookers evinced relief and gratitude.¹⁶⁹ Schürmann claimed he persuaded many Kurna, including Mullawirraburka, not to fear sorcery.¹⁷⁰ When Mullawirraburka's brother died, the 'East Men' (or Pitta) were accused of sorcery. Schürmann argued against taking revenge and warned the 'East Men.' The teaching of Jehovah as creator and Christ's supremacy over the spirit world challenged the old men who derived authority from their knowledge of sacred rituals and ruthlessly enforced behavioural norms through fear instilled during initiation and threats of sorcery and physical harm.¹⁷¹ In 1848 over half the students left the Native School Establishment because of sorcery threats.¹⁷²

The missionaries reported listeners' good humouredly accepting criticisms of their creation myths and even welcoming challenges to sorcerers but they became upset and avoided the missionaries when they criticised practices they considered immoral, warned of God's judgement or spoke of death, a taboo subject.¹⁷³ The missionaries' preaching sometimes focused on moral failings. This may reflect pietistic influences but two points need making.

Firstly, the missionaries' starting point was not European moral or cultural superiority.¹⁷⁴ They considered many Europeans more depraved than Aboriginal people.¹⁷⁵ The missionaries were warning against unbiblical behaviour they saw causing suffering and destroying Aboriginal society. They criticised lying, stealing, violence (sorcery, pay-back killings, endemic quarrelling and fighting, infanticide, and violent and 'slavish' treatment of women) and sexual and marriage customs (polygamy, wife-sharing, prostitution, promiscuity as understood by the missionaries, sexual abuse of children of both sexes, sodomy and the marriage of

¹⁶⁷ Missionaries Clem Eckermann and Paul Albrecht believed this teaching attracted Aboriginal people to Christianity more than anything else. C V Eckermann, *Koonibba: the Mission and the Nunga People*. (Adelaide: Norma Eckermann, 2010). 74,102; Paul G E Albrecht, *The Church's Role in Meeting the Needs of Indigenous People*. (Magill, S. Aust: Paul G.E. Albrecht, 1995).

¹⁶⁸ SD. 4 Nov 1839, Dec 1839 & 3 Jan 1840; Teichelmann to 'Brother', 13 Nov 1839, TC; TD. 31 March 1844; Meyer to DMS, 21 Aug 1841, MC.

¹⁶⁹ Meyer to DMS, 21 Aug 1841, MC; SD. 3 Jan 1840. Opposition from tribal leaders with occult powers is to be expected. Klaus Detlev Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: the Lutheran Theology of Mission*. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009).

¹⁷⁰ SD. 3 Jan 1840.

¹⁷¹ Schürmann, *Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln*, 12; Albrecht, *Relhiperra*. 39-40; Sutton, *Politics*, 78-79; Strehlow, *A Tale*, 456; Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," 32.

¹⁷² Moorhouse to CSO, 10 Oct 1848, GRG24/6/1848/1565, SRSA.

¹⁷³ Schürmann to DMS, 11 Dec 1844, SC; Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 12-13; TD. 6 & 12 Dec 1841, 1 Feb & 1 April 1844; Meyer to DMS, 21 Aug 1841 and 1 Aug 1844, MC.

¹⁷⁴ As commonly claimed, e.g. Jenkin, 10, 44.

¹⁷⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 5 Nov 1839. SC; TD. 24 Nov 1839.

prepubescent girls to old men).¹⁷⁶ The missionaries saw these practices bringing degradation, disease and suffering. They tended the wounded and those suffering and dying from venereal diseases. They witnessed women and children suffering, the terror and blood-feuds caused by sorcery, almost daily fights and quarrels and a rapidly decreasing population.

Secondly, Lutheran theology emphasises that people must understand their brokenness before they will seek wholeness and forgiveness in Christ. Above all, the missionaries wished to offer forgiveness, eternal life and peace with God through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. They believed the promise of eternal life in a better world and hope and healing in this life were vital for people afraid of death, surrounded by death and traumatised by a world falling apart. However they had difficulty persuading the people they were sinners. Schürmann believed the Aboriginal mind was 'utterly without a clear knowledge of moral right or wrong.'¹⁷⁷ Moreover, they believed traditional Aboriginal society had no tradition of forgiveness. Reconciliation was achieved through the exchange of gifts (including women's sexual favours), punishment or blows requiring the shedding of blood.¹⁷⁸ Teichelmann complained that Kurna people did not accept that they needed forgiveness though they liked to hear of the resurrection and life in heaven.¹⁷⁹ The Meyers nursed the ill Puninjeri in their home for months. He accepted everything Meyer taught him and believed he would go to heaven, but he could not accept he was a sinner.¹⁸⁰ For this reason the missionaries preached the Ten Commandments and repentance. Schürmann wrote:

It is clear that the law of God and the fear of the same are the only means to mellow their sin-hardened hearts and to make the Gospel acceptable. To proclaim [the Gospel] without previously emphasising the former ... would be like stretching onto an old garment a new cloth which would soon be torn off again.¹⁸¹

Klose described his approach with prisoners:

I make him aware of his sinful life, where it has brought him and where it will bring him after death if he does not take refuge in Jehovah, and I acquaint him with the Gospel.¹⁸² ...[I tell

¹⁷⁶ Moorhouse reported seeing an unweaned girl of six or seven having intercourse with her husband and then returning to her mother's breast. He claimed female sexual intercourse commonly began at age eight to ten. 1860 Select Committee Report, Minutes of Evidence 2549-50. For male-female violence including Stephen Webb's archaeological evidence, see Sutton, *Politics*, 99-110.

¹⁷⁷ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/488. Sutton quotes W E H Stanner as saying the formation of conscience is not strong in traditional Aboriginal society, Sutton, *Politics*, 110.

¹⁷⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844 and 28 May 1845, SC.

¹⁷⁹ Teichelmann to Angas, 21 Dec 1840, PRG174/1/1671, Angas Papers.

¹⁸⁰ Meyer to DMS, 4 Oct 1846, MC.

¹⁸¹ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC.

¹⁸² Graetz, 42.

them] if they asked God for forgiveness and believed that Jesus Christ died for their sins, they would not go to hell.¹⁸³

The ultimate objective of sharing a loving Saviour is seen in what Klose thought might be his last words with his beloved students. He wrote:

When I heard that within a few days the children would leave the Location to go to the new school, I spent considerable time on the first three verses of [Romans chapter 8] in order to make Christianity really clear and sweet to them.¹⁸⁴

These verses teach that 'there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus' because Christ has achieved what sinful human nature cannot do and has set the believer free from the consequences of sin and death.

This 'sweet' message was difficult to convey and contextualise, the desired response difficult to elicit, especially given the missionaries' limited grasp of abstract religious terminology.

Schürmann wrote:

Simply to relate the great deeds of God, I can manage... but to derive conclusions from them or to apply them to the Aborigines is difficult. Equally the law section of Christian teaching is likewise easier than the Gospel. The Ten Commandments I can make comprehensible to them, but I have not yet succeeded with the Lord's Prayer.¹⁸⁵

...The preaching of the Gospel I still find very difficult; the holiness and righteousness of God, understanding sin, reconciliation through Christ's death, forgiveness of sins, and justification by faith are things too high for them to comprehend, at least for now.

The omnipresence of God, the creation of all things, the commandments, eternal punishment and eternal life, these concepts they listen to with visible interest, especially when I relate their former concepts and current conduct to them. But they do not believe any of it, because they steal, lie, quarrel, etc., just as much as ever.¹⁸⁶

As well as rejection, the missionaries reported attentive listening and the beginnings of faith. Teichelman reported reflective responses from people grappling with the new faith's

¹⁸³ Ibid., 35.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 43.

¹⁸⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 11 Dec 1844, SC.

¹⁸⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 28 May 1845, SC.

implications.¹⁸⁷ Schürmann reported joy, tears and requests to hear more when he spoke about Jesus, his crucifixion and resurrection.¹⁸⁸ The idea of a bodily resurrection astonished and excited listeners.¹⁸⁹ In 1845 Schürmann reported a Port Lincoln man enthusiastically spreading Christian teachings shared with him by a fellow prisoner.¹⁹⁰ Meyer and Klose reported faith developing in their students. Teichelmann observed that the children at the Piltawodli school had 'a good treasury of Christian truths in their minds', though he did not know how much had reached their hearts.¹⁹¹ Many had more perception or knowledge of divine matters than many European children.¹⁹² Meyer reported children wanting baptism.¹⁹³ However, the missionaries hesitated to claim conversions or baptise without the presence of faith being confirmed by the evidence of lives beginning to reflect Christian spiritual values.¹⁹⁴ They realised Aboriginal people sometimes said what was expected of them. They also feared lone converts would apostatise in the face of tribal pressures.¹⁹⁵ For this reason the missionaries wanted to work with communities and adults, rather than focusing on children, and hoped to form Christian congregations. As noted earlier, some students instructed by Schürmann were baptised after being transferred to Poonindie.¹⁹⁶

The missionaries were confident God's word would eventually bear fruit.¹⁹⁷ Teichelmann reported a study of the Kurna's language revealed they had a conscience and knowledge of good and evil, a good starting point for conversion.¹⁹⁸ Schürmann, however, believed it was impossible to reach their conscience while their physical needs were not addressed:

... One can expect no conversion of the natives without continuous instruction by word and deed, but this is only possible with the congregation of these people into a settlement of their own. Concerns with livelihood are a temptation even to the experienced Christian; why should not hunger quench all restraints of conscience in the person of nature?¹⁹⁹

¹⁸⁷ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, TC; TD. 4 March & 16 June, 1844.

¹⁸⁸ SD. 6 June 1839, 7- 8 Aug 1839, 24 Feb 1840.

¹⁸⁹ Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/502, Angas Papers.

¹⁹⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 28 May 1845, SC.

¹⁹¹ TD. 10 Nov 1844.

¹⁹² TD. 10 Nov 1844.

¹⁹³ Meyer to DMS, 17 March 1845, MC.

¹⁹⁴ TD. 19 July 1845.

¹⁹⁵ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC; Conference Report, 15 April 1844.

¹⁹⁶ Mathew B. Hale, *The Aborigines of Australia: Being an Account of the Institution for Their Education at Poonindie*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889. 69.

¹⁹⁷ For example, Graetz, 36, 45.

¹⁹⁸ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 10, 13.

¹⁹⁹ Schürmann to DMS, 28 May 1845, SC.

The missionaries believed Aboriginal people were of 'one blood', brothers and sisters, redeemed by Christ as they were. They longed to speak words of comfort and hope to the suffering and dying but were still learning the language and religion when their work ended. Aboriginal people often showed the missionaries affection and appreciation but remained ambivalent. They found the Christian message both attractive and confronting. Besides, the powerless missionaries' with their limited means could not provide for Aboriginal sustenance and survival. Gawler had warned the work would be slow as 'ancient prejudices' could not to be overcome in a few years.²⁰⁰

5.5 Conclusion

The Dresden missions identified the difficulty of evangelising small, scattered, itinerant groups often hostile to each other and speaking a multiplicity of languages as their greatest challenge. Moreover, European settlement rapidly overwhelmed Aboriginal society without adequate provision being made for its people. This undermined the missionaries' work and, together with introduced diseases, triggered rapid Aboriginal population decline and social collapse. The government's policy of 'civilising' Aboriginal people by dispersing and assimilating them as cheap labour further hindered the missionaries' efforts to establish the independent, self-perpetuating Aboriginal Lutheran church the DMS envisaged. Schürmann wrote:

Where so few are scattered among so many the hope of forming separate and lasting congregations ...is extremely small. Purely as a work of compassion, to lead a few souls from death to life is the only possibility this mission can ever contemplate, and never ...the establishment of the Lutheran church in its own particular identity.²⁰¹

With limited resources, the missionaries could do little to prevent Aboriginal society's collapse. Aboriginal people appreciated the missionaries' care, concern and willingness to identify with them and learn their language. They were both offended by and attracted to their teachings. However, in their quest for day-to-day necessities other options seemed to deliver more than the missionaries could. The missionaries became convinced that progress in spiritual matters depended on Aboriginal people's physical needs first being met.²⁰² It was unrealistic to focus only on spiritual goals and try building on the collapsing social structures of a constantly moving people.

²⁰⁰ Gawler to Angas, 10 July 1840, PRG174/1/1568, Angas Papers.

²⁰¹ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843, SC. S170.

²⁰² Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC; Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/505, Angas Papers.

The government showed little enthusiasm for settlement schemes and the DMS recognised that they were beyond its resources. The NSW government had granted Threlkeld 10,000 acres (40 km²) at Lake Macquarie in 1824 and the CMS' Wellington Valley mission 10,000 acres and £500 per annum in 1832. Threlkeld fell out with the LMS in 1828 over high expenditure. Both Threlkeld's subsequent mission and the Wellington Valley mission ended when the government withdrew funding. In 1862 Rev Meischel and teacher Torbitski compared the Dresden missionaries' failure with the 'success' of 'English' missions in South Australia, but the latter had significant areas of land. This was important for the greater success of later missions in making converts, providing sustenance and a haven, reversing population decline and giving residents a chance to adapt and forge new communities and identities.

The Dresden missionaries faulted the DMS for commissioning them 'knowing full well in what condition the Australian Aborigines existed, what it would cost to both colonise and to do mission work among them' but failing to provide the necessary funding.²⁰³ The DMS extolled the perseverance of missionaries to the nomadic Greenlanders among whom it took thirty years for the gospel to take hold.²⁰⁴ Schürmann pointed out that the Greenlanders' way of life had not been so undermined. He observed that the missionaries there worked alone, without needing to combat the destructive influence of 'godless' and irresponsible settlers.²⁰⁵ As Peggy Brock has observed, colonization did not necessarily facilitate religious change.²⁰⁶

Scrimgeour sees Aboriginal 'relativism' and attachment to traditional ways as the main reason for the missionaries' failure to 'Christianise' Aboriginal people.²⁰⁷ However the inner conversion involved in becoming a Christian, as opposed to accepting external cultural changes, involves struggle.²⁰⁸ Kenelm Burridge says non-Christians who wholly identify with their cultural traditions tend at first to persistently reject Christianity.²⁰⁹ Under difficult circumstances like those the Dresden missionaries experienced, ten years work with no baptisms was not unusual. More time was needed for them to learn the local language, culture and religion and for Indigenous people to understand, digest and consider what they were hearing. Time ran out for the missionaries and the majority of Aboriginal people among whom they worked.

²⁰³ Schürmann to Leipzig colleague, 30 Dec 1892, SC.

²⁰⁴ Dresden Mission Society Annual Report 1842-3.

²⁰⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC.

²⁰⁶ Peggy Brock, ed. *Indigenous People and Religious Change*. (Leiden: Brill, 2005). 7.

²⁰⁷ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 51-52.

²⁰⁸ Schulz, *Mission from the Cross*, 184.

²⁰⁹ Kenelm Burridge, "Aborigines and Christianity: an overview," in *Australian Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: ethnographic and historical studies*, ed. Tony and Rose Swain, Deborah Bird (eds) (Bedford Park, SA: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1988). 20-21.



Figure 36: Rapid Bay encampment.
George French Angas 1846-47. (NGA 43867)

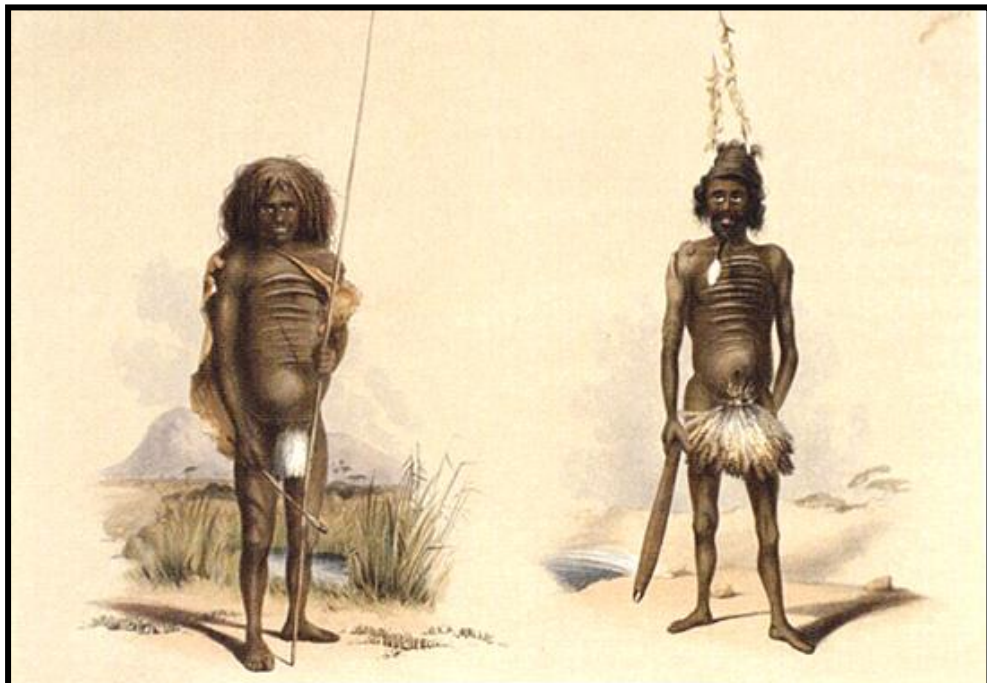


Figure 37: Tyilkilli, of the Parnkalla tribe, Port Lincoln and Mintala from Coffin Bay.
George French Angas 1846-47. (NGA 43890)

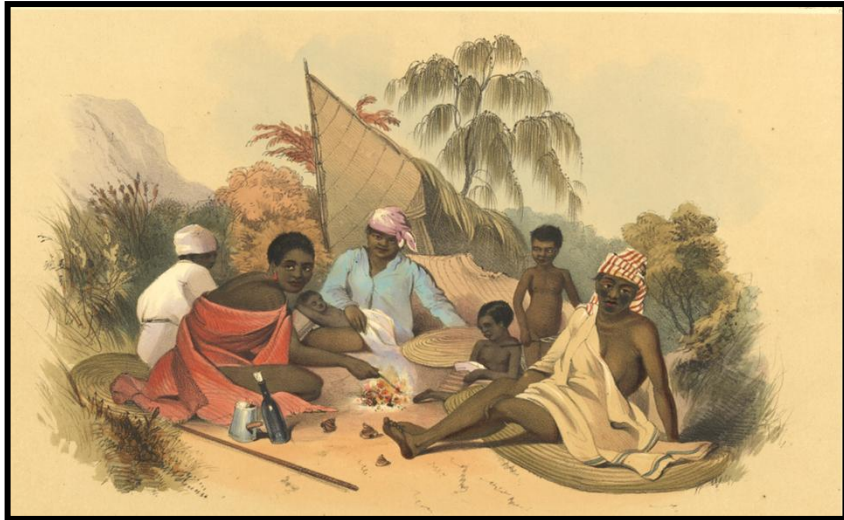


Figure 38: Encampment of Native Women, near Cape Jervis.
George French Angas. 1846-7. (NGA 43887)

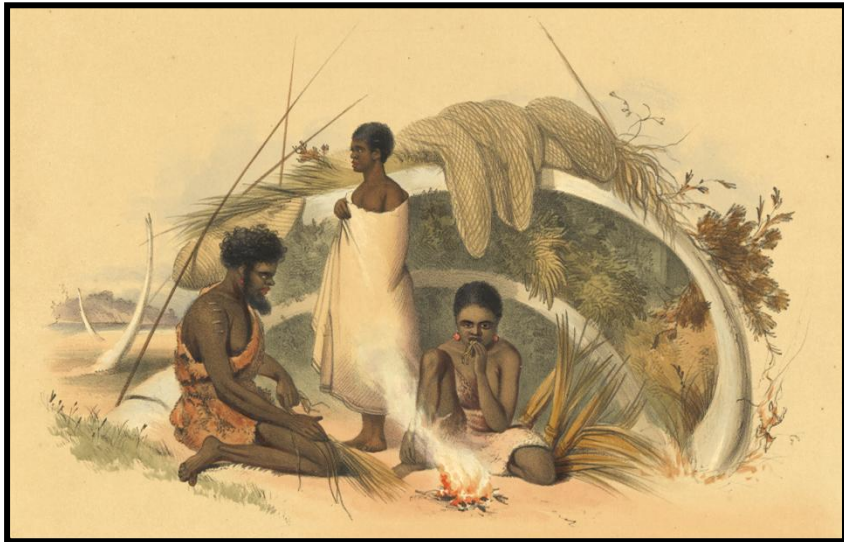


Figure 39: Encounter Bay natives making fishing net cord in hut formed from whale ribs.
George French Angas 1846-7. (NGA 43887)

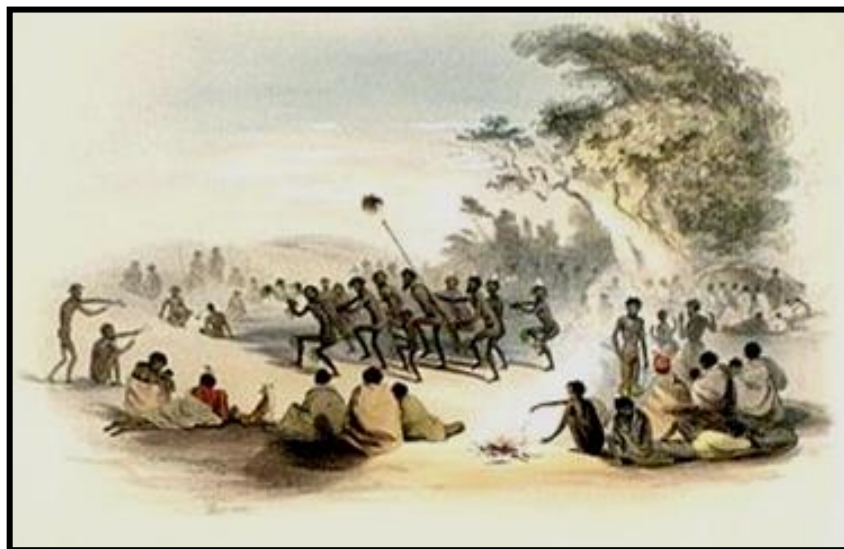


Figure 40: The Kuri Dance.
Described in Schürmann's diaries. George French Angas. (NGA IRN 43839)

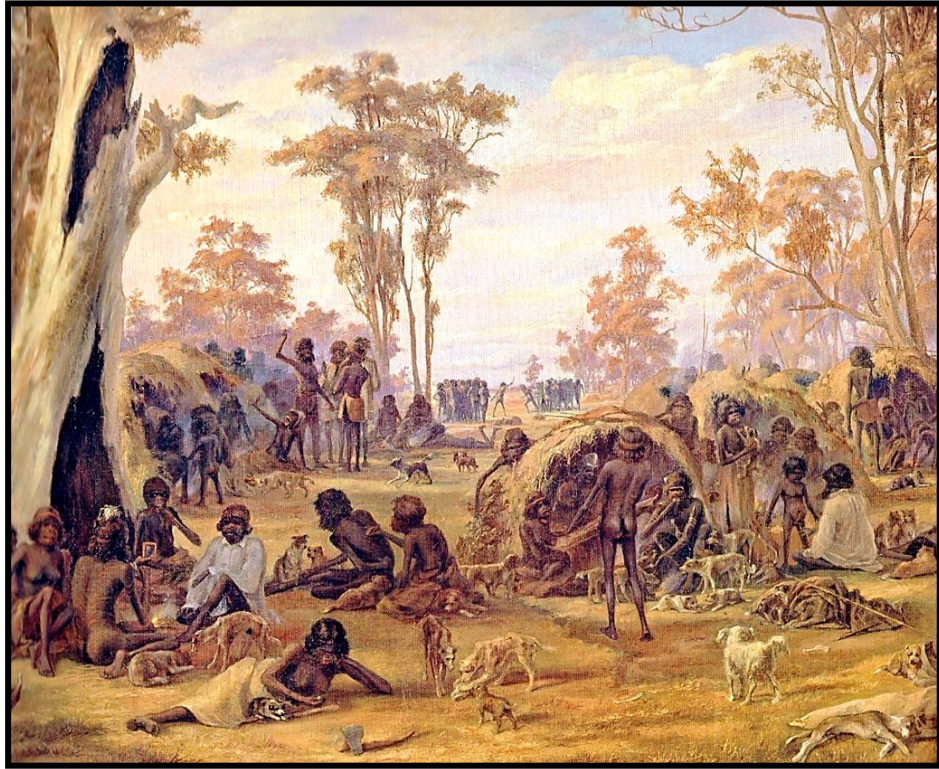


Figure 41: A tribe of natives on the banks of the River Torrens, 1850.
Alexander Schramm. (NGA143355)



Figure 42: A Scene in South Australia, c. 1850.
Alexander Schramm. (AGSA 8212P30)

6 DIVERGING AGENDAS: MISSION, STATE AND SECULAR SOCIETY

The interplay of Aboriginal culture and colonial policies and practices undercut missionary attempts to establish an ongoing mission and ultimately an Aboriginal Lutheran Church in South Australia. To compound their difficulties, the missionaries' aims were fundamentally at odds with the government's colonising and 'civilising' objectives. The missionaries' starting point was Aboriginal welfare as they perceived it. The colonisers' overwhelming concern was the colonising project. The rhetoric of South Australian colonisation was couched in humanitarian terms but neglected legally enforceable Aboriginal rights.¹ Some planners had genuinely humane motives. Others cynically sought Colonial Office approval for their project.² A policy of 'civilising' Aboriginal people and 'protecting' their rights was intended to transfer land peacefully to European settlers and assimilate Aboriginal people into colonial society as workers. Aboriginal policy evolved over time but this paramount objective remained.

The DMS, aware of Britain's reputation for 'despotic and rapacious tyranny', had no interest in furthering British colonisation.³ Pastor Kavel conveyed Angas' assurances that the South Australian Company was concerned for 'the civilising and evangelising of the Aborigines' and planned 'special measures for friendly relations with the Aborigines'.⁴ Reassured, the Society sent missionaries, believing the government would provide for Aboriginal welfare and its missionaries would be free to concentrate on language learning, evangelism and establishing an Aboriginal Lutheran church. They expected a free hand as religious freedom had been guaranteed.⁵ However, colonial authorities and settlers expected missionaries to assist the colony's establishment by 'civilising' the Indigenous population. This chapter will argue that the government's 'civilising mission' was largely antithetical to the missionaries' goals.

¹ Hannah Robert, "'Satisfying the Saints' - Colonial Entrepreneurs in the 1830s and 1840s and the Elasticity of Language [online]," ed. Tracy Banivanua and Julie Evans, *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives* (Carlton, Vic.: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 2002). 10-11.

² For further discussion see *ibid.* and Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007). Chapter 1.

³ Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*. (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901). 78-9. The DMS had received a copy of the 1837 Select Committee Report on Aborigines.

⁴ Kavel to DMS, 31 March 1837, ALMW 1.48/16, London Files, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives.

⁵ DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 22.

6.1 Colonising Objectives and the 'Civilising Mission'

South Australia's establishment coincided with growing concern for the subject peoples of the British Empire but South Australia was primarily a commercial venture. Most Colonization Commissioners chose to ignore the implications of settlement for Aboriginal people. The South Australia Colonization Act of 1834 failed to mention Aboriginal people, declaring the territory 'waste and unoccupied' as, from a British perspective, it was not being 'used.'⁶ Prospective emigrants were told South Australia was 'uninhabited.'⁷ However, British Evangelicals were appalled by the record of mercantile interests and their opposition to Christian missionaries. They criticised the Church of England's neglect of the spiritual welfare of subject peoples.⁸ In 1835, Evangelicals determined to ensure better treatment for Aboriginal people came to dominate the British Colonial Office.⁹ They refused to approve the Colonisation Commissioners' plans until given assurances Aboriginal people would be protected and afforded British justice but they failed to fully recognise the incompatibility of Aboriginal protection with the appropriation of land for European settlement. They assumed a supply of suitable land surplus to Aboriginal use and needs.

The 1837 *Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements)* was instigated by Evangelicals in 1834 and reflected their viewpoint. While accepting the need for surplus British population to emigrate, it denounced British oppression and exploitation of native peoples as 'short-sighted and disastrous' and a 'burden on the Empire.'¹⁰ Britain had a responsibility to share the blessings of civilization and Christianity and a more 'friendly and just' native policy would further British interests.¹¹ The report recommended a Crown veto over legislation affecting Aboriginal people; regulations against servitude; the use of Land Fund money for dispossessed Aborigines' religious instruction and protection; 'indulgence' in punishing crimes of Aborigines in consideration of their 'ignorance and prejudices'; the avoidance of treaties in unequal power relationships; and the encouragement, protection and assistance of missionaries who were to combine moral and religious instruction with schemes for Aboriginal social and political improvement.¹² Regarding Australian colonies, the report insisted Aborigines be protected under British law. As the whole

⁶ Sean Berg, *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*. (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2009). 3.

⁷ Kavel to DMS, 31 March 1837, ALMW 1.48/16, London Files.

⁸ Warneck, *Outline*, 79-82.

⁹ Robert Foster, "An imaginary dominion: the representation and treatment of Aborigines in South Australia, 1834-1911." (PhD, University of Adelaide, 1993), 1-30; R M Gibbs, "Humanitarian Theories and the Aboriginal Inhabitants of South Australia to 1860." (Thesis for Bachelor of Arts (hons.), University of Adelaide, 1959).

¹⁰ Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, no. 425, 75-76.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 76-81.

territory had been undisputed Aboriginal property, 'no expenditure should be withheld which can be incurred judiciously for the maintenance of missionaries ...to instruct the tribes, and of protectors...to defend them.' Protectors should be appointed to learn the people's customs and language, win their confidence, ensure their legal protection, provide employment, protect their hunting rights, reserve land for their support, assist missionaries, and suggest a provisional legal code for Aboriginal people.¹³ Without missionary intervention the Committee feared they faced extinction.¹⁴ Christianity, together with the protection of civil rights, was 'the one effectual means of staying ...evils ... and of imparting the blessings of civilisation.'¹⁵

Many of these recommendations were followed in establishing South Australia but not the Report's recommendation to use only British missionaries and missionary societies, a recommendation serving British colonial, ecclesiastical and cultural expansion.¹⁶ Angas was already negotiating with the German Pastor Kavel for missionaries. The government subsequently placed the Dresden missionaries under the Protector of Aborigines' supervision.

People define 'civilisation' variously. Sarah Dingle argues that Evangelicals defined civilisation in terms of morality and 'conformity in life and practice to the values which were purported to follow a profession of faith in Christ.'¹⁷ They envisaged the gospel gradually permeating existing community life. Others, imbued with Enlightenment notions, equated civilisation with British culture. Recognising Christianity's influence on British culture, and seeing Christianity as an enlightened moral code or a patron of fine culture, they saw missionaries 'carrying out the will of Omnipotence' and spreading British culture throughout the Empire.¹⁸ At the very least, civilisation implied sedentary living. Many believed only Europeans could 'civilise' the country by using land in a 'civilised' way. For self-serving settlers, 'civilising' Aboriginal people meant making them 'useful' rather than a hindrance to European settlement. They expected missionaries to teach Aborigines to be peaceful, industrious, behave 'decently' and not steal, take revenge or be jealous of Europeans.¹⁹ It was debated whether non-European societies must be civilised before they could be truly Christianised, or whether Christianity was a

¹³ Ibid., 82-84.

¹⁴ Ibid., 11.

¹⁵ Ibid., 45.

¹⁶ Ibid., 83.

¹⁷ Sarah Dingle, "Gospel Power for Civilization: The C.M.S. Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860." (PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2009.) 234.

¹⁸ *Examiner*. 24 Sept 1842; *Southern Australian*, 24 April 1839.

¹⁹ Angas to Gawler, 26 Sept 1838, PRG174/10/170-172, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA; *Southern Australian*, 13 November 1841. In South-east Africa anti-missionary sceptics saw 'civilising' as making Indigenous people wage labourers and consumers of European goods. Norman Etherington, "Individualism in Southeast Africa: Missions and the colonial state." (Paper presented at the *Individualization through Christian Missionary Activities?* conference, Max Weber Centre for Advanced Social and Cultural Studies, Erfurt, Germany, 25-28 April 2012). 2.

prerequisite for true civilisation.²⁰ Angas' envisaged Aboriginal communities 'amalgamated' with European society, living like Europeans, adopting the Christian faith and morality and providing labour.

As seen in chapter 1, the DMS never defined its mission in terms of 'civilising' or saw this as their specific responsibility. Influenced by current thinking, its missionaries spoke of Aboriginal people's need to be 'civilised' if their mission was to succeed. By this they meant that the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle was needed to facilitate ongoing engagement. At the same time they believed attempts at cultural change would not succeed without the gospel changing hearts and minds.²¹ Nevertheless, they saw their mission calling as bringing people to faith in Christ regardless of their culture – whether they lived a traditional lifestyle, participated in a culture adapting to changed circumstances, or chose to enter European society. The form society took was not their primary concern.²²

In 1835 the Colonization Commissioners were incensed that, after committing their money, investors found there were 'natives and native rights' to consider.²³ They mollified the Colonial Office while protecting their commercial interests. The Letters of Patent, drafted by Commission Chairman Robert Torrens and issued by the King on 19 February 1836, fixed the boundaries of the colony with a proviso:

Provided always that nothing in those our Letters Patent contained shall affect or be construed to affect the rights of any Aboriginal Natives of the said Province to the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own Persons or in the Persons of their Descendants of any Lands therein now actually occupied or enjoyed by such Natives.²⁴

The Commissioners gave assurances they would provide for Aboriginal people and protect their rights. Their *First Annual Report* outlined their vision in July 1836.²⁵ Aborigines would benefit from contact with 'industrious and virtuous' settlers who would respect Aboriginal land rights 'wherever such right may be found to exist.' Settlers would only buy land voluntarily ceded by Aborigines in return for permanent 'subsistence.' A Protector would be appointed to enforce all bargains or treaties and to protect Aboriginal rights to land not ceded. The

²⁰ Anne Scrimgeour, "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s," *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 40-44.

²¹ 4 Dec 1840, TA12, and 18 Dec 1845, TA88, C G Teichelmann, *Diaries 1839-1846*, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TA, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

²² See doctrine of the Two Kingdoms in chapter 1.

²³ Diary of John Brown, PRG1002/2, Adelaide: SLISA. 4 Jan 1836.

²⁴ Brian Dickey and Peter Howell, eds., *South Australia's foundation: select documents* (Netley, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986), 75. For a fuller discussion see Berg, *Coming to Terms*.

²⁵ First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia, House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1836, no. 491, 8-10.

Commissioners would promote civilisation and Christianity and supply Aborigines with shelter, food and clothing in exchange for labour, the value of work performed to exceed the value of remuneration. This plan would be implemented 'in such a way as to be beneficial rather than burdensome to settlers.' It would 'accelerate the prosperity of the Colony' by training the Aborigines 'to habits of useful industry' and supplying settlers with labour.²⁶ One fifth of each 80 acre section (or rather its income), would go into a permanent fund for Aboriginal schools and 'establishments' after an indefinite period in which the rest of the section's purchaser would recoup clearing and enclosure costs. Thus colonisation would be a 'blessed work', 'an advent of mercy to the native tribes' who 'with respect to industry and the possession of property...do not appear to manifest the instinctive apprehensions of some of the inferior animals.'²⁷ Aboriginal people did not occupy or enjoy land according to the Commissioners' definition. They had already declared all colonial land open to sale.²⁸

Resident Commissioner James Fisher's instructions reflected these guidelines.²⁹ Governor Hindmarsh (1836-1838) on 28 December 1836 declared Aborigines entitled to the same protection and privileges as other British subjects but Aboriginal land rights were not acknowledged.³⁰ An 1838 Amendment to the South Australia Act designated Aboriginal reserves as a 'public purpose' for which land could be reserved.³¹

Teichelmann and Schürmann were disappointed with their Australian assignment believing it could not succeed while the people remained semi-migratory.³² After the assurances given, it must have been a shock to learn what the Colonising Commissioners planned and the role expected of missionaries. Angas' letter as they left England alarmed them. In addition to evangelistic work, Angas expected them to establish Aboriginal settlements and teach farming and other 'arts of civilisation.'³³ Elsewhere he indicated he expected them to teach the people not to be jealous or take revenge.³⁴

Schürmann's conversations with Governor Gawler's entourage on board ship show the gulf between Gawler's plans and his own. Schürmann challenged the legitimacy of England's

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

²⁸ Diary of John Brown. 1 Feb 1836.

²⁹ "The Resident Commissioner's Instructions," *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 11 Nov 1837, 1A.

³⁰ 'Proclamation by His Excellency John Hindmarsh', Dickey and Howell, *South Australia's foundation*, 77.

³¹ Robert, "'Satisfying the Saints,'" 17.

³² Schürmann to 'dear brother', 30 Dec 1892, Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

³³ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, Angas Papers.

³⁴ Angas to Governor Gawler, 26 September 1838, PRG174/10/170-172, Angas Papers.

colonial ambitions. After reading the 1837 Select Committee Report which Gawler's secretary, George Hall, had lent him, Schürmann endorsed Mr Beecham's view, given in evidence, that 'the English occupation of foreign countries without consideration for their occupants was morally wrong and founded on the basis of injustice.'³⁵ He protested the seizure of all Aboriginal land for European settlement.³⁶ He believed Aboriginal people should remain under their own leaders' authority and not be subject to British sovereignty.³⁷ Gawler had thought Teichelmann and Schürmann were 'Angas' missionaries.' Schürmann's views upset him. He feared they could lead to bloodshed.³⁸ Gawler's plans to relocate Aboriginal people near towns, teach them English and useful skills and 'amalgamate' them with European society threatened Schürmann's and Teichelmann's objective and whole approach.³⁹ It would impede the formation of Aboriginal Christian congregations and result in vernacular languages being lost.⁴⁰ Gawler disagreed with Teichelmann's and Schürmann's 'segregationist' ideas and vernacular language policy. He declared that any plan demanding separate Aboriginal and European communities was wrong and required government approval. He informed them they would be under the Protector of Aborigines' authority. Schürmann said Angas had recommended separate Aboriginal settlements. 'And why,' he asked, 'was this separation ... a problem seeing that by nature they were already separated from Europeans by colour and in other ways as well?'⁴¹ Hall supported Schürmann's use of Aboriginal languages.⁴² By journey's end, so did Gawler.

Despite disagreements Gawler and the two missionaries developed a good relationship. Schürmann called Gawler 'a very kind and Christian man who truly has the well-being of the poor natives at heart.'⁴³ Gawler supported the missionaries' evangelistic aims but assumed they would further government policy. Addressing Adelaide's Aboriginal population on 1 November 1838 he outlined his goals for them – to live in houses, wear clothes, grow food, be

³⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 10 Dec 1838, SC; 21 June 1838, Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

³⁶ SD. 1 Sept 1838.

³⁷ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 11 Dec 1838, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ SD. 16 June and 1 Sept 1838.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ SD. 1 Sept 1838.

⁴² SD. 16 June 1838.

⁴³ Meyer to DMS, 11 Dec 1840 and Meyer to Wermelskirch, 9... 1839, and 2 July 1839, H A E Meyer, Correspondence with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden 1839-1850, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) 2/Folder M, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. (Hereafter: MC).

useful, love other people, live in peace and become Christian.⁴⁴ He promised them protection from injury by Europeans.

Official government policy was marked by contradictions, trial and error and conflicts of interest. How could Aboriginal rights be protected while land was simultaneously appropriated for Europeans? How could Aboriginal people best be civilised and provided for? For the young missionaries too it was a learning situation. How could Aboriginal welfare be best served and the gospel shared?

Opinion varied about Aboriginal capacity for 'civilisation', education and Christianity. Schürmann said Aboriginal people were 'endowed with the same capabilities as the finest races on the face of the earth.'⁴⁵ He noted 'one finds a vivacity, intelligence and alertness among them as one could ever wish for.'⁴⁶ Teichelmann reported their 'astonishing understanding and ingenuity.'⁴⁷ However, not everyone espoused Christian notions of human equality. Elitist ideas regarding European racial superiority given impetus two decades later by Charles Darwin were already prevalent.⁴⁸ The missionaries refuted claims Aborigines were intellectually equal to animals.⁴⁹ Meanwhile settler John Bull said attempts to 'raise' them in 'the scale of humanity' were rarely successful, 'proving that the low and depraved feeding and habits acquired during ages reduced man to a state of physical degradation from which an improvement is next to impossible, at any rate with adults.'⁵⁰ W A Cawthorne said of all the nations, 'they rank the lowest and are almost without exception the most inferior from a moral, intellectual, or civilised point of view.'⁵¹ Baptist Rev Prior criticised those who saw Aborigines as having no 'affinity to mankind' or capacity for 'moral culture or moral sensibility' as 'interested parties who employed these Aborigines for the purpose of accumulating wealth, and for their own selfish ends wished to have them fixed in that degraded state.'⁵²

⁴⁴ SA *Gazette and Colonial Register*. 3 Nov 1838, 4.

⁴⁵ Schürmann to Angas, 3 April 1840, PRG174/7/532, Angas Papers.

⁴⁶ SD. 14 Oct 1838.

⁴⁷ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, TC. TB101.

⁴⁸ See Robert Kenny, *The Lamb enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. (Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007).

⁴⁹ *Adelaide Observer*. 16 Sept 1843, 6; *Southern Australian*, 12 Feb 1841, 2- 3; Teichelmann to DMS, 8 Dec 1838, TC; Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC; C G Teichelmann, *Aborigines of South Australia*. (Adelaide: SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxilliary Missionary Society, 1841). 5.

⁵⁰ John Wrathall Bull, *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an extended colonial history*. (Adelaide, E S Wigg & Son and Sampson Low, London 1884; repr., Facsimile edition 1972). 64.

⁵¹ Cawthorne, W A. "Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives, 1844." Adelaide Royal Geographical Society, 1927?, 2.

⁵² *Observer*, 16 Sept 1843, 6.

Belief in European cultural superiority underpinned official policies which did not bring the happiness and justice hoped for. Moreover, practice failed to match official pronouncements. In practice, government policies brought Aboriginal people misery, injustice and degradation.⁵³ They also made the missionaries' goals unattainable.

6.2 Aboriginal Sustenance and the 'Civilising Mission'

Policies regarding Aboriginal sustenance caused major tension between missionaries and government. The Commissioners believed Aboriginal people had no more claim to land ownership than wildlife. Instructions to Protector Wyatt reveal the Commissioners' definition of land ownership: Aboriginal people 'owned' only land used for cultivation, permanent dwellings or funereal purposes.⁵⁴ This definition was used despite the Commissioners' familiarity with the uncultivated estates of landed English gentry as later pointed out by Gawler.⁵⁵ Teichelmann complained, 'Every hand breadth of land is taken away from the Aborigines without any provision being made for them. They are like the birds of heaven without land and soil.'⁵⁶

Teichelmann and Schürmann had envisaged Aboriginal communities living independently on their own land but Angas made no provision of land for the missionaries and it seemed Gawler had no power to reserve lands for Aboriginal use.⁵⁷ Schürmann maintained that 'by right and justice' the 'former exclusive occupiers of the land should be allowed at least as much as was necessary for their sustenance.'⁵⁸ He suggested an area two to three miles across for each 'tribe'.⁵⁹ In 1839 Schürmann was apprehensive about government intentions and their implications for Aboriginal people and mission work:

⁵³ Judith Raftery, *Not part of the public: Non-indigenous policies and practices and the health of indigenous South Australians 1836-1973*. (Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2006). 50.

⁵⁴ "Official Instructions to William Wyatt," *SA Gazette and Colonial Register*, 12 August 1837, 1A. Agricultural scientist Tony Rathjen and others hold that Aborigines practised a form of agriculture, planting tubers and bulbs and utilising fire to control weeds.

⁵⁵ Gawler to Angas, 10 July 1840, PRG174/1/1567, Angas Papers.

⁵⁶ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 July 1839, TC.

⁵⁷ Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb and 19 June 1839, SC. Schürmann and Gawler seem to have been initially unaware of the 1838 Amendment to the 1834 Act.

⁵⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC.

⁵⁹ Missionaries' Conference Report, 15 April 1844, Collected letters from the missionaries and conference reports, 1838-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Three square miles is approximately 2,300 hectares or 5,700 acres. By 1859 only 3922 hectares had been reserved, over half of it at Poonindie, most of the rest in small blocks leased to adjacent European landowners. Graham Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri: The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. (Point McLeay: Raukkan Publishers, Reprint edition 1985). 40. By 'tribe' Schürmann meant a large extended family.

Nobody ... wants to consider that some land should be reserved for the Aborigines, where they could settle in the future, because the governor says they have to meld with⁶⁰ the Europeans, and the people and the lawyers maintain that the Aborigines have no more right to the land than they do because they have not made it arable. Now whether the appointment of a powerless Protector of the Aborigines and most recently of a teacher has the aim of making the world believe that the government is very concerned for the Aborigines, or whether it has the aim of accomplishing their dreams of blending them in,⁶¹ I do not wish to decide. But it is foreseeable that in the event of continued denial of land for the natives⁶² the effectiveness of our work amongst them must be minimal and without duration, and ... in South Australia the tragedies will recur which have been perpetrated against the aborigines in South and North America and recently in New South Wales.⁶³

The Commissioners, however, believed converting Aboriginal people into useful workers would facilitate settler occupation of land, provide for Aboriginal sustenance and supply settlers with labour. Under Hindmarsh rations were used, unsuccessfully, to entice the people to live at the Native Location on the Torrens River. Wyatt hoped that

By means of this settlement and a judicious system of rewards and punishments...the Aborigines may gradually be brought into habits of industry, cleanliness and good order, and be rendered useful and subservient to the true interests of the colony.⁶⁴

Gawler planned to provide a house, fenced garden and rations for each Aboriginal family at Piltawodli to compensate for the loss of their 'ordinary means of subsistence'.⁶⁵ This contravened the Commissioners' instructions that labour be required in return except in the case of extreme hunger, illness, infancy, or old age.⁶⁶ Colonists insisted work be required to encourage thrift and industry and discourage begging.⁶⁷ Schürmann complained that, with game driven away, rations were inadequate, forcing Aboriginal people to do odd jobs for

⁶⁰ German: *verschmelzen*. Angas and the press used the term 'amalgamate.' In modern terms, 'assimilate.'

⁶¹ German: *Verschmelzungsträume* or 'dreams of assimilation.'

⁶² German: *Eingeb.* = 'born here.'

⁶³ Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839, SC. S53-54. Translated by Lois Zweck.

⁶⁴ Quarterly report, 1 April 1838, GRG24/1/1838/69.

⁶⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Sept 1840, TC; Berg, *Coming to Terms*, 14; George Hall on behalf of Governor Gawler, *SA Gazette and Colonial Register*, 4 July 1839, 4B.

⁶⁶ "The Resident Commissioner's Instructions.," "Official Instructions to William Wyatt."

⁶⁷ Bull, *Early Experiences*, 63; *Chronicle*. 25 Feb 1840, 30; *Register*. 26 Oct 1839, 4-5.

Europeans or beg as well.⁶⁸ Teichelmann suggested that the people help build their own houses and fencing and tend their own gardens.⁶⁹

In June 1839 Matthew Moorhouse became Protector. Schürmann was disappointed, believing Moorhouse, concerned for his position, blindly followed government and settler wishes.⁷⁰ Moorhouse's instructions were to foster friendship and understanding, protect Aboriginal people, learn their languages and customs, ensure they did not become destitute, bring them to the Christian faith and instruct them in 'reading and writing, building houses, making clothes, cultivating the ground and all the other ordinary arts of civilisation.'⁷¹ Interestingly, unlike Wyatt, he was not instructed to protect their proprietary rights to land.⁷²

Moorhouse was pessimistic. Schürmann reported in December 1839:

Today the Protector Mr. Moorhouse and I once again had a long and lively conversation about the claims of the original inhabitants... That he does not understand the just claims of the Aborigines, or does not want to understand them is a longstanding concern of mine. But never has he expressed himself so plainly about the [possibility of] educating them to become useful people as he did today. He said that if he were asked whether one could hope that the adults could become useful, he would give an unequivocal 'No.'... When he confirmed this [was his serious conviction], I asked him why it was then necessary to have a Protector and what purpose such a person could serve. He said the Protector could guard them from attacks. I answered that the police could do that just as well. But, he said, they were hostile to the Aborigines. I said that if this was his opinion, he would then be nothing but a 'protection policeman.' He tried to prove his point... but it still seems to me that a man with such principles could not in good conscience justify [his role as] Protector of the Aborigines.⁷³

Moorhouse opposed Aborigines settling at Piltawodli.⁷⁴ Nevertheless a program of work for rations was introduced. The missionaries became key to the government's 'civilising' mission, helping Kurna men build houses and plant gardens and starting a vernacular school. Gawler

⁶⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 8 Feb 1839, SC.

⁶⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Sept 1840, TC.

⁷⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 5 November, 1839, SC.

⁷¹ SAGG, 11 July 1839, 1.

⁷² "Official Instructions to William Wyatt."

⁷³ SD. 16 Dec 1839. Translated by G Lockwood.

⁷⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 4 July 1839, SC.

told them much of the future 'welfare or woe' of South Australia's Aborigines depended on them.⁷⁵

Through studying their language and culture the missionaries found Aboriginal people had clear notions of land ownership. Unauthorised trespass was punishable by death. In an 1839 report Teichelmann informed Gawler 'each tribe has its own land and each family has its own area from which they must seek their sustenance.'⁷⁶ Teichelmann and Schürmann's *Kaurna Vocabulary*, published in mid 1840, says *pangkarra* means 'a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father.'⁷⁷ In 1839 Schürmann set out these facts in a letter to Angas 'in the hope that he ... would use them for the protection of the aborigines.'⁷⁸

Teichelmann and Schürmann convinced Gawler, Moorhouse and Angas of exclusive Aboriginal land ownership.⁷⁹ Gawler adopted a policy of creating reserves for exclusive Aboriginal use in every district that came up for sale.⁸⁰ Invited to move to Encounter Bay, Schürmann said he hounded Moorhouse until he requested government approval to reserve land there for Aborigines.⁸¹ Citing a land application from Encounter Bay Bob as the catalyst, Moorhouse reserved three sections.⁸² By March 1840 the government had reserved several eighty-acre sections near Adelaide, three sections at Encounter Bay, one on Lake Alexandrina and one on the Murray River.⁸³ Preliminary land purchasers, including David McLaren, James Fisher and Robert Gouger (colonial treasurer) protested their right to select land first.⁸⁴ Settlers, including George Stevenson, editor of the *South Australian Register* and a correspondent ('Old Settler') ridiculed the idea of Aboriginal land rights. 'Old Settler' labelled such ideas 'cuckoo notions' instilled by the Protector and missionaries.⁸⁵ Moorhouse made it

⁷⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC. S48.

⁷⁶ Included in Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 Nov 1839, TC.

⁷⁷ C G Teichelmann and C W Schürmann, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology, of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide*. (Largs Bay, S. Aust.: Tjintu Books, 1982. First published 1841). 36.

⁷⁸ Schürmann to DMS, 19 June 1839, SC. Since 1825 Threlkeld had claimed Aborigines had distinct territorial boundaries. Other missionaries agreed. Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia Through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*. (ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc, 2011). 89.

⁷⁹ Gawler to Angas, 10 July 1840, PRG174/1/1558-1579, Angas Papers; Second Report of the Select Committee on South Australia, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, no. 394, Minutes 2408, 20-29; Protector's Report, 27 July 1840, *Papers Relative to South Australia*. (London: printed by William Clowes, 1843). 325; 'The Natives', *Register*, 8 Aug 1840, 5A.

⁸⁰ Berg, *Coming to Terms*, 14.

⁸¹ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC.

⁸² Protector's Report, 27 July 1840.

⁸³ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC.

⁸⁴ *Southern Australian*, 28 July 1840.

⁸⁵ *Register*, 1 August 1840.

clear the reserved land was to be cultivated.⁸⁶ Colonial Secretary Lord Russell approved Gawler's land reservations and encouraged further reservations.⁸⁷

Gawler supported the missionaries' use of vernacular languages, the reservation of Aboriginal land, attempts to introduce Aborigines to agriculture and sedentary living, and an Aboriginal school. In 1839 and 1840 he granted the missionaries a gratuity of £50.⁸⁸ He showed confidence in Schürmann by offering him support to relocate to Encounter Bay and later appointing him as Deputy-Protector at Port Lincoln. However, Schürmann's hopes for Aboriginal communities living on larger reserves of their own land, away from European settlement, remained unfulfilled.

Angas told the 1841 Select Committee on South Australia that the Colonization Commissioners' First Annual Report's provisions regarding land had not been carried out. Nor did he consider Gawler's land reservations legal. He wanted the legality of reserving land established. He recommended up to one tenth of unsold land be reserved for Aboriginal use and vested in the hands of trustees, with each tribe having its own location with a village 'on the Moravian or other useful system' where a missionary and a few Christian families should permanently reside. He suggested protection of Aboriginal hunting rights; 10-30 acre plots for Aboriginal people willing to cultivate them, with the possibility of freehold title; an Aboriginal legal code; paid employment and training for 'civilised life and amalgamation with whites.' Tribal representatives would consult regularly with the Protector.⁸⁹ Angas' proposal was not acted on as disillusionment with attempts at Aboriginal settlements was growing. Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies thought missions and protectorates achieved only 'unnecessary and profitless expenditure.'⁹⁰

The 1841 Select Committee's recommendations resulted in the 1842 Waste Land Act which permitted land reservation for Aboriginal 'use and benefit.' As it also provided for the allocation of fifteen percent of a moiety of revenue from public lands sales to Aboriginal welfare, after this Act little land was reserved.⁹¹ Most reserves were sold or leased to settlers to generate income. The government made no attempts to assist Aboriginal adults gain farming skills.

⁸⁶ Protector's Report, 27 July 1840.

⁸⁷ Lord John Russell to Governor Gawler, 28 March 1841, GRG2/1/1/1841 SRSA.

⁸⁸ Moorhouse to CSO, 7 Oct 1841, Letterbook of the Protector of Aborigines, 1840-1857, GRG52/7/1, SRSA.

⁸⁹ 1841 Select Committee Report, Minutes 2407-47.

⁹⁰ Lord Stanley to Sir G Gibbs, 20 Dec 1842, in Edward John Eyre, "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Aborigines," *An account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*. (eBooks@Adelaide, 2010). Chapter IX.

⁹¹ Moorhouse says 10% of land sales revenue was initially allocated. Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon 'The Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860. Minutes of Evidence 2514.

Moorhouse later explained government policies to the 1860 Select Committee: 'As far as educating the native in civilization, I believe, in most instances, it is utterly hopeless.'⁹² Settling them was impractical as they would not 'settle into distinct families', presumably European-style nuclear families.⁹³ He explained that they were thought to be dying out and further reserves were considered superfluous. The 1843 North Kapunda Mine sale had swelled the Land Fund and after the Native School Establishment had been built it was thought unnecessary to allocate the full recommended percentage from land sales to Aboriginal welfare.⁹⁴

In May 1841 Governor Grey replaced Gawler. He was to have considerable influence on British colonial policies. The dispossession of Indigenous peoples and the destruction of traditional culture formed the basis of his assimilation programme.⁹⁵ He considered trade and commerce the great civilising force. He saw Aboriginal people as capable but held back by 'barbarous' customs and laws. He argued the only way to civilise and 'Christianise' them was to wean them from such customs by bringing them under British law (in relation to Europeans and each other), dispersing and employing them and educating their children in boarding schools.⁹⁶ 'Contact with a civilised community' would civilise them.⁹⁷

Grey's austerity campaign limited his efforts. By May 1841 settlement efforts at Piltawodli and the policy of settling Aboriginal adults in villages and helping them grow food had been abandoned.⁹⁸ Grey and Moorhouse agreed such projects would be fruitless. Grey's subsequent land reservations became a revenue source. Piltawodli remained a ration depot and provided temporary accommodation for Aboriginal visitors to Adelaide. The missionaries still tried to gather and address those who congregated there but this and the school's success were hindered as the Kurna dispersed.

After discussions with Grey in 1843 Schürmann complained

⁹² Ibid., Minute 2496.

⁹³ Ibid., Minute 2512.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Minute 2514.

⁹⁵ Andrew Banks, "Losing faith in the civilising mission: the premature decline of humanitarian liberalism in the Cape 1840-1860," in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, ed. Martin Dauton and Rick Halpern (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999). Quoted in Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 238.

⁹⁶ George Grey, "Report on the best means of promoting the civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia," ed. H. Hanson Turton, *An Epitome of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand* (Wellington: George Didsbury, 1883).

⁹⁷ George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery*, vol. 2. (London: T & W Boone, 1841). 223. Richard Penney commended Grey's plan. *Register*, 26 June 1841.

⁹⁸ CSO, GRG24/4E/1841/133 SRSA; TD. April 1841.

[H]e is totally against any efforts to establish corporate bodies of aborigines alone, segregated from the Europeans. On the contrary he holds the firm intention of raising the children in the English way, in order to train them to be useful servants for the Europeans.⁹⁹

Policy debates in the press and at public meetings such as those of the South Australian Missionary Society in aid of the German Missionaries and supporters of the Mechanics Institute revealed settler attitudes.¹⁰⁰ Most concurred with Grey's policies. Keith Seaman traces a progress from initial benevolent paternalism to irritation, then hostility, confrontation and killing driven by a desire for more land and less Aboriginal interference.¹⁰¹

By 1841 sections of the press were questioning the whole basis of the 'useless' civilising efforts at Piltawodli. They reported the Adelaide Parklands 'swarming with natives, under no control.'¹⁰² They were cutting trees, loitering, begging, wandering around naked, menacing settlers, and increasingly being 'a nuisance and a pest.'¹⁰³ George Stevenson, criticised government rations and settler handouts. He demanded the Piltawodli Location be abandoned and the Protector, missionaries and Aboriginal people relocated to distant reserves where the latter should be made to work and grow food for themselves.¹⁰⁴ Civilising efforts had begun 'at the wrong end.' 'No attempt to civilise the natives or to teach them the doctrines of Christianity before he [Teichelmann] has taught them to dig, can be otherwise than a dead failure,' he wrote.¹⁰⁵ Richard Penney, editor of the *Examiner*, claimed civilising efforts at Piltawodli focused on external changes, putting on a show for the British government and mission supporters.¹⁰⁶ He considered the missionaries, with their 'absurd notions', unsuited to the task.¹⁰⁷ They over-rated the importance of Christian teaching when such benefits of civilisation as comfort and security had greater appeal for most people. 'The native,' he said, could not be 'preached into a civilized man.'¹⁰⁸ He recommended missionaries 'follow the Native to his distant retreats...

⁹⁹ Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843, SC. S173.

¹⁰⁰ *Southern Australian*, 7 June 1842, 3; *Register*, 26 Nov 1842, 3 and 25 Feb 1843; *Observer*. 16 Sept 1843, 6.

¹⁰¹ Keith Seaman, "The Press and the Aborigines: South Australia's First Thirty Years," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 18 (1990): 28.

¹⁰² *Register*, 30 Jan 1841.

¹⁰³ *Register*, 15 Aug 1840, 30 Jan and 6 Feb 41; *Chronicle*. 25 Feb 1848, 30; *Examiner*, 25 Jan 1843, 1 April 43.

¹⁰⁴ *Register*, 6 Feb and 1 Aug 1841.

¹⁰⁵ *Register*, 30 Jan and 6 Feb 1841.

¹⁰⁶ *Examiner*, 16 Nov 1842.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁸ *Examiner*, 24 Sept 1842.

and there teach him lessons of civilisation, removed from the demoralising and distracting influences of European society.¹⁰⁹

Grey discontinued Gawler's gratuity to the missionaries. This and the loss of Angas' support led leading citizens to form the South Australian Aboriginal Missionary Society in aid of the German mission to the Aborigines in June 1842.¹¹⁰ The Society discussed plans for civilising Aboriginal people. In September 1842 Teichelmann suggested that begging be prohibited and stations established in the neighbourhood of settled districts where the Aborigines could, if they chose, earn sustenance and clothing and hear the gospel. The children could be educated in boarding schools. Such establishments would lay the foundation for permanent Aboriginal settlements. Sunday rations would enable people to attend divine services instead of seeking food that day.¹¹¹ The Society considered this and other plans. It discussed whether special locations were needed for all Aboriginal people or just for children.¹¹² When it discussed these plans with Grey, he dismissed them as impractical.¹¹³

A September 1843 meeting revealed the direction the Society was moving in. Members endorsed the gospel as the main civilising force but were frustrated by slow progress. Anthony Forster, Angas' agent, doubted the missionaries could achieve much given their limited means and the adults' wandering habits.¹¹⁴ Unless the missionaries followed the Aborigines, the Society had no suggestions apart from giving food and clothes in return for 'useful labour' and encouraging Aborigines to give up wandering and vagrancy.¹¹⁵ Members suggested focusing on children, separating them from their relatives, but without compulsion.¹¹⁶

Teichelmann was not prepared to give up on the adults. He believed if a missionary settled at some location and supplied rations, Aborigines would gravitate there.¹¹⁷ He thought the lack of domestic comforts offered at Piltawodli and Encounter Bay had limited the success of these efforts to encourage the people to settle permanently.¹¹⁸ It was the Society's promise of

¹⁰⁹ *Examiner*, 24 Sept 1842

¹¹⁰ *Southern Australian*, 7 June 1842.

¹¹¹ *Southern Australian*, 20 Sept 1842, 2.

¹¹² *Register*, 26 Nov 1842, 3.

¹¹³ 1860 Select Committee Report, Minute of evidence 1786.

¹¹⁴ *Observer*, 16 Sept 1843, 6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*; *Southern Australian*, 8 Sept 1843, 2-3.

¹¹⁶ *Observer*, 16 Sept 1843, 6.

¹¹⁷ *Southern Australian*, 28 Sept 1843, 2-3.

¹¹⁸ *Southern Australian*, 20 Sept 1842, 2.

support that encouraged Teichelmann to proceed with plans to develop the Ebenezer property with Aboriginal people.¹¹⁹

The press criticised the Society. James Allen of the *Register* believed 'civilising' efforts required coercion.¹²⁰ Penney in the *Examiner* said the two races could never 'amalgamate' on equal terms. He recommended 'establishments' where whole tribes could be civilised and settled and 'Christianity did not separate the links of ...social connection.'¹²¹ Here children could be educated and adults given work. Making an exception of Meyer who had formed around him 'a half civilised community of natives,' Penney blamed the missionaries for failing to make Aboriginal people part of 'the labouring, civilised population':

The fault has been in the system and not in the aborigines...[T]he Society in South Australia are determined to continue the efforts to civilise our natives under the direction of the German missionaries...[But t]he system on which these men have hitherto proceeded, their foolish reports and the evident prejudice that exists in their minds with regard to the Aborigines and their superficial knowledge of the English language renders the further employment of them, except in a subordinate capacity, folly of the most unaccountable description.¹²²

He accused the missionaries of being neglectful, lukewarm, money-minded and ineffective.¹²³ By contrast, Aborigines employed by Europeans became 'useful and industrious' without owing anything to the German missionaries.¹²⁴ The missionaries had been 'a millstone around [the Protector's] neck', their efforts a 'disgrace' and 'lamentable waste of public money.'¹²⁵ Englishmen were more successful as missionaries, he claimed.¹²⁶ 'One of the heaviest misfortunes that could have befallen the Australian Aborigines' was the exclusive support given the German missionaries who were 'not the instruments by which Providence has chosen to effect the conversion of the natives in South Australia.'¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ Teichelmann's Defence, 5 July 1843, TC. TB235.

¹²⁰ *Register*, 26 Nov 1843, 2.

¹²¹ *Examiner*, 3 Dec 1842, 2C.

¹²² *Examiner*, 17 Dec 1842, 2C.

¹²³ *Examiner*, 21 Feb 1843.

¹²⁴ *Examiner*, 25 Jan 1843.

¹²⁵ *Examiner*, 28 Jan 1843, 1A.

¹²⁶ *Examiner*, 3 Dec 1842.

¹²⁷ *Examiner*, 28 Jan 1843, 1A.

The SA Missionary Society defended the missionaries. According to Teichelmann's records, in 1842-1843 it contributed a total of £70 to Teichelmann's and Meyer's efforts.¹²⁸ However, assistance was short-lived. Teichelmann complained the Society wanted control and placed conditions on its money.¹²⁹ Schürmann complained that the Society 'places such demands and conditions on its contributions that they can appeal to no one, and have led me to the decision to accept not a penny from it, unless driven by need.'¹³⁰

As the 1840s progressed, calls increased for the segregation of Aborigines seen as a 'pest', offensive and dangerous to the rising generation. By 1843 the *South Australian, Examiner* and *Register* were all advocating enforced segregated locations.¹³¹ Allen complained in the *Register* of Aborigines' 'mendicant importunity and impertinence, filthy laziness, and disgusting indecency.' The Protector should protect the public *from* the Aborigines and 'drive the filthy, diseased and half-draped or naked natives into the bush or their own native location' and keep them under control.¹³² The *Examiner* suggested Aboriginal workers in Adelaide wear identification plates around their necks.¹³³ By 1845, rather than having Aboriginal 'locations', the *Register* recommended different tribes be confined to their own districts and employed on farms. This way they would be 'rendered useful to ourselves in place of pitiable and offensive pests.'¹³⁴ In 1847 Andrew Murray of the *South Australian* opposed educating Aboriginal children: they would forget their improved morals but retain their improved intelligence and knowledge and be even more dangerous to society. He called for vagrancy laws to keep Aboriginal people in prescribed areas.¹³⁵ These were enacted in 1847.

Edward John Eyre, Sub-Protector at Moorundie on the Murray River, published 'Suggestions for Improvement of System adopted towards the Natives' in 1845.¹³⁶ He recommended breaking down traditional ways; dividing the country into districts each with an Aboriginal reserve and manager; distributing rations; concentrating adults in defined areas and encouraging them to adopt European ways and work for pastoralists. Civilizing efforts should concentrate on children insulated from adult Aboriginal influence. Eyre opposed using vernacular languages as they perpetuated Aboriginal culture. School leavers should serve

¹²⁸ This included £10 for Meyer's house and £5 for his school.

¹²⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, 5 July 1843, TC.

¹³⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 22 Aug 1842 SC. S160.

¹³¹ *Register*, 26 Nov 1842, 2.

¹³² *Register*, 5 April 1843. By 1855 virtually none remained in Adelaide. The last couple was removed from Port Adelaide to Willunga in 1858.

¹³³ *Examiner*, 28 Jan 1843.

¹³⁴ *Register*, 3 June 1845, 3.

¹³⁵ *Southern Australian*, 1 June 1847, 2-3, 17 Sept 47, 2D.

¹³⁶ Eyre, "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Aborigines."

apprenticeships, marry and settle in a village under missionary influence. Again missionaries were to serve government purposes.

Eyre thought it essential 'to gain such an influence or authority over the Aborigines as may be sufficient to enable us to induce them to adopt, or submit to any regulation that we make for their improvement.'¹³⁷ By giving or withdrawing rations Aboriginal movements could be controlled, security for settlers enhanced and parents persuaded to send children to school. Eyre's recommendations broadly reflected developments in community attitudes and Grey's and Moorhouse's thinking. Grey periodically distributed rations to maintain peace between Aborigines and settlers and halt the former drifting to Adelaide. Governor Robe established a general system of ration depots (at Port Lincoln, Robe, Wellington, Southern Flinders and Moorundie) and encouraged the education of Aboriginal children through apprenticeships.¹³⁸ Rations became a means of managing, 'pacifying' and dispersing Aboriginal people and procuring their labour.¹³⁹

By the late 1840s the press was espousing the 'natural law' that Europeans should supersede the 'mentally inferior' coloured races.¹⁴⁰ Bull later articulated this view:

[T]he displacement of an aboriginal race... is one of those necessary processes in the course of Providence to bring about the improvement of the human race and the promised latter days... [T]he introduction of civilised habits seems to be fatal to their continued existence.¹⁴¹

The Lutheran missionaries wanted to concentrate on evangelistic activities but concern for Aboriginal welfare and a lack of independent means drew them into the government's orbit. They became increasingly disillusioned as a once proud and independent people, largely deprived of their means of sustenance, were turned into vagabonds, beggars and thieves trespassing on their own land.¹⁴² The missionaries wanted Aboriginal land ownership recognised; land reserved for Aboriginal people whether they cultivated it or not; provision made for Aboriginal people that recognised tribal structures; and training in agricultural or pastoral activities to enable them to live independently on their own land. Schürmann suggested handouts be banned and Aboriginal people given options: to remain hunter-

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Robe to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 31 July 1848, GRG2/6/1848/4 SRSA.

¹³⁹ Amanda Nettlebeck and Robert Foster, "Food and governance on the frontiers of colonial Australia and Canada's North West Territories," *Aboriginal History* 36 (2012).

¹⁴⁰ Seaman, "The Press," 35. Many assumed they would die out e.g. *Register*, 1 August 1840, 4. Others, e.g. Penney, disagreed, *Register*, 26 June 1841.

¹⁴¹ Bull, 72.

¹⁴² Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843. PRG174/5/22, Angas Papers.

gatherers, become farmers or be given properly remunerated employment contracts with Europeans.¹⁴³ As European settlement spread, traditional hunting and gathering were curtailed. Employment with Europeans interfered with cultural and communal obligations. It was seasonal, unreliable and too poorly remunerated for Aboriginal workers to be able to support their dependents.¹⁴⁴ As Teichelmann predicted, few stayed long with any one employer.¹⁴⁵ Persuading Aboriginal people to settle as farmers was also problematic, as the missionaries discovered. However, they saw no other option if Aboriginal people were to have an independent, secure future.

Schürmann complained agricultural settlements had never been given a fair trial.¹⁴⁶ Requests for land, implements, draft animals and farm instructors had gone unheeded. Teichelmann, Meyer and Schürmann tried to teach farming on small farms at Happy Valley, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln. However, without capital and sufficient suitable land their efforts failed. After agriculture at Piltawodli was abandoned the only land made available was twenty acres of infertile land leased to Meyer in 1843. At Schürmann's recommendation land was reserved on the Tod River, later the site of the Poonindie Anglican mission but Grey dismissed as impractical his request to use this or other land to help local people farm.¹⁴⁷ Both Schürmann and Meyer believed Grey's only concern was for Aboriginal pacification and assimilation as workers. Governor Robe had more sympathy for Christian missions but as an Anglican supportive of the Church of England's establishment ambitions, he preferred to support Anglican efforts.

Schürmann had predicted that if Aborigines were denied land mission work would be 'ineffective and short-lived.'¹⁴⁸ Teichelmann predicted a policy which dispossessing Aboriginal people without making other provision for them would lead to their extermination.¹⁴⁹ These predictions were largely fulfilled. Teichelmann and Schürmann criticised the rapid change expected of Aboriginal people whose customs were 'diametrically opposed' to Western customs. Giving them up, Teichelmann said, would be like dying or being born again. They were being given 'no other chance but either to adopt all at once the life of an English labourer

¹⁴³ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488; Conference Report, 15 April 1844.

¹⁴⁴ Raftery, *Not part of the public*, 74-75.

¹⁴⁵ Teichelmann, *Aborigines*, 6; Protector's Report, SAGG, 17 June 1852, 366.

¹⁴⁶ Schürmann to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488.

¹⁴⁷ Schürmann to DMS, 27 Nov 1843, SC. However, Grey, as High Commissioner to South Africa from 1855 implemented a policy of mission reserves and industrial and agricultural training schemes. Etherington, *"Individualism,"* 2.

¹⁴⁸ 8 Feb 1839, SC.

¹⁴⁹ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/22, Angas Papers.

without previous apprenticeship or to perish gradually.¹⁵⁰ Schürmann believed rapid Europeanization would cause 'ruin, disorder and the extinction of the race.'¹⁵¹

The missionaries were always apprehensive about close government connections though they appreciated Gawler's support. As seen in earlier chapters, Grey made vague promises to keep them working and hoping that as colonial finances improved there would be assistance. In 1841 Moorhouse told Schürmann the governor could not supply him tools, but when a percentage of revenue from land sales started being allocated to Aboriginal welfare he would not be forgotten.¹⁵² But he was. Meyer too was strung along with unfulfilled promises. Teichelmann was first to recognise their plans would never be supported. He stressed the need for independence from 'English money' and government policy.¹⁵³ He purchased Ebenezer hoping to support himself as well as Aboriginal people who might settle around him. The government considered him to have abandoned mission work to pursue his own pecuniary interests.¹⁵⁴ Teichelmann accused Meyer and Klose of allowing Grey to dupe them.¹⁵⁵ When Grey demolished houses Teichelmann and the Kurna had built at Piltawodli because they were being used for teenage sex, Teichelmann exclaimed:

That is the usefulness of our work with the Aborigines on Government land! ..., like the government in New South Wales which appears to me just to tolerate the Germans there, the Government here tolerates us as long as we serve the purpose of keeping the Aborigines quiet without doing anything further that is more worthwhile for the Aborigines. Therefore if something is to happen, it must originate with the Church and the sweetheart relationship with the Government must cease.¹⁵⁶

From 1841 government policy was inimical to Aboriginal settlements. It focused on distributing rations to the very needy, 'civilising' children in the Adelaide schools and having adults work for Europeans. Leasing reserved land provided revenue. When Governor Young supported the Poonindie settlement, it was not to provide for existing Aboriginal communities but young Adelaide school graduates. It was assumed Aboriginal adults could not be civilised. As they were doomed to die out it was pointless to spend money on them.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ "The Aborigine's Lot, A Century Old Problem," *Advertiser*, 13 Oct 1938. The writer was probably A Brauer.

¹⁵² Moorhouse to Schürmann, 16 July 1841, Letterbook. 11-12. Moorhouse referred to a despatch from Lord John Russell foreshadowing this provision which was legislated for in the Waste Land Act of 1842.

¹⁵³ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 July 1839, TC.

¹⁵⁴ Mundy, CSO to Teichelmann, 8 Feb 1845, TC. TB280.

¹⁵⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, 5 Jan 1847, TC.

¹⁵⁶ Teichelmann to DMS, 7 Feb 1844, TC. TB253. Mitchell claims all Australian missions 'accepted government support as their due and there is no suggestion that it was inherently undesirable or compromising.' Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 44.

The 1837 Select Committee's recommendation that 'no expenditure should be withheld which can be incurred judiciously for the maintenance of missionaries' was ignored.¹⁵⁷ Money from the land reserved for Aboriginal welfare did not flow to the missionaries as Angas expected. One of the Colonisation Commissioners recommendations was carried out – that the value of Aboriginal work performed should exceed the value of remuneration and Aboriginal policy should be 'beneficial' to settlers.

6.3 Education and the 'Civilising Mission'¹⁵⁸

Despite earlier plans for a school, nothing eventuated until Schürmann started his Kaurna school in December 1839. Moorhouse was sceptical about the chance of success but went along with Schürmann's plan even if just to prove it would fail.¹⁵⁹

From 1841 government civilising efforts focused on schools in Adelaide. Fundamental differences between government and mission educational aims were reflected in policies regarding curriculum, language, the segregation of children and the students' intended future. For the missionaries schools were essential if Aborigines were to read the Scriptures and form a Aboriginal church. They wanted schools as an integral part of Aboriginal communities and hoped students would share the gospel with their families.¹⁶⁰ The government's failure to support settlements undercut the missionaries' educational objectives. Government policy was to assimilate children into British colonial society.

The language of instruction was debated. Utilitarian theorists argued for English language education in British colonies.¹⁶¹ James Kay-Shuttleworth, an architect of Britain's mass-education policies, called a knowledge of English 'the most important agent of civilisation.'¹⁶² Amanda Barry suggests teaching English also helped establish colonial control.¹⁶³ However, experience had borne out the importance for mission work of using local languages and translating the Scriptures. German missionaries in particular were committed to using the

¹⁵⁷ 1837 Select Committee Report, 83.

¹⁵⁸ For a thorough, comprehensive study of the Adelaide Aboriginal schools see Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers." For a broader study of Aboriginal schools see Amanda Barry, "Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-eastern Australia, 1837-1937." (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2008).

¹⁵⁹ Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC; SD. 16 Sept 1839.

¹⁶⁰ Conference Report, 15 April 1844; Joyce Graetz, ed. *Missionary to the Kaurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper no.2 (North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002). 20.

¹⁶¹ Norman Etherington, ed. *Missions and Empire*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). 10-11.

¹⁶² Barry, "Broken Promises," 42.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

vernacular for effective communication. They also understood the importance of language in maintaining local communities and their cultural identities.

The Dresden missionaries were committed to using Aboriginal languages, particularly in religious instruction. Students made much faster progress as a result. However, opposition mounted. Assimilation implied that English would supplant Aboriginal languages. Grey considered them valuable for understanding Aborigines' culture but of no future value. While the missionaries wanted to reach their hearts, Grey was happy if students conformed to the external norms of British civilisation.¹⁶⁴ Moorhouse believed that if children became Christian 'it followed necessarily that they would adopt civilised habits' and speak English to deal with Europeans on equal terms.¹⁶⁵ It was prerequisite for a meaningful place in colonial society – and more convenient for employers.¹⁶⁶

The mission schools' curriculum emphasised religion, arithmetic, and reading and writing in the vernacular, with some instruction in English, music, geography, and general knowledge. The children proved quick learners and colonists were initially impressed by their progress but, in time, criticism mounted over the missionaries' failure to Europeanise the children, teach manners less offensive to European sensibilities and teach practical skills necessary for 'amalgamation' as 'useful' members of colonial society. In 1841 the *Register's* editor said the missionaries' 'worthless school' stood no chance of civilising the children.¹⁶⁷ He scoffed at the students' reading, 'gabbling', 'howling' of hymns, and 'parroting' things they 'did not understand.' He asked what use their learning would be when they returned to the bush with new vices acquired in town.¹⁶⁸ Dr Burton Haygarth, a visitor to the colony, ridiculed the school's failure to address the children's personal habits. The girls could sew dresses but wore none! What was the use of teaching grammar and arithmetic but not teaching the children to clothe themselves? They should be trained in 'seemliness', to relish clothes, cleanliness, clean sheets and beds, use cutlery, have orderly meals and attend Sabbath worship (in English).¹⁶⁹ Later, in 1845 when some of Klose's students showed mature Christian knowledge by using an apostolic blessing in a farewell address for Anthony Forster, the *Adelaide Observer's* editor and a correspondent were outraged, assuming others had put the words into their mouths.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Scrimgeour, "Notions," 45.

¹⁶⁵ Moorhouse to CSO, 8 July 1844, GRG24/6/1844/712 SRSA.

¹⁶⁶ *Observer*, 16 Sept 1843, 6.

¹⁶⁷ *Register*, 30 Oct 1841, 2.

¹⁶⁸ *Register*, 6 Feb 1841.

¹⁶⁹ *Southern Australian*, 13 Nov 1841.

¹⁷⁰ *Observer*, 11 and 18 Jan 1845.

The missionaries did not expect rapid change in the children's cultural traditions. As the children lived in camps with their relatives until 1843, a realistic approach was taken to clothing and hygiene, discipline and attendance. Klose said, 'I think it is too hard on them if we restrict them too much.'¹⁷¹ For the first two years the children attended the Piltawodli school naked, until Wesleyan women began sewing lessons in 1841. The missionaries believed the important thing was to reach the children's hearts with the gospel. Any necessary moral and cultural changes would flow from that. Teichelmann criticised religion's subordinate position in the government schools. When, after working six years at Government House, Manjo ran away and returned to tribal ways, Teichelmann observed:

Such are the fruits of six years of civilising without evangelising... Exactly the same must happen whenever more powers of regeneration and conversion are ascribed to the spirit of civilisation than to the Holy Spirit and to His Word.¹⁷²

In time the missionaries introduced practical subjects such as sewing, domestic skills and agriculture. The Walkerville government school and Native School Establishment emphasized training in 'civilised' bodily habits and appearance and practical skills to prepare girls for domestic service and boys for apprenticeships.¹⁷³ Etherington describes a parallel development in South Africa where vocational education was increasingly emphasised as settlers opposed anything but the most basic education for Africans whom they wanted as labourers.¹⁷⁴

At the South Australian Missionary Society's September 1843 meeting Forster spoke in favour of instruction in English.¹⁷⁵ He believed Christian truths and the ideals of civilised life could not be adequately conveyed in Aboriginal languages which perpetuated traditional habits and beliefs. Moreover, providing vernacular teachers was difficult and the children learned English easily. He believed children would be civilised sooner if their languages were extinct. Aboriginal survival depended on amalgamation with Europeans and acquiring their language and customs. Society members wanted to focus on the children, separating them voluntarily from their tribes.¹⁷⁶ Others advocated coercion.¹⁷⁷ The *Register* believed such separation would

¹⁷¹ 3 Sept 1844, Graetz, 34.

¹⁷² TD. Dec1845. TA88. Translated by G Lockwood.

¹⁷³ Scrimgeour, "Notions," 42-43.

¹⁷⁴ Norman Etherington, "Missionaries, Africans and the State in the Development of Education in Natal" in Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May, eds., *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*. (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010).131-33.

¹⁷⁵ *Observer*, 16 Sept 1843, 6.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*; *Southern Australian*, 8 Sept 1843, 2C.

¹⁷⁷ *Seaman*, 33; *Register*, 26 Nov 1842, 2.

not involve 'the infraction of any essential law of humanity' given 'the low moral feelings possessed by the natives.'¹⁷⁸

The missionaries opposed the Society's views. Insistence on English undermined their whole approach. Schürmann spoke out against separating parents and children.¹⁷⁹ He decided to accept no Society money unless absolutely necessary.¹⁸⁰ Nor were the missionaries prepared to abandon adults. The Society was short lived. Teichelmann attributed this to confessional differences and the missionaries' unwillingness to take direction from it.¹⁸¹ Government schools implemented its ideas as one would expect from a Society including the Governor, Protector, Adelaide clergy and other prominent people.

Grey asserted increasing control over Aboriginal schools. In 1844 he started an English-language school in Walkerville and insisted the mission schools use English except for religion lessons. Meyer and Klose obliged, recognising their students were learning English from settlers. Moreover, given government policies, they saw no future for them but employment with Europeans.¹⁸² Teichelmann protested the policy and Klose's and Meyer's acquiescence. This fuelled his determination to become independent by moving to Ebenezer and his displeasure at Klose's refusal to move his school there. In 1844 Schürmann declined a teaching position at the Walkerville school, fearing he would be 'completely dependent on the whims of the government which can quickly alter.'¹⁸³ Moorhouse admitted that learning English occupied most of the Walkerville children's time.¹⁸⁴ Teichelmann and Klose observed that the children there did not understand the rote religious instruction in English.¹⁸⁵

By July 1840 Moorhouse had already decided success with the children depended on their separation from their relatives.¹⁸⁶ Grey agreed. For this reason he provided boarding facilities at Piltawodli in 1843 and the Walkerville School in 1844. In 1845 the two schools were amalgamated as the Native School Establishment, built near Government House so the students could learn civilised habits through contact with better-class Europeans.¹⁸⁷ The school

¹⁷⁸ *Register*, 26 Nov 1842, 3. This contradicts the often observed love Aboriginal parents had for their children.

¹⁷⁹ *Southern Australian*, 8 Sept 1843, 2-3.

¹⁸⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S160.

¹⁸¹ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC.

¹⁸² Letter, 3 Sept 1844, Graetz, 35.

¹⁸³ Schürmann to DMS, 11 Dec 1844, SC.

¹⁸⁴ Moorhouse to CSO, 8 July 1844, GRG24/6/1844/712.

¹⁸⁵ TD. 25 Aug 1845.

¹⁸⁶ Protector's Report, 27 July 1840, *Papers Relative to South Australia*, 324.

¹⁸⁷ Scrimgeour, "Notions," 40-41.

followed the SA Missionary Society's recommendations in its determination to Europeanise the children. The missionaries were side-lined.

Klose believed the Walkerville school had been modelled on his school and the Native School Establishment was a result of his students' progress.¹⁸⁸ Scrimgeour suggests the mission schools were sacrificed to Grey's ambition to build a school that would enhance his reputation as a colonial administrator.¹⁸⁹ Schürmann accused Grey and Moorhouse of concentrating all resources on the Adelaide schools to show the world what could be done with the Aborigines.¹⁹⁰ Grey denied Schürmann funding for a Port Lincoln school. Meyer raised his own funding for his Encounter Bay school, the government reluctantly contributing only £20 and, for a short time, children's rations. Moorhouse told Meyer if he could not afford to run his school the children should leave their country and go to the Adelaide Native School Establishment.¹⁹¹ Governor Young later instigated a school near Port Lincoln where Schürmann taught in Barngarla but Young had no expectations this would 'civilise' the children, only improve race relations and keep children from their parents' influence.¹⁹²

Consensus was developing that further segregation and control were necessary as students were returning to their families and tribal ways at puberty.¹⁹³ In 1850 eleven boys started apprenticeships but friends enticed them away.¹⁹⁴ In 1846, Moorhouse had recommended students old enough to marry according to tribal custom, though not British law, be married to dissuade them from returning to their tribes.¹⁹⁵ In 1850 a few couples from the Adelaide school were married, against tribal custom, and induced to take up employment with Port Lincoln settlers. Concern was expressed, however, that settlers exercised insufficient 'vigilance and care' to preserve the 'good habits' students acquired at school.¹⁹⁶ Moorhouse wrote, 'It is very disheartening and somewhat humiliating to see all our attempts at improving the Natives assume the aspect of failure.'¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁸ Graetz, 45.

¹⁸⁹ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 234. For a detailed discussion see *ibid.*, Chapter 6. Grey failed to mention the Lutheran missionaries' involvement in Aboriginal education in dispatches to London.

¹⁹⁰ Schürmann to DMS, 11 Dec 1844, SC. Meyer attributed these motives to Moorhouse. Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841, MC. Scrimgeour suggests Grey supported the missionaries' recording of Aboriginal languages for the same reason.

¹⁹¹ Moorhouse to Meyer, 16 Dec 1845, MC.

¹⁹² Young to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatches no. 50, 21 March 1850, GRG2/6/5/1850 and no. 64, 7 May 1852 GRG2/6/6/1852, SRSA.

¹⁹³ *Southern Australian*, 26 Nov 1842, 3; Moorhouse report, 26 June 1850, Letterbook. 264-5.

¹⁹⁴ Moorhouse report, 26 June 1850, Letterbook. 264-5.

¹⁹⁵ Moorhouse to CSO, 30 April 1846, GRG26/6/1846/520.

¹⁹⁶ Hale to Robe, 17 August 1850, GRG24/6/1850/1784, SRSA.

¹⁹⁷ 26 June 1850, Letterbook. 264-5.

In 1850 discussion between Archdeacon Hale and Moorhouse led to a Native Training Institute for young Aboriginal couples at Poonindie along the lines Eyre and the SA Missionary Society had proposed.¹⁹⁸ It aimed to prevent Adelaide school graduates reverting to tribal ways.¹⁹⁹ Isolation from their tribes, lower class Europeans, and initially, Eyre Peninsula's 'wild' blacks was considered essential. Young leased about 3000 acres of a native reserve to Hale. Hale added a twelve square mile sheep run purchased with £1200 of his own money. (This was more a loan than a gift. When Hale left Poonindie in 1855 he asked the governing board to pay for a £1200 life insurance policy to benefit his heirs.) The government advanced Hale £600 (£200 to be repaid, the rest as a grant) and provided £300 annually for a schoolmaster, matron and labourer. Older Adelaide school students were married to each other at puberty, and given houses at Poonindie with the express aim of replacing traditional marriage customs with Christian European forms, as suggested by a South Australian Missionary Society sub-committee in 1842.²⁰⁰ Only married couples and single women from other schools were accepted. They worked the land for wages, and received Christian instruction in English.²⁰¹ Initially Barngarla adults were strictly excluded and their children accepted only in exceptional circumstances.²⁰² Hale's proposal recommended that the Poonindie missionary take responsibility for religious instruction and worship services at Schürmann's school.²⁰³ One wonders how Schürmann felt about this. The Adelaide school closed when its eight remaining students absconded to their Yorke Peninsula tribes and parents kept their children from the school for fear of their being taken to Poonindie.²⁰⁴

Schürmann's school five kilometres away had been established partly for 'keeping up intercourse with and instructing those unsettled Natives who might choose to visit it.'²⁰⁵ However, Poonindie's establishment precipitated its closure. Young wrote, 'Schürmann's school is very good as far as it goes and if nothing better could be had would be well worth keeping up at its present cost. It keeps the children away from their parents and so far prevents their being for the present savages, but it is not entitled to more than this negative merit.'²⁰⁶ In April 1852 Young indicated he was considering transferring Schürmann's school to

¹⁹⁸ *Register*, 26 Nov 1842; *Observer*, 16 Sept 1843.

¹⁹⁹ Young to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatch no. 108, 12 July 1850. GRG2/6/1850, SRSA.

²⁰⁰ *Register*, 26 Nov 1842.

²⁰¹ Phillipa Walsh, "The Problem of Native Policy in South Australia in the C19th with Particular Reference to the Church of England Poonindie Mission, 1859-1896." (BA honours, University of Adelaide, 1966), 64-77.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁰³ Enclosure, GRG24/4/1850/1346, SRSA.

²⁰⁴ Moorhouse to Kavel, 5 April 1851, Letterbook. 275; Geoffrey Grainger, "Matthew Moorhouse and the South Australian Aborigines, 1839-1856." (BA Honours thesis, Flinders University, 1980), 99; Peggy Brock, *Outback Ghettos: Aborigines, institutionalisation and survival*, Studies in Australian history. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.) 26.

²⁰⁵ Enclosure, GRG24/4/1850/1346.

²⁰⁶ Young to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Despatch no. 64, 7 May, 1852, GRG2/6/6/1852, SRSA.

Hale's charge.²⁰⁷ In September 1852, in support of a petition for increased funding, Hale offered to relieve the government of the expense of Schürmann's school.²⁰⁸ This was accepted. Young gave Hale £1000 a year to take responsibility for Schürmann's students and whatever young Aborigines the governor sent him.²⁰⁹ Hale says it was to save the expense of Schürmann's school: £50 for Schürmann's salary, £20 to provide and maintain a school building, and £166 for rations, supplies and freight.²¹⁰ More likely it was because Young favoured the Church of England's mission model. Young anticipated greater 'advances towards civilisation and habits and principles antagonistic to savage life' under Hale's superintendence and the possibility of 'securing to ourselves' the raising of the next generation so 'wild and troublesome savages' would pass away with the current generation of adults.²¹¹ Poonindie also became a ration depot with the aim of drawing Aborigines unemployed by Europeans away from settled areas to prevent clashes and thefts.²¹² Thus Young transferred responsibility for Aboriginal welfare, apart from scattered rations depots, to Hale's institution.²¹³

Poonindie had emerged from over a decade of debate. Its residents had been educated for European society but then strictly segregated from it and from their tribes. It represented a markedly different approach from that of the Dresden missionaries who wanted settlements to maintain and provide for existing Aboriginal communities.²¹⁴ They tried to engage with all age groups and advocated segregating children from destructive European influences but not from their families.

6.4 British Justice

Law and order became a major settler preoccupation as settlement spread. This became an issue for the missionaries as poor race relations impacted negatively on their relationship with the local people and settlers and government expected them to assist in making Aboriginal people submissive to British authority and law.

²⁰⁷ GRG24/4/1852/385, SRSA.

²⁰⁸ Hale to Young, 20 Sept 1852, reproduced in Mathew B. Hale, *The Aborigines of Australia: Being an Account of the Institution for Their Education at Poonindie*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889. 60-63.

²⁰⁹ Protector's Report, 17 June 1852, SAGG.

²¹⁰ Sturt to Moorhouse, 10 Jan 1850, GRG24/4/1850/ 29; Hale, *The Aborigines*, 62-64.

²¹¹ Young, Despatch no. 64, 7 May, 1852

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Walsh, "Native Policy," 83.

²¹⁴ Walsh does not recognise this fundamental difference, saying Poonindie developed on 'almost identical lines' to Schürmann's plans for a settlement near Port Lincoln. Ibid., 64.

Aboriginal people were considered British subjects entitled to the same protection and privileges and subject to the same laws as other subjects, a policy enunciated in Angas' speech at Hindmarsh's farewell dinner in London and by Governors Hindmarsh, Gawler and Grey. British law took precedent over Aboriginal law. A policy of 'amalgamation' precluded any other policy. The aim was to ensure justice and protection for Indigenous people but, in practice, more effort went into protecting settlers by making Aboriginal people answerable to British law than into affording them its protection. Grey saw British law as a 'civilising' tool destroying Aboriginal customs. He also proposed the admission of Aboriginal evidence, counsel to defend Aborigines and an efficient mounted police to prevent clashes.

Various issues aroused debate and frustrated the fair administration of justice.²¹⁵ First was the appropriateness of a legal code foreign to Aboriginal people and primarily protecting European interests. The 1837 Select Committee Report recommended 'indulgence' in punishing Aboriginal crimes and a 'short and simple' provisional code for Aborigines.²¹⁶ Angas suggested a code proposed by Standish Motte.²¹⁷ The missionaries, Moorhouse and Eyre questioned trying Aboriginal people according to British law.²¹⁸ Moorhouse considered it unjust except in so far as tribal law agreed with British law, especially as Aboriginal evidence was inadmissible in court.²¹⁹ Schürmann insisted they had their own codes of behaviour.²²⁰ However, no provisional code was adopted. Instead, debate centred on whether martial law was more appropriate than British law on the frontiers of settlement where Aboriginal people had had little previous European contact.²²¹

A major impediment to justice was the inadmissibility of Aboriginal evidence in court.²²² Amendments to legislation between 1844 and 1849 finally allowed for unsworn Aboriginal evidence and unsworn interpreters in court but a lack of interpreters caused lengthy court delays.²²³ Justice was also circumvented in other ways. Settlers erected a wall of silence.²²⁴

²¹⁵ For a more thorough discussion see Alan Pope, *One Law for All? Aboriginal people and criminal law in early South Australia*. (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011).

²¹⁶ 1837 Select Committee Report, 80, 84; Pope, *One Law?*, 69.

²¹⁷ 1841 Select Committee Report, Minutes 2444.

²¹⁸ Protector's Report, 20 Feb 1841, *Papers Relative to South Australia*, 328.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 327.

²²⁰ Ted Schurmann, *I'd rather dig potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia, 1838-1853*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987). 139.

²²¹ See Pope, *One Law?*, chapter 3.

²²² See *ibid.*, chapter 4.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 64.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

Aboriginal witnesses were threatened, murdered or bribed to disappear.²²⁵ Typically, more weight was given to European than Aboriginal testimony and juries were prejudiced.²²⁶

With a police force inadequate to maintain law and order settlers increasingly took the law into their own hands. Race relations deteriorated with significant loss of Aboriginal life.²²⁷ Settlers demanded protection *from* Aborigines.²²⁸ Penney approved of the 'lesson' taught Aboriginal attackers by Overlanders along the Darling and Rufus Rivers and Gawler's summary execution of those accused of killing survivors of the shipwrecked *Maria*. Penney said 'the lesson that all savages should be made to learn' was 'that the moral power of civilisation is omnipotent and that, in their hostility to it, they are playing a losing game.'²²⁹ Some argued relations with Aboriginal people should be regulated by 'the Law of Nations' rather than the 'Law of England' and war made on them to curb atrocities.²³⁰ Virtual war prevailed on the Eyre Peninsula in the 1840s. The press urged reprisals.²³¹ SJB wrote to the *Register* in 1850, 'In the far "bush" ... the settler finds that his rifle is the best exponent of the law, and little reeks he when a "blackfellow" falls.'²³² John Bull affirmed the need to create dread in Aboriginal minds if whites were to be safe.²³³

Because of the missionaries' language skills and relationship with the local people the government looked to them to help pacify the Aboriginal population. Interpreting took them from their other duties, especially given Meyer's and Schürmann's need to travel to Adelaide for court cases. It compromised them in the minds of Aborigines who associated them with the authorities. This particularly affected Schürmann.

The missionaries despaired of obtaining justice for local people.²³⁴ Teichelmann complained to Angas that Aborigines were subjected to British law without having recourse to it.²³⁵ As Deputy-Protector and court interpreter, Schürmann was appalled by the unequal treatment of black and white before the courts.²³⁶ Writing from Port Lincoln to an Adelaide friend he complained

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 53-4.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 52-3; Eyre, "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Aborigines."

²²⁷ Pope, *One Law?*, chapter 10; *Register*, 9 Jan 1841.

²²⁸ *Register*, 5 April 1843.

²²⁹ *Examiner*, 19 Oct 1842.

²³⁰ 'Pater' in *Register*, 7 & 12 Feb 1852.

²³¹ *South Australian*, 4 Sept 1849.

²³² *Register*, 14 Jan 1850.

²³³ Bull, 309.

²³⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843 and 15 April 1844, SC.

²³⁵ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, Angas Papers.

²³⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843, SC. S169.

that police framed innocent Aboriginal people, sneaked up on them and killed them. They were denied justice:

There is no shadow of protection for them, while they are debarred from... being heard in the Court of civil Justice. Several instances have occurred during my residence in this district, in which natives have been arraigned before the administrators of the law, although I was morally convinced of their innocence; in other cases, they have sought redress through me for wanton attacks on their persons and lives, without being listened to...It is bad enough that a great part of the colonists are inimical to the natives; it is worse that the law, as it stands at present, does not extend its protection to them, but it is too bad when the press lends its influence to their destruction.²³⁷

To Wermelskirch he wrote:

[T]he protection and privileges that are supposed to come to the natives as subjects of the famous English law are actually very dubious. They can, however, be heard and punished according to this law as soon as a Christian person can be found to give evidence against them, in good conscience or in bad, but they can never call on the protection of the law for themselves because they are not allowed to take the oath, and without that their word counts for nothing.²³⁸

Schürmann spent two periods in the Port Lincoln area, 1840-1846 (initially as Deputy-Protector) and 1848-1853 (as court interpreter and teacher), both times at the government's instigation in the interests of maintaining law and order. Both times Schürmann assented with a heavy heart, hoping to provide local people some measure of protection and justice.

While in Adelaide Schürmann was well-respected, in Port Lincoln his relationship with officials and settlers was problematic. He was expected to explain that Europeans wanted to live in peace, a claim belied by their takeover of Aboriginal land, and explain British law so Aboriginal people could be brought under its jurisdiction.²³⁹ He was expected to accompany the Protector, police and military seeking Aboriginal law-breakers and act as interpreter on punitive expeditions. When he protested the innocence of Aboriginal people, he was ignored. He was expected to spy on and report on the people whose confidence he was trying to win. Feeling threatened by Schürmann's knowledge of their language and the information this gave him, Aboriginal people issued death threats.²⁴⁰ Settlers accused him of neglecting *their* interests.

²³⁷ Reprinted in Eyre, Chapter 1.

²³⁸ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S158.

²³⁹ Protector's Report, 20 Feb 1841, *Papers Relative to South Australia*, 326. Judge Cooper was reluctant to try those unacquainted with British law. Pope, *One Law?*, 17-19, 166-68.

²⁴⁰ Schürmann to Driver, 4 Oct 1842, GRG24/6/1842/757.

He was accused of bias and his integrity as interpreter was questioned.²⁴¹ He was accused of misrepresenting his abilities, and having 'lost his language', when called to Adelaide to interpret for a man whose language he did not know.

Events in 1842 illustrate Schürmann's frustrations.²⁴² In March Battara Yurarrri tribesmen murdered five people on the Brown and Biddle stations. These and other attacks drove Eyre Peninsula settlers into Port Lincoln petitioning for police or military assistance.²⁴³ A letter to the press threatened to teach the 'savages' a good lesson if settlers were not protected.²⁴⁴ Resident Magistrate Driver persuaded Schürmann to accompany an April 4 expedition, telling him the murderers would be taken prisoner if possible.²⁴⁵ However, without any guilt established, three Aborigines were shot on Driver's instructions, with one expected to die. Challenged by Schürmann, Driver said he wanted no prisoners.²⁴⁶ A military detachment under Lt Hugonin and Driver set out on April 19. According to Schürmann, Hugonin said his orders were 'to take the whole of the Port Lincoln Natives dead or alive without discrimination.'²⁴⁷ However, aware that only one tribe was guilty, and in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed, Hugonin wanted Schürmann to accompany him. Against his better judgement, Schürmann agreed, hoping to protect innocent lives. Despite warnings that a group encountered was friendly, and while Schürmann was protecting three other Aboriginal men from being shot, a soldier shot Schürmann's friend Numma (or Numalta/Nummalta) who was spear-fishing. This was despite a guide insisting he was innocent and Schürmann having seen him in another location on the day of the murders. Numma turned to Schürmann for help. Schürmann comforted him as he lay dying and in tears left the party in protest. Schürmann had known Numma for over a year. He had always been helpful and open, acting as a guide to Schürmann and other Europeans. Hugonin defended the soldier as acting 'quite rightly.'²⁴⁸

Schürmann informed Moorhouse it was impossible for him to protect the innocent and his presence on such expeditions was 'inconsistent with my missionary character and injurious to my good faith with the natives.'²⁴⁹ In May Hugonin's party killed two men and wounded five from the innocent Nauo tribe, including two boys and two former guides who had previously

²⁴¹ J Easton, letter to *Register*, 3 Oct 1849.

²⁴² For more detail see Robert Foster and Amanda Nettlebeck, *Out of the Silence*. (Kent Town SA: Wakefield Press, 2012). chapter 3; Bull, *Early Experiences*.

²⁴³ GRG24/6/1842/124.

²⁴⁴ A reference to the *Maria* massacre aftermath. *Southern Australian*, 29 March 1842.

²⁴⁵ Schürmann to Moorhouse, GRG24/1/1842/195.

²⁴⁶ SD. 2 April 1842.

²⁴⁷ GRG24/1/1842/195.

²⁴⁸ SD. 24 April 1842.

²⁴⁹ GRG24/1/1842/195.

shown friendship. An old man, two women and two children were taken prisoner.²⁵⁰

Schürmann's diary reports

So cruel are the whites. Mr Driver said this slaughter will continue until they surrendered the guilty. However, it is definitely not proven that the guilty are among them. It is much more likely that they have withdrawn to the north as they are insisting.²⁵¹

Schürmann informed the DMS he intended to sever his government connections by year's end and requested another posting. It was impossible for him to obtain justice for Aboriginal people and Port Lincoln was an inappropriate mission station.²⁵² Grey acted first, abolishing Schürmann's position but persuading him to stay in Port Lincoln as he believed his efforts 'were likely to produce a very good effect'.²⁵³ He promised the South Australian Lutheran mission £100 a year provided a missionary remained in Port Lincoln 'constantly holding himself ready to act under the orders of the Government Resident in all circumstances which may relate to the welfare of the Aborigines'.²⁵⁴ His responsibilities included reporting on Aboriginal conduct.²⁵⁵ Scrimgeour sees the abolition of the Deputy-Protector's position as indicating Grey's willingness to ignore violence against Aborigines in frontier regions.²⁵⁶ Grey placed Schürmann under Driver's direction, Scrimgeour suggests, to silence Schürmann.²⁵⁷ The DMS denied Schürmann an alternative posting.

In November a mounted police detachment under Police Commissioner Major O'Halloran arrived to hunt the killers. Armed with Grey's instructions to use whatever force was necessary he planned to 'teach them to respect us, and give them high notions of our power and speed'.²⁵⁸ He recorded

[Schürmann] exhibited great reluctance to accompany the party when he became acquainted with the strict orders under which the party were held to act. He at length consented ...; nevertheless, if he had declined I should have used my powers and compelled him to proceed as interpreter.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ SD. 9 May 1842.

²⁵² Schürmann to DMS, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S159.

²⁵³ Grey memo, 14 June 1842, GRG24/1/1841/302a.

²⁵⁴ Moorhouse to CSO, 10 Sept 1842, GRG24/6/470.

²⁵⁵ Moorhouse to Schürmann, 19 Oct 1842, Letterbook.

²⁵⁶ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 240.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 243-44.

²⁵⁸ O'Halloran's Diary, 7 Nov 1842 in Bull, 299-300.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 300.

O'Halloran accused Schürmann of cowardice because of his reluctance to accompany punitive expeditions.

In July 1843, Schürmann wrote to Moorhouse on behalf of Ngarbi, convicted of being an accessory in the Biddle station murders, about the pressure fellow tribesmen put him under and his desire to die in Port Lincoln. It made no difference. Ngarbi was hanged.²⁶⁰

During his second period in Port Lincoln Schürmann was used for more than court interpreting. Again he was expected to accompany police investigating clashes and killings. He was reprimanded for not writing reports on the Aborigines, something he believed was outside his duties.

The missionaries were not alone in protesting the lack of justice for Aboriginal people. However, in their desire to help Aboriginal people they became entangled with the government in a way that seriously hampered their core business, evangelism. This made it almost impossible for Schürmann to function as a missionary on Eyre Peninsula. Under the circumstances it is amazing he won Aboriginal people's trust and affection to the degree he did.

6.5 Conclusion

In 'Colonizers as Civilizers,' Anne Scrimgeour claims that, while their relationship was frequently ambiguous, the missionaries were tools of the authorities. They were not opposed to colonization or British rule but, sharing the government's civilising and Europeanising agenda, 'served colonial agendas and sought to use colonial power to serve their own.'²⁶¹ While Scrimgeour is right in that they were often 'tools of the authorities' she fails to do justice to their opposition to colonization, the seizure of Aboriginal land and other important aspects of the government's agenda.

In South Australia's colonisation, humanitarian ideals yielded to more fundamental aims: the occupation of Aboriginal land, financial gain, and protection of settler interests. Authorities envisaged Aboriginal people contributing to the colonial project, imitating Europeans, speaking English and assimilating into the colonial workforce. Christian missionaries were expected to facilitate this 'civilising' process. At first it seemed the government and missionaries could co-

²⁶⁰ Moorhouse to Grey, 27 July 1843, Letterbook.

²⁶¹ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 190-92, 226.

operate for the welfare of Aboriginal people. Increasingly it became clear their aims and methods were incompatible but insufficient support from other sources left the missionaries open to government manipulation.

The government's civilising goals assumed the destruction of the Aboriginal way of life and culture in a way that made it difficult for the missionaries to achieve their primary goal of an Aboriginal Christian church. The missionaries' goal was not a Europeanised Aboriginal population. They envisaged Christianity being incorporated into converts' Aboriginal culture, transforming religious and moral aspects of their lives. They imagined Aboriginal Christians retaining their language, social structures and culture that were compatible with Christianity. Moreover, Aboriginal congregations presupposed Aboriginal communities. Given government policies, rather than an Aboriginal church the best the missionaries could hope for was, as Meyer said, to win a few scattered souls who assimilated into European society.

For a while it seemed the missionaries could achieve their goals in co-operation with the government but they saw a government making no long-term provision for Aboriginal people apart from rations, working for hand-outs and the segregation and Europeanising of their children. Concern for Aboriginal welfare prompted the missionaries to encourage farming as an alternative but what the missionaries considered necessary for the survival of Aboriginal communities and for mission success was withheld: sufficiently large, suitable areas of land and assistance in adapting to sedentary living. The missionaries were denied access to suitable reserved land and their attempts to teach farming remained unsupported.²⁶² When they failed colonists' expectations, government priorities changed and other options arose, the Lutheran missionaries were sidelined. The government turned to the Anglican Church with its establishment links and views more in line with its own. With the demise of mission schools – the one area in which the missionaries saw progress – and without financial support, no real hope for their mission remained.

When forced to sell Ebenezer, Teichelmann bitterly regretted ever getting involved in 'civilising' attempts. He said it would have been better if he had done as he originally intended – concentrated on language learning and evangelistic work. Schürmann found his greatest happiness in his last years at Port Lincoln. He focused on sharing the gospel with the Barngarla and teaching their children in their own language, in their home area and with their parents' co-operation.

²⁶² Non-British citizens could not buy crown land on credit. Kavel's people bought land from other settlers at seven to ten times the original purchase price. Bull, *Early Experiences*.

For a period, the Dresden missionaries were the mainstay of the government's 'civilising mission' as educators, ration distributors, interpreters, peace-keepers and 'civilisers'.²⁶³ Gawler had sympathised with their aims, but diverted them from their original intentions, largely determining their mission locations at Piltawodli, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln and fragmenting their efforts. They were used to encourage Aboriginal settlement at Piltawodli until that policy was reversed and to teach at the Piltawodli school while this suited government purposes. Finally Grey insisted the school conform to his ideals and finally 'claimed it as a government establishment' with the power to determine the future of its graduates.²⁶⁴ He expected the missionaries to serve the judicial system and his peace-keeping priorities. He was indifferent to the missionaries' own initiatives, be they vernacular schools, Aboriginal settlements or mission stations. By Robe's and Young's time, the disparities between the missionaries' and the government's aims were increasingly obvious and other options were emerging. Robe and Young had little interest in the missionaries except as a pacifying influence and interpreters, often unpaid.²⁶⁵

The missionaries' relationship with the government was indeed 'ambiguous.' Already in 1839, Teichelmann complained that Aboriginal people, suspicious of a government which didn't keep its promises, avoided the missionaries when they saw them cooperating with government. He wanted land so he and his colleagues could be independent, supporting themselves and the Aborigines.²⁶⁶ He finally fell out with Grey over his interference in and takeover of the Piltawodli school.²⁶⁷ Klose ran the school 1840-1845 only to be cast aside. Meyer received little government assistance though he believed he was doing the government's job.²⁶⁸ Schürmann accepted appointment as Deputy-Protector reluctantly, and left in protest. He craved independence as his government involvement compromised his mission work. Meanwhile he was paid starvation rations: £50 a year as Deputy-Protector, £70 as court interpreter and £50 as a teacher.²⁶⁹ By comparison Sub-Protector Eyre received £300.²⁷⁰ Schürmann declined a teaching position in the government's Walkerville school because he disagreed with its underlying principles. He refused the South Australian Missionary Society's financial support for the same reason. The missionaries criticised the government's ration system, failure to reserve Aboriginal land, the dispersal and assimilation of Aboriginal people as servants and

²⁶³ Phillipa Walsh claims without missionaries, mission societies and Angas, the government's civilising attempts would have failed. Walsh, "Native Policy," 38.

²⁶⁴ *Register*, 16 April 1879. 7B.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PGR174/7/503-504, Angas Papers.

²⁶⁷ Teichelmann to DMS, 5 Jan 1847, TC. TB287.

²⁶⁸ Meyer to DMS, 30 Jan 1844, MC.

²⁶⁹ Moorhouse complained to the CSO that Schürmann's pay was inadequate, 14 July 1842, GRG24/6/470.

²⁷⁰ Marie Steiner, "Matthew Moorhouse: a controversial colonist," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 33 (2013). 66.

labourers and the way the justice system dealt with Aboriginal defendants and plaintiffs. Their reluctance to compromise and fall in with the government's agenda played a large part in their mission coming to an end.

The missionaries' relationship with Moorhouse as their superior from 1839-1853 was friendly but complex. They worked together at Piltawodli. For ten months in 1841-42 Teichelman, Klose and Moorhouse shared a house. Moorhouse gave Meyer two acres of land and other donations. The missionaries accompanied Moorhouse on trips and interpreted for him. Moorhouse checked the English in Teichelmann's and Schürmann's Kurna language publication. However, there were irritations and fundamental ideological differences. Schürmann accused Moorhouse of treating Aboriginal people unfairly and having a defeatist attitude.²⁷¹ He was annoyed by Moorhouse claiming credit for uncovering aspects of Aboriginal culture he learned from the missionaries.²⁷² They disagreed when Moorhouse wanted English spelling used in language publications rather than a phonetic orthography.²⁷³ They disagreed over the language of education and the segregation of children. The missionaries were unwilling to give up on adults but Moorhouse opposed their efforts. Standing between the missionaries and successive governors, he frustrated Schürmann and Meyer by his unwillingness to convey their proposals and requests to his superiors. After Teichelmann's rift with Grey, Moorhouse distanced himself from the missionaries.²⁷⁴

Teichelmann reflected on 'civilising' attempts after visiting a surveyor near Encounter Bay:

[O]ur host... take[s] a lively interest in the native's civilisation and shows a considerable concern for them. But since he... expects their salvation from their civilisation, we told him that his expectations would fail, because the heart must, as the main source of customs and usages, be improved beforehand.²⁷⁵

This was borne out as settlers and officials turned to the options of segregation and coercion.

The 1860 Select Committee Report endorsed attitudes and policies already developing throughout the 1840s. It noted 'the almost entire absence of any system for the protection and support of Aboriginal people' who, it claimed, were 'doomed to extinction.'²⁷⁶ It recommended protectors care for the physical necessities of the aged, sick and infirm, with settlers helping to

²⁷¹ SD. 29 July & 16 Dec, 1839.

²⁷² SD. 11 June 1839.

²⁷³ SD. 2 August 1839.

²⁷⁴ Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers," 259.

²⁷⁵ TD. 4 Dec 1840. TA12.

²⁷⁶ 1860 Select Committee Report, 3, 5.

distribute rations funded with income from reserved land.²⁷⁷ It decided justice was best served by the Protectors executing summary judgements against Aboriginal transgressors. Protectors should train Aborigines for 'civilised life' and eradicate religious beliefs and practices standing in the way of Christianity.²⁷⁸ It believed Christianisation depended on totally isolating children from their tribes as a 'work of mercy.'²⁷⁹ Like Grey, Eyre and others, the Committee considered coercion and separation more effective than the Christian message.

Chapter 7 argues that disagreement within the Christian community over mission aims and approaches further hindered the Dresden mission's work.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 4.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 6.

7 DIVERGING AGENDAS: THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

South Australian authorities and settlers sought to utilise the Dresden missionaries for their own purposes and, as argued in chapter 6, their interests were largely inimical to the Dresden missionaries' goals. Within the Christian community there were also divergent perspectives on the mission's objectives and methods. In this chapter I will argue that these disparate views, often complicated by personal and denominational ambitions and conflicts, hindered the missionaries' support from fellow Christians both in South Australia and abroad.

I will begin by examining in more detail the missionaries' relationships with their overseas sponsors, the DMS and Angas, as this played out in South Australia. I will then explore their relationships with the South Australian Lutheran community, with each other, and finally, with other Christian denominations.

7.1 Dresden Mission Society's Relationship with its Missionaries

The DMS asked its missionaries for 'faithful and accurate, open-hearted and impartial' reports.¹ Their reports were frank. Early correspondence mostly reveals a respectful, even affectionate relationship as the new-to-the-job missionaries looked to their Society for guidance. However distance meant replies sometimes took well over a year and letters went astray. Advice was often outdated and inappropriate. Misunderstandings, sharp words and disappointment ensued. The Society complained of inadequate reporting but the missionaries, with few results, were unwilling to fabricate glowing accounts to satisfy supporters.² They felt isolated, unsupported, unappreciated and forgotten.

This section explores three areas of tension between the DMS and its missionaries – mission principles, marriage and funding.

¹ "Instructions for the two missionaries of the evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann from Dahme (ducal Saxony) and Clamor W. Schuermann from Schleddehausen (via Osnabrueck) 1837," in *Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica Seculi XIX*, ed. George Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840).

² DMS to Teichelmann, Schürmann, Meyer and Klose, 19 Jan 1844, Correspondence from Dresden Mission Society to all missionaries as a group, 1839-1949, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. (Hereafter 'All Missionaries.')

Mission Principles

As discussed in chapter 1, the DMS' mission principles reflected the Lutheran doctrine of the Two Kingdoms which ascribed Church and State clearly defined areas of responsibility: the Church was responsible for spiritual matters and secular authorities for temporal matters. This differed from the present Leipzig Mission policy that the church needs to be active in both evangelism and development as summed up in the statement – 'a bird can't fly unless it has two wings.'³

As developed more fully in chapters 3-5, major disagreement arose over the DMS' approach. While the DMS counselled its missionaries to be concerned generally for Aboriginal welfare, it believed providing 'orderly civil community life' was the responsibility of lay people and civil authorities. Its missionaries should concentrate on 'the preaching of the Word and the care of souls' in the language of the people.⁴ In time they were to form congregations of the baptised based on the Lutheran understanding of the Christian faith. The missionaries affirmed these goals but disagreement arose over the extent of their involvement in providing for the Aborigines' material wellbeing. Schürmann and Teichelmann believed their spiritual and temporal welfare were bound together. They questioned Dresden's sole emphasis on spiritual work believing that until their physical needs were met, Aboriginal people would not be receptive to the gospel.⁵ Schürmann said the missionary's main obstacle, the wandering Aboriginal lifestyle, could not be removed with 'spiritual weapons' alone.⁶ As argued in chapter 5, the missionaries became convinced of the need for settlements to provide for Aboriginal sustenance and facilitate the language learning and the ongoing instruction necessary for conversion.⁷ The DMS pointed them to mission work among the 'more difficult' Bushmen of Southern Africa, where 'simply faith, love, patience and prayer' achieved success.⁸ The DMS relented and offered £100 to help Schürmann establish a Port Lincoln settlement. However, it believed attempts to settle Aboriginal people would be futile until they were converted.⁹ If missionaries tried to establish settlements on their own they would be straying too far from

³ Quoted by then Leipzig Mission Chairman Dr Christoph Münchow, anniversary celebrations, Dresden, 17 Aug 2011.

⁴ DMS Annual Report 1838-39.

⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 1st July 1841 (S133), April 15 1844 (S177), 11 Dec 1844 (S189), Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives; Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. TB240, 245; Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/504, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

⁶ Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC. S186.

⁷ Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/503, Angas Papers.

⁸ 20 Jan 1844, Joyce Graetz, ed. *Missionary to the Kaurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper no.2 (North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002). 12.

⁹ DMS to Meyer, 14 Oct 1842, Meyer to Wermelskirch, 9...1839, and 2 July 1839, H A E Meyer, Correspondence with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden 1839-1850, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) 2/Folder M, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. (Hereafter: MC).

their real calling.¹⁰ When Teichelmann tried farming with Aboriginal people at Ebenezer two DMS Committee members complained the undertaking was too secular – he was using ‘secular’ means to advance God’s kingdom.¹¹ Similarly, Klose was told that school boarding facilities were a government responsibility.

The DMS expected its missionaries to avoid politics. When Governor Gawler reprimanded Schürmann for criticising as unjust a colonial system which expropriated all Aboriginal land the DMS warned Schürmann:

You have a different view from the Governor as to the legal claims of the English to South Australian land. We regret this all the more as the Governor has specifically warned you. ...Rightly or wrongly the English have taken possession of South Australia and it is therefore quite unwise to get all concerned about it. It is also highly dangerous: by criticising the behaviour of the English you will [bring on] yourselves much unpleasantness and trouble in your missionary calling. You may even find your work completely prohibited, yourselves expelled from the colony, and the Indigenous people inflamed to anger and revenge by your comments.¹²

The DMS imagined a supportive government fulfilling its responsibilities for Aboriginal welfare. It showed impatience with Teichelmann’s and Schürmann’s desire for greater independence, reminding them of the injunction in Romans 13 to be subject to the ruling authorities.¹³ At the same time, the DMS expected the government would allow them to teach and found a church according to their Lutheran convictions.

The missionaries considered the DMS unrealistic and lacking understanding of Aboriginal societies devastated by colonisation. Moreover, DMS policies alienated Angas who had directed them to start a mission settlement in a remote location. Inadequate support left the missionaries dependent on a government with different aims from their own.

Marriage

DMS marriage policy also hampered the missionaries’ effectiveness. The CMS and LMS by this time had a policy of commissioning only married missionaries.¹⁴ Angas too expected his

¹⁰ DMS to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 27 July 1840, All Missionaries.

¹¹ Teichelmann to DMS, 10 July 1843, TC. TB236; Teichelmann’s Defence, 5 July 1843, TC.

¹² DMS to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 1839, All Missionaries.

¹³ Von Wirsing to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 27 July 1840, All Missionaries.

¹⁴ Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2008). 110.

missionaries to be married.¹⁵ Jessie Mitchell writes, 'Marriage and parenthood were considered vital qualities of the first Evangelical philanthropists [protectors and missionaries] sent to convert and "civilise" Indigenous Australians'; wives and children, part of the 'nucleus of civilisation', 'represented piety, femininity and whiteness.'¹⁶ DMS policy does not bear this out.

Meyer was an exception. Because of his 'need for a wife's care and assistance', he was permitted to marry before leaving Germany.¹⁷ Possibly Teichelmann's and Schürmann's reports about the need for a wife persuaded the DMS to allow this. Teichelmann, Schürmann and Klose arrived unmarried, the latter because the DMS had disapproved of his intended bride.¹⁸ The DMS was unable to increase salaries to support wives and children.¹⁹ It expected its missionaries to delay marriage until they had found adequate support and then, with DMS permission, find wives within the colony to save fares. However, finding suitable colonial wives was difficult. Teichelmann said the English women made too many demands and German farm girls had too little education.²⁰

Singleness hampered the missionaries' work. Aboriginal people suspected them of having sexual intentions towards their women and children.²¹ Only Meyer escaped such accusations. The arrival of Meyer's wife, Wilhelmine was greeted with great excitement by the Ramindjeri and she won their affection. The unmarried missionaries craved companionship, help with time-consuming domestic chores and assistance with mission work among the girls and women.²² They objected to DMS' policy, insisting on their right to marry.²³ A DMS conference on 16-17 February 1842 resolved the issue. It decided missionaries must seek the DMS Committee's consent prior to marriage; consent would be withheld if the proposed spouse would endanger the missionary's effectiveness, and specifically, if they did not belong to the Lutheran Church; if in such a case the Committee did not forbid the marriage, it would not

¹⁵ Angas to Kavel, 8 July 1837, ALMW1.48/22-23, London Files, Leipzig Mission Archives, Halle: Francke Foundation Archives.

¹⁶ Jessie Mitchell, "The Nucleus of Civilisation: Gender, Race and Australian Missionary Families, 1825-1855," ed. Amanda Barry, et al., *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History* ([online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008). 105.

¹⁷ Von Wirsing to Missionaries, 27 July 1840, All Missionaries.

¹⁸ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 1 Sept 1844, TC. TB158-160.

¹⁹ 14 Aug 1841, Graetz, 16; von Wirsing to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 27 July 1840 and 25 May 1841, All Missionaries. A13, A20.

²⁰ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 1 Sept 1844, TC. TB158-160.

²¹ Schürmann to DMS, 21 June 1839, SC.

²² e.g. Graetz, 16; Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Sept 1840, TC. TB158-60.

²³ Meyer to DMS 12 February 1842, MC; Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 1 Sept 1840, TB158-60, 13 March 1841, TB179-81 and (no date), TB199-203, TC; Teichelmann to DMS, 11 March 1841, TB173-75, TC; Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 15 March 1841, SC. S129.

grant a salary supplement for her support, and the missionary risked dismissal if the marriage hindered the faithful fulfilment of his vocation.²⁴

Eventually the three missionaries married without permission. In 1843 Teichelmann married eighteen-year-old Margaret Nicholson, a Scottish Calvinist. In 1844 Klose married Elizabeth Duncan, a High Anglican. Determined to marry a fellow Lutheran, Schürmann waited until 1847 before marrying Wilhelmine Charlotte Maschmedt, newly arrived from his home area.²⁵ These devoutly Christian, hard-working, faithful supporters proved a great asset to their husbands. However, marrying non-Lutheran women made it difficult for Klose and Teichelmann to receive calls to serve German Lutheran congregations when their mission work ended. They assimilated into English-speaking communities. Their children grew up speaking English and none remained members of the Lutheran Church.²⁶

Financial Difficulties

Inadequate support caused ongoing tension between the DMS and its missionaries. In its infancy, under pressure because of its confessional stance and without official church or state recognition until 1842, the DMS struggled to establish itself and support missionaries in North America, Australia and India. Then in 1844-48 the eastern German states were hit by economic turmoil and potato blight second only in severity to that in Ireland.

Furthermore, within mission circles it was debated whether missionaries were *Sendlinge* ('sent' and financed by their sending churches) or *Gehlinge* ('going' in answer to a divine call and responsible for their own support).²⁷ The DMS made it clear it only had funds for spiritual work – preaching the gospel and supporting schools.²⁸ Wermelskirch promised his missionaries as much assistance as the DMS' limited funds allowed.²⁹ Then in 1841 doors opened for the DMS to take over what remained of the Tranquebar Danish Mission. This threatened to take the DMS' 'whole attention'.³⁰ Teichelmann suggested restricting missionary

²⁴ Von Wirsing to the missionaries, 1 March 1842, All Missionaries. A21. Interestingly, Wermelskirch married a Scot and Kavel an English woman.

²⁵ Schürmann to DMS, 10 October, 1846, SC. S208.

²⁶ Teichelmann had difficulties teaching them German. Teichelmann to DMS, Aug 1849, TC.

²⁷ Klaus Detlev Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: the Lutheran Theology of Mission*. (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009). 271.

²⁸ DMS Annual Report 1838-39.

²⁹ Supplementary instructions on the commissioning of the missionaries Cordes, Meyer and Klose, 1838, HAE Meyer, Biographical Box, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

³⁰ Von Wirsing to Meyer, 8 Aug 1841, HAE Meyer, Additional Correspondence from Dresden and Leipzig Mission and individuals there, HAE Meyer Biographical Box, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by G Lockwood.

numbers but the DMS favoured commissioning all who volunteered and helping them as it could.³¹ It wanted the missionaries to partly find their own support and eventually become independent of aid from Europe. It anticipated assistance from South Australian Lutherans. Director Karl Graul saw the missionaries clearly as *Gehlinge*. He expected converts to help support them. The missionaries thought expecting them to support themselves or look to Aboriginal people for support was unrealistic as shown by a hundred years of Indian mission work.³²

The DMS had been misled. It assumed the government would make better provision for Aboriginal welfare than was forthcoming.³³ Angas had suggested no European mission funding would be needed once revenue started flowing from reserved Aboriginal land as proposed in the Colonization Commissioners' 1836 annual report. In the interim Angas promised support.³⁴ The DMS thought he had promised five years' support but this ceased after two years.³⁵ Moreover, the DMS was unaware of SA's high prices. In 1838 food prices were five to six times those in Germany.³⁶ Initial attempts to found a German congregation in Adelaide for support failed. The missionaries were forced to supplement their incomes by growing their food and taking other employment.

The loss of Angas' support and Grey's failure in 1841 to continue Gawler's £50 gratuity triggered the formation of South Australian Aboriginal Missionary Society in Aid of the German Mission to the Aborigines in 1842.³⁷ Its secretary, Advocate-General William Smillie, alerted Dresden to the missionaries' situation, recommending a minimum annual stipend of £100 each. The DMS replied that its missionaries, like St Paul, should partially support themselves and live as nearly as possible at the level of those they worked among. It wrote:

What you consider as the necessary ... annual stipend ... is necessary if the missionary is put in a position like that of the preachers of Europe; but ... we rather hold to the view that it is much less than improper for a missionary to occupy himself with a garden or other work, and [like] the apostle Paul ... arrange his own means of subsistence, at least in part ... Such occupation... enhances the missionary in the eyes of the natives Therefore also it remains our wish that as far as possible our missionaries live amongst the natives and lead

³¹ DMS to Teichelmann, 17 May 1842, TC.

³² Teichelmann to Wermelskirch Jan 1839, TC. TB75-77; Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844 and 1 Feb 1845, TC; Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG174/7/500-506, Angas Papers.

³³ DMS to Teichelmann and Schürmann, 27 July 1840, All Missionaries.

³⁴ Kavel to DMS, 31 March 1837, ALMW 1.48/16, London Files.

³⁵ *Southern Australian*, 7 June 1842, 2D; Teichelmann to Angas, 16 Sept 1841, PRG174/1/1670-1677, Angas Papers,

³⁶ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 12 Dec 1838, TC. TB252.

³⁷ *Register*, 4 June 1842, 1G.

them ... by their example and hence live in utmost simplicity and where possible become active in garden and agricultural work. Only then, we believe, are they really fulfilling their vocation.³⁸

The missionaries resented the expectation that they farm as it took time away from language learning and evangelistic work. Schürmann condemned as unrealistic the expectation that they live as nearly as possible at the Aborigines' level. Teichelmann criticised the DMS' parsimony and asserted in keeping with New Testament injunctions the missionary's right to support while preaching the gospel.³⁹ He retorted that St Paul, who earned a living making tents while doing mission work, did not have to learn a new language or ride around the bush trying to round up people or bribe them to listen to him.⁴⁰ Caring for Aboriginal people's physical needs distracted them from their core mission work enough, Teichelmann said, without having to support themselves as well.⁴¹

The DMS accused the missionaries of having the wrong priorities and trusting too much in money.⁴² When Schürmann complained, he was told he lacked dedication, talked too much about money, worried too much about what the English thought of him, and was not getting close enough to the people.⁴³ In 1842, a DMS Committee member donated £100 to buy land to generate income for the mission. When Teichelmann used the land to encourage Aboriginal farming at Ebenezer he was accused of neglecting his office.⁴⁴

When it finally recognised its missionaries' dire situation, the DMS tried to make each missionary's pay up to £100 a year, after taking other support into account. When food prices dropped, DMS acting Director Trautmann asked them to take a salary cut. They accepted a reduction to £80 in 1844, on the assumption that the government's £100 a year divided between the four men would continue.⁴⁵ In 1839 £100 was a bullocky's wage, barely covering a single man's needs let alone those of the mission.⁴⁶ In 1842 Meyer said it was impossible to exist in SA on less than £160.⁴⁷ Teichelmann said £800/year was needed for the four

³⁸ DMS to W. Smillie, 18 March, 1843, G26, Assorted Correspondence, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder G, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. See also DMS to Teichelmann, 17 May 1842, TC. TB14.

³⁹ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 15 July 1839, TC; Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC. TB271-72.

⁴⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC. TB271-72.

⁴¹ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, TC.

⁴² DMS to Teichelmann 16 July 1839, TC. TB5-7.

⁴³ DMS to Schürmann, 5 April 1843, All Missionaries.

⁴⁴ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, TC.

⁴⁵ Conference report, 8 Nov 1844, Collected letters from the missionaries and conference reports, 1838-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. A65.

⁴⁶ Rev T Q Stow to Rev Wells, 10 Jan 1839, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) General 4. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁴⁷ Meyer to DMS, 12 Feb 1842, MC.

missionaries and their schools when they received £80 each.⁴⁸ Wyatt and Moorhouse received £250 a year as Protectors, plus housing and other allowances. The Colonial Chaplain received £300. Adding to the missionaries' difficulties, DMS' contributions, channelled through Angas' London company until 1843, were handled in an untimely and inefficient manner.

The DMS remained the main source of funding. Teichelmann's records show the missionaries received £1579 from the DMS in 1838-1845 including £100 for travel expenses and fares to South Australia and £200 for land purchases.⁴⁹ German supporters also supplied books, clothing, leather, toys for Aboriginal children and other gifts. Angas contributed £200. Settlers donated about £200, including £70 from the South Australian Missionary Society. Settlers also helped fund Meyer's school building and supplied occasional foodstuffs. The government initially supplied basic missionary housing, school buildings at Piltawodli and near Port Lincoln and sometimes rations for distribution, especially to school children. Schürmann was variously employed as Deputy-Protector, court interpreter and teacher in the Port Lincoln area on minimal pay. Gawler granted the mission a gratuity of £50 in 1839 and 1840. From 1842-1845 Grey gave the mission £100 a year on condition a missionary remained in Port Lincoln. For a short time he gave Meyer 1/- a day as a teacher.

Inadequate support meant domestic chores, farming and other employment took time from mission work. The missionaries struggled to help needy Aborigines, compensate Aboriginal workers and language informants properly and show the generosity important in Aboriginal society. They were unable to choose their own locations for work, establish mission settlements away from European settlement, or establish schools without government help. Attempts to teach farming foundered through lack of funds and land. They were left vulnerable to government pressure to implement its policies. When the government decided to only support Anglican mission efforts, the Dresden mission work came to an end. In their *Missionsblatt* of 15 September 1846 the DMS expressed willingness to support Klose's Piltawodli school fully if the government withdrew funds but it was too late. The school had already closed and the missionaries persuaded to go it alone.

Poverty brought humiliation. The missionaries were forced to accept charity and suffer reproaches from English clergy affronted by seeing clergymen working with their hands and not keeping up the appearances expected of men of the cloth. Even the Aborigines looked down on them for their manual labour and poverty relative to other Europeans.⁵⁰ Financial difficulties strained relationships with the DMS and between the missionaries as each

⁴⁸ Teichelmann to DMS, 11 Feb 1845, TC. TB278.

⁴⁹ Compiled from Teichelmann's correspondence.

⁵⁰ DMS to Teichelmann, 17 May 1842, TC. TB14-16.

compromised with the government in different ways. The missionaries saw their families suffer and their own children denied an education. The Kloses had four daughters in addition to Elizabeth's son. The Schürmanns had nine children, four dying as children. The Meyers had six, three surviving to adulthood.⁵¹ Margaret Teichelmann bore fifteen children, twelve reaching maturity. Schürmann deeply regretted his inability to give his children more than an elementary education. Teichelmann could afford to educate only one son, who became a doctor.

The missionaries felt keenly their Society's lack of understanding and unrealistic expectations, inadequate support and accusations that they lacked faith and a servant attitude. They criticised the DMS for being swayed by Angas' promises.⁵² Meyer questioned the wisdom of passing over more promising, populated fields and sending them to 'the most difficult field on earth' without recognising the financial commitment necessary to first settle the people.⁵³ Teichelmann was convinced that 'should the South Australian Mission prove to be without result, the blame should be sought not so much with the heathen as ... with the church of Christ.'⁵⁴

7.2 George Fife Angas

As described in Chapter 2, Angas' vision for Christian missions included civilising Aboriginal people as well as bringing them the Christian faith. He believed this would benefit them while advancing his great colonial venture. Angas supported the missionaries for only two years, ostensibly for financial reasons, but there were additional reasons. Angas was disappointed in his missionaries. They on their part felt misled and abandoned.

Angas anticipated missionaries, assisted by families from among Pastor Kavel's followers, establishing an agriculture-based mission settlement far from major European settlements, modelled on Moravian settlements in Africa.⁵⁵ Kavel supported this model. He suggested

⁵¹ Two died in infancy. There is no record of a third beyond infancy.

⁵² Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 March 1841, TC. TB175-76, 178-9.

⁵³ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC. Historian Ernst Otto said the DMS should have listened to the London Missionary Society's advice about the choice of field. Ernst Otto, *Hundert Jahre Missionsarbeit*. (Dresden: C Ludwig Ungelenk, 1919). 49.

⁵⁴ Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, 15 November, TC. TB252.

⁵⁵ Angas to Kavel, 8 July 1837, ALMW1.48/22-23, London Files. It was unclear until the last moment whether Kavel's followers would get permission to leave Germany. Angas still expected this assistance from them in 1841, Second Report of the Select Committee on South Australia, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, no. 394, Minutes 2417; Kavel to DMS, 25 April 1837, ALMW1.48/18; Kavel to Wermelskirch, 18 July 1837, ALMW1.48/22-23, London Files.

approaching the DMS for missionaries and acted as intermediary in negotiations. Correspondence between Kavel and the DMS reveal divergent views and misunderstandings that later caused difficulties. Kavel assured the DMS its costs would be minimal as Angas had said income from reserved Aboriginal land and other colonial support would become available.⁵⁶ In the interim, Angas promised Kavel that provided Kavel accompanied the missionaries and oversaw their work he would provide £100 annually for 5 years, plus whatever else he could raise, and would use his influence on behalf of the mission 'so long as the missionaries showed themselves by their consistent conduct worthy of it.'⁵⁷ Angas even promised to make provision for this in his will. Kavel told the DMS its only costs would be fares from Dresden to Hamburg or England and money for personal items and books.⁵⁸ The missionaries would have religious freedom and independence from the South Australian Company directors as Angas was 'founding the mission on his own possessions in the colony.'⁵⁹

Wanting a free-hand for his missionaries, Wermelskirch met with Angas in Edinburgh.⁶⁰ He subsequently reported that Angas had agreed to their acting in accordance with DMS instructions.⁶¹ Angas confirmed in writing that, 'Should two missionaries be sent from the Society of which you are president, to labour among the Aborigines of South Australia, I am willing to give £100 to the Society when they are ready to proceed to their destination and to continue the same amount annually as long as I feel satisfied with their proceedings.'⁶² However, Wermelskirch must have understood he had promised five years' support as this is what Teichelmann and Schürmann understood, as did Kavel and Angas' agent, Charles Flaxman.⁶³

Schürmann and Teichelmann shared their DMS instructions with Angas en route to South Australia. Angas' reaction and lack of clear financial arrangements concerned them.⁶⁴ Unbeknown to them, Angas and Kavel were offended the missionaries, in their instructions, had not been placed under Kavel's oversight. In retrospect Teichelmann thought this was

⁵⁶ Kavel to DMS, 31 March 1837, ALMW1.48/16; Kavel to Wermelskirch, 18 July 1837, ALMW1.48/22-23, London Files.

⁵⁷ Angas to Kavel, 8 July 1837, ALMW1.48/22-2, London Files.

⁵⁸ Kavel to DMS, 31 March 1837, ALMW1.48/16, London Files.

⁵⁹ Ibid and 25 April 1837, ALMW1.48/18, London Files.

⁶⁰ DMS to Kavel, 12 Feb 1837, ALMW1.48/14-15, London Files; DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 19-20.

⁶¹ DMS Annual Report 1836-1837, 19-20.

⁶² Angas to Wermelskirch, 26 August 1837, ALMW1.48/25, London Files.

⁶³ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 November 1843, TC. TB245-46.

⁶⁴ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch and Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 17 April 1838, All Missionaries. A48-49.

fortunate.⁶⁵ Schürmann thought Angas behaved more like a business man than a Christian friend. He resolved to make his primary loyalty to the DMS clear and proceed cautiously regarding any suggestions Angas made from afar.⁶⁶

On leaving Plymouth in May 1838 Schürmann and Teichelmann received a letter from Angas, instructing them to establish a remote agricultural mission settlement and civilise and Christianise the local inhabitants.⁶⁷ These instructions surprised Teichelmann and Schürmann who feared their real work would suffer.⁶⁸ Only Schürmann had a farming background. Teichelmann, and later Klose and Meyer, would have to learn farming skills.⁶⁹ Wermelskirch should have understood Angas' intentions from Kavel's correspondence but may not have shared them with the missionaries.

Things did not work out as Angas imagined. Aboriginal settlements did not eventuate. Neither did Aboriginal people receive just treatment or a significant share in the 'benefits of civilisation.'

Angas planned to get cheap land for his missionaries by locating them in NSW, at the Murray-Darling junction. Initially he wanted all Kavel's people to settle around them and support them.⁷⁰ Angas' manager, David McLaren, alarmed at his instructions to make arrangements, begged Angas to stop German migration, horrified at the idea of transporting and provisioning impoverished immigrants at this remote, barren spot.⁷¹ Angas made no other plans for obtaining land for the mission. His SA Company agents protested Gawler's reservations of land for Aboriginal use.⁷² Kavel suggested Angas reserve part of his Barossa survey so its former inhabitants were not forced into begging.⁷³ This suggestion, and Teichelmann's hopes for a mission station on Angas' Barossa land, came to nothing.⁷⁴ Angas suggested the government be empowered to reserve land for each tribe.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, TC. TB246-47. Initially Wermelskirch had approved Kavel's oversight. Wermelskirch to Kavel, 12 Feb 1837, ALMW1.48/14-15, London Files.

⁶⁶ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 17 April 1838, All Missionaries. A48-49.

⁶⁷ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, Angas Papers.

⁶⁸ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 8 June 1843, TC. TB42-43.

⁶⁹ Teichelmann's Defence, 5 July 1843, TC. TB235.

⁷⁰ Johann Menge to David McLaren, 17 Aug 1838, Johann Menge Box, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives; 'A City in the Wilderness', in Angas to Thomas Dirk, 28 Jan 1838, PRG174/49/1, Angas Papers; 4 June 1838, Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845, C W Schürmann box 1, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

⁷¹ McLaren to Angas, 29 Sept 1838, PRG174/1/1224-1227, Angas Papers.

⁷² Gawler to Angas, 10 July 1840, PRG174/1/1568, *ibid.*

⁷³ Kavel to Angas, 26 June 1839, PRG174/7/479, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Teichelmann to Angas, 7 Nov 1839, PRG 174/7/504, *ibid.*

⁷⁵ 1841 Select Committee Report, Minutes 2441-45, 217-18.

Many thought Angas was fully supporting the missionaries. Edwin Hodder, Angas' biographer, claims Angas offered a 'princely sum' to any mission society that would work in South Australia and sent Schürmann and Teichelmann out almost entirely at his own expense. He credits Angas with sending out Meyer and Klose, which was purely a DMS initiative.⁷⁶ Angas' contribution of £100 a year was grossly inadequate. He too expected the missionaries to gradually support themselves.⁷⁷ The government and settler support he anticipated proved minimal. Nor did revenue from reserved land flow to the missionaries. Angas told them to look to Aboriginal labour for 'efficient and regular aid.' Teichelmann objected that Aborigines had no obligation to support them and were accustomed to being their own masters.⁷⁸ Angas suggested emulating John Williams in the Society Islands. This proved impossible.

Teichelmann said the lack of clear financial arrangements caused 'unspeakable anxiety and much unpleasantness.'⁷⁹ Relations were strained by poor communications, misunderstandings, and humiliating treatment including accusations of deceit and greed from Angas' agents.⁸⁰ When the missionaries presented Angas' letter of credit for the £100 promised them 'on departure', Angas' Adelaide agents demanded three months' work first. When the DMS informed Angas, he refused to believe his agents were at fault and blamed the missionaries. He claimed an evil spirit was at work. The DMS and the missionaries were 'maligning' him, 'dealing improperly' with him and 'lacked love' when he had paid for the missionaries' London accommodation and their remittance, provided introductions and a letter of credit and put them under Gawler's protection.⁸¹

Apart from the missionaries' London accommodation, Angas contribution totalled £200, £100 of which he applied to Klose's and the Meyers' fares on Angas' own ship. Angas offered to approach the government about paying Teichelmann's and Schürmann's passage.⁸² However, at the last minute, £84 of the £100 the DMS gave them for travel and personal expenses went towards their fares to South Australia, leaving them penniless on arrival. Over the period of

⁷⁶ Edwin Hodder, *George Fife Angas, father and founder of South Australia*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891). 144-46.

⁷⁷ Kavel to DMS, 10 Jan 1837, ALMW1.48/12; Kavel to Wermelskirch, 18 July 1837, ALMW1.48/22-23, London Files.

⁷⁸ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch Jan 1839, TC. TB75-77; Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845. TC. TB271; C G Teichelmann, *Aborigines of South Australia*. (Adelaide: SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxilliary Missionary Society, 1841). 6.

⁷⁹ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/21-26, Angas Papers.

⁸⁰ For example in Schürmann to Angas, 3 April 1840, PRG174/7/535, Angas Paper.

⁸¹ Angas to Wermelskirch, 25 June 1839, ALMW1.48/ 140-41, London Files.

⁸² After meeting with Angas, Wermelskirch reported to the DMS committee that Angas would take responsibility for fares. Wermelskirch to DMS Committee, 19/26 Aug 1837, Correspondence with Wermelskirch, ALMW 1.84. Halle: Francke Foundation Archives. Translated by Lois Zweck.

Angas' support (1838-40), the DMS forwarded £876 to Angas' company for its SA missionaries.⁸³

The DMS paid heavy fees for channelling funds via Angas' company. Often funds were not forwarded as requested, went astray, were withheld or were confused with Angas' money by his agents.⁸⁴ Despite repeated requests for a line of credit so the missionaries could draw on the DMS' account with Angas' company, difficulties in transferring funds continued, causing hardship and damaging relationships when the missionaries blamed their Society.⁸⁵ Inquiries provoked angry responses from Angas. Finally the DMS transferred business to another bank.

In December 1840 Angas said he could no longer support the mission. The DMS sought and received assurances that their missionaries' conduct was not an issue.⁸⁶ Angas said his resources were exhausted by loans to Kavel's people, his short-lived publication of *The South Australian Colonist and Aborigines Protector*, and his agent Charles Flaxmann's purchase of 28,000 acres in the Barossa Valley, a purchase which almost ruined Angas and destroyed his plans for the Aborigines.⁸⁷ The DMS, seeking land for a station away from Adelaide in accordance with Angas' wishes, asked whether Angas could sell some land at a modest price, or donate land equal in value to his former contribution.⁸⁸ He replied negatively.

Angas' withdrawal of funding triggered the South Australian Missionary Society's formation. Teichelmann told its first meeting an anonymous Englishman had promised five years' support but was unable to continue. When Angas heard this he denied making this promise, accused Teichelmann of defamation and demanded redress.⁸⁹ The DMS too reprimanded Teichelmann. Acting-director Trautmann, Wermelskirch's replacement, had not been privy to conversations with Angas. He confirmed Angas' final agreement did not specify five years.⁹⁰ Hurt by Angas' reaction, Teichelmann and Schürmann said he had had ample opportunity earlier to correct their misunderstanding.⁹¹ Angas left their letter of explanation unanswered and reports to

⁸³ Angas & Co. Financial Statements 1838 and 1839-1840, ALMW 1.48/213-214, London Files.

⁸⁴ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/21-26, Angas Papers; DMS to Angas, 1 Jan 1843, ALMW1.49/4, London Files; DMS to Smillie, 18 March 1843, Assorted Correspondence.

⁸⁵ DMS to Angas, 15 Dec 1842, ALMW1.48/240, London Files; Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/21-26, Angas Papers.

⁸⁶ Von Wirsing to Angas, 22 Jan 1841, ALMW1.48/203-204, London Files.

⁸⁷ Angas to Wermelskirch, 7 Dec 1840, ALMW1.48/199-200, *ibid*.

⁸⁸ Von Wirsing to Angas, 22 Jan 1841, ALMW1.48/203-204, *ibid*.

⁸⁹ Kavel to Angas, 28 Nov 1843, PRG174/7/733-733A, Angas Papers. Teichelmann to Angas, 23 Jan 1844, PRG174/5/92-95, *ibid*.

⁹⁰ DMS to Teichelmann, 5 April 1843, TC. TB16-17.

⁹¹ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 November 1843, TC. TB245-247.

Angas and the Aboriginal Protection Society in London ceased.⁹² Angas then said he had ended support because the missionaries had stayed too long in Adelaide.⁹³ He had expected them to go into the interior by January 1839.⁹⁴

Viewed superficially, it seems Angas and the missionaries shared a common vision in their commitment to evangelism, mastering Aboriginal languages, Bible translation, Aboriginal education and Aboriginal settlements.⁹⁵ However, Angas' 'great and ultimate object' was 'to fit and prepare the natives for civilised life and amalgamation with the whites.'⁹⁶ A rift was probably inevitable given their different aims and theological outlook. Angas' Baptist faith emphasised holy living and reforming society to reflect Christian values. Like the missionaries, he wanted Aboriginal people to become 'the servants of the Most High God, the heirs of immortal bliss.' But he also wanted them raised from 'barbarism to the highest pitch of refinement', a goal conceived in European terms.⁹⁷ He hesitated to support Lutherans, preferring 'non-sectarian' missionaries, but trusted Kavel who shared his pietism.⁹⁸ Without Kavel's supervision, Angas' enthusiasm for supporting the missionaries waned.

Moreover, negative reports angered Angas who was trying to attract investment and settlers to South Australia.⁹⁹ Schürmann and Teichelmann sharply criticised colonisation's impact on Indigenous people.¹⁰⁰ Teichelmann called Angas a business man who 'was deceived and deceives others and himself' about conditions.¹⁰¹ Angas was bound eventually to take offence at criticisms of the project he considered his greatest achievement. Moreover, Teichelmann tactlessly informed Angas of mistakes in his evidence before the 1841 Select Committee.¹⁰²

Clearly Angas and the missionaries had different priorities. Angas' colonial project and investments took precedence for him over the fate of Aboriginal people. As a Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist believing in double predestination, he thought it possible that God had doomed Aboriginal people to extinction.¹⁰³ Such an idea was anathema to the Dresden

⁹² Teichelmann to Angas, 23 Jan 1844, PRG174/5/92-95, Angas Papers.

⁹³ Angas to Wermelskirch, 14 Dec 1842, ALMW1.48/241-43, London Files.

⁹⁴ SD. 4 June 1838.

⁹⁵ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, May 28th 1838, PRG174/10/140d-f, i, Angas Papers.

⁹⁶ 1841 Select Committee Report, 219.

⁹⁷ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, May 28th 1838.

⁹⁸ Kavel to DMS, 31 March 1837, ALMW1.48/16, London Files; Angas' diary 1838, quoted in David A. Schubert, *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985). 70.

⁹⁹ Angas to Gawler, 19 Nov 1838, PRG174/10/176, Angas Papers.

¹⁰⁰ Teichelmann to Angas, 21 Dec 1840, PRG174/1/1672, *ibid*.

¹⁰¹ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug 1841, TC. TB181.

¹⁰² Teichelmann to Angas, April 1842, PRG174/7/718-21, Angas Papers.

¹⁰³ Angas to Schürmann and Teichelmann, 28 May 1838, *ibid*.

missionaries. Schürmann wrote that God had 'created and preserved and wishes to make eternally blessed [the Aborigines] as he does all other races.'¹⁰⁴

7.3 Kavel and other South Australian Lutherans

Angas and the DMS anticipated significant support for their mission from Lutherans in London and South Australia. This proved minimal. Most Lutheran pastors in London did not subscribe to the Lutheran Confessions and preferred to support the LMS, CMS and Basel Mission.¹⁰⁵ Dr Carl Steinkopf, a member of the CMS and LMS, organised their contacts with the Basel Mission and the Moravians for whom he raised between £4,000 and £5,000 a year.¹⁰⁶ Teichelmann's and Schürmann's efforts in 1839 to establish a German congregation in Adelaide met with indifference from the secular-minded and hindrance from Kavel's expectation that his followers worship at Klemzig.¹⁰⁷ In 1843 Teichelmann claimed, 'Our German fellow believers have not only not concerned themselves about the Mission, but have actually worked against it.'¹⁰⁸ They also considered the missionaries unqualified as clergymen because of their lack of university education.¹⁰⁹

Kavel's followers arrived heavily indebted, their resources depleted by fines, property confiscation and, after selling up, a two year wait for permission to leave Germany. They borrowed their fares and settlement costs from Angas, paid high rent at Klemzig and, on credit, paid seven to ten times the original purchase price for land at Hahndorf and on Angas' Barossa survey.¹¹⁰ Some took till 1850 to clear debts.¹¹¹ They could provide little mission

¹⁰⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 1 July 1841, SC. Lutheran theology teaches that God wants all people to be saved. Teichelmann may have had Angas' views in mind when he told him the *home government* would be responsible for exterminating Aboriginal people if it did not act. Teichelmann to Angas 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/21-26, Angas Papers.

¹⁰⁵ SD. 25 May 1838.

¹⁰⁶ Regina Ganter, "Gossner (1836) and the Berlin Mission Societies," <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/missionary-training/gossner-1836-and-berlin-mission-societies>.

¹⁰⁷ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 10 Dec 1838, SC. S62; Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug 1839, TC. TB182.

¹⁰⁸ Teichelmann to DMS, 15 Nov 1843, TC. TB246.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. TB248.

¹¹⁰ Angas charged 5/- per acre/year rent for Klemzig land he bought for 12/- per acre. A Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1956). 39.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 35.

support.¹¹² Though disappointed, the missionaries recognised the Lutheran settlers' straitened circumstances.¹¹³

Kavel's people occasionally provided foodstuffs and small monetary donations.¹¹⁴ Meyer reported having 'pleasant and blessed' times with Kavel and his congregation, members of which he described as gracious, affectionate and generous.¹¹⁵ A girl assisted Mrs Meyer. Klemzig and Hahndorf lads sometimes helped Teichelmann and Schürmann with domestic chores and gardening. Gottfried Kappler accompanied Schürmann to Port Lincoln. Hermann Kook, the Hahndorf settlement supervisor, befriended Schürmann. In 1844, he offered to help Schürmann establish an Aboriginal agricultural settlement near Port Lincoln.¹¹⁶

Factors besides poverty affected support. Kavel claimed Wermelskirch had agreed to his overseeing the mission but omitted it from the missionaries' instructions. Consequently Kavel wanted nothing to do with the mission.¹¹⁷ In explaining this to Angas he claimed Teichelmann had 'refused most decidedly to allow me to advise him.'¹¹⁸ Teichelmann and Schürmann respected Kavel's spiritual leadership, looking to him for friendship and advice.¹¹⁹ However, his 'arrogant lordliness' and desire for control disappointed them.¹²⁰

Kavel offered 'a brotherly union' if the missionaries would fully support his congregation's 'Apostolic Constitution.'¹²¹ This constitution grew out of Kavel's experience of a Prussian church decaying from state control and a lack of discipline in doctrine and life.¹²² The missionaries objected to several articles, particularly the stipulation that only believers accepting Kavel's constitution were true members of the Church.¹²³ The missionaries held that Scripture prescribed no particular form of church governance.¹²⁴ They also criticised the

¹¹² Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 4 July 1839, TC.TB88-89; Letter 20 Aug 1841, Graetz, 18.

¹¹³ Graetz, 18; Teichelmann to DMS, 3 Feb 1840, TC,TB138.

¹¹⁴ Graetz, 18; Kavel to Meyer, 10 Feb 1841, MC; Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841 and 12 Feb 1842, MC.

¹¹⁵ Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841; 12 Feb 1842; 9 Nov 1843, MC.

¹¹⁶ Schürmann and Kook to Moorhouse, 17 May 1844, GRG24/6/1844/488, SRSA; Schürmann to DMS, 19 Aug 1844, SC.

¹¹⁷ SD. 25 Dec 1839.

¹¹⁸ Kavel to Angas, 28 Nov 1843, PRG174/7/733, Angas Papers.

¹¹⁹ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 8 Feb 1839, SC; Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 26 May 1838, TC.

¹²⁰ SD. 3, 5 Nov and 25 Dec 1839; Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug 1840. SC. S110; Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841, TC. TB188-91.

¹²¹ SD. 26 Dec 1839.

¹²² Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*.99; J T Erich Renner, "Australian Lutheran Roots: Orthodoxy and Pietism," *Lutheran Theological Journal* 28, no. 1 (1994), 38-41.

¹²³ 'Church' (i.e. Church Universal) was later changed to 'Lutheran Church.'

¹²⁴ 28 May 1846, TA94, C G Teichelmann, Diaries 1839-1846, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TA, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives; Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*.100, 120-121.

constitution's strict provisions for church discipline, the power it gave to elders, and Kavel's 'tyrannical' practice of church discipline (including public confession and excommunication).¹²⁵ Teichelmann nevertheless called him 'dear Kavel' and sympathised with his difficulties as both 'soul and body carer' for his congregation.¹²⁶

A related disagreement concerned Kavel's ban on his congregational members marrying non-members.¹²⁷ Kavel helped break up his parishioner Bertha Teusler's engagement to the 'insufficiently pious' Schürmann.¹²⁸ Kavel refused to officiate when Klose married a non-Lutheran.¹²⁹ Teichelmann also offended by marrying a non-Lutheran.

Kavel planned his own Aboriginal mission using Friedrich Krummnow, whom Teichelmann considered lazy, sectarian and quarrelsome.¹³⁰ Schürmann knew Krummnow from Germany as a gifted but divisive trouble maker and refused Kavel's request to take him to Encounter Bay as an assistant.¹³¹ In 1840, Krummnow and Engelhardt, another of Kavel's members, attempted a short-lived mission venture on the Murray River.¹³² Kavel set aside forty acres of Barossa land for Angas' Missions Institute but it never got off the ground.¹³³

The Dresden missionaries also rejected Kavel's chiliasm (the teaching that before the end of the world Christ would reign on earth a thousand years) and his attack on the Lutheran Confessions for rejecting his position. In this Kavel was opposed by his colleague, Pastor Daniel Fritzsche, who arrived with his congregation in October 1841, settling at Lobethal. This issue precipitated a split between Kavel's and Fritzsche's congregations and the formation of two synods. The catalyst was the presence of Schürmann, Teichelmann and Klose at an 1846 convention. Kavel and his followers walked out, refusing to associate with missionaries linked to the Saxon Lutheran Church with its 'unchristian' Consistorial constitution.¹³⁴ Subsequently the four missionaries developed a close relationship with Fritzsche who regretted his previously 'exclusive attitude' towards them and his and his people's inability to help

¹²⁵ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 7 August, 1840, SC. S108-114; Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug 1841, TB182, TC; Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841, TB190, and September 1850, TB293-294, TC.

¹²⁶ TD. 15 Dec 1844. TA58.

¹²⁷ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug, 1840, SC. S111, 114; Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug 1841, TC. TB182.

¹²⁸ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 7 August, 1840, SC. Kavel himself married a Congregationalist, Anne Pennyfeather, costing him support from some followers.

¹²⁹ Graetz, 34.

¹³⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, 3 Feb 1840, TC. TB136-39.

¹³¹ SD. Sept-Oct 1839.

¹³² SD. 4 Feb 1840.

¹³³ Kavel to Wermelskirch, 6 Aug 1839, G41-42, Assorted Correspondence.

¹³⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 10 October, 1846, SC. S204-206; Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, Chapters 13-16; Meyer to DMS, 27 Jan 1847 and 29 Aug 1848, MC.

financially, apart from supplying vegetables.¹³⁵ After visiting Meyer in January 1847 Fritzsche belatedly promised more support.¹³⁶ Fritzsche later arranged Meyer's call to Bethany.

7.4 Relationships Between the Missionaries

The DMS instructed its missionaries to make joint decisions as equals.¹³⁷ However, their efforts became fragmented. They planned two mission locations – Adelaide and a rural station – but government policies resulted in four. Meyer lamented the fragmentation, lack of common purpose and failure to ensure two missionaries worked together.¹³⁸ Teichelmann regretted the lack of a formal mission structure.¹³⁹ The DMS counselled co-operation and regular conference but distance, cost and the time involved made meeting difficult.

Schürmann, Klose and Meyer got on well together. Difficulties centred on Teichelmann. The characteristics that made him a good linguist, keen observer and astute critic sometimes made him difficult to work with: he was hardworking, meticulous, conscientious, and exacting. He was forthright and prone to give and take offense. His colleagues complained he acted unilaterally and was not open to advice.¹⁴⁰ Schürmann described him as uncooperative and authoritarian.¹⁴¹ Teichelmann accused the twenty-three-year-old Schürmann of being insubordinate, messy and irresponsible.¹⁴² Sharing domestic space and duties proved difficult.¹⁴³ Wermelskirch called Teichelmann and Schürmann's relationship the 'greatest of unexpected disasters' and counselled forbearance and mutual support.¹⁴⁴ Their relationship improved once they had their own houses. They cooperated in learning Kaurna, Teichelmann recognising that Schürmann had a better relationship with the Kaurna and learned their language and customs more quickly.¹⁴⁵ Schürmann recommended Teichelmann be mission treasurer. In 1840, Meyer and Klose reported Teichelmann and Schürmann were co-operating

¹³⁵ Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, 69, 150.

¹³⁶ Meyer to DMS, 27 Jan 1847, MC.

¹³⁷ Supplementary Instructions; "Instructions for the two missionaries."

¹³⁸ Meyer to DMS, 10 March 1841 and 25 July 1844, MC.

¹³⁹ Teichelmann's Defence, 15 April 1843, TC. TB235-36.

¹⁴⁰ Meyer to DMS, 13 March 1843, MC.

¹⁴¹ SD. ca. 8 June 1838.

¹⁴² Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 11 Dec 1838, TC. TB55-56.

¹⁴³ Teichelmann was impatient with the housekeeping of the younger Schürmann who preferred reading and studying.

¹⁴⁴ DMS to Schürmann, 1839, SC. S1.

¹⁴⁵ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 13 Nov 1839, TC.

well and the four missionaries were the ‘best of friends.’¹⁴⁶ In 1844 Meyer described Teichelmann’s and Schürmann’s relationship as ‘quite Christian.’¹⁴⁷ In later years, Schürmann helped Teichelmann financially and recommended him for positions in the Lutheran Church.

However, differences of opinion sometimes strained relations between the missionaries. Teichelmann was initially embarrassed by Schürmann’s radical political opinions about British colonialism and Aboriginal sovereignty but later had his own criticisms of government. He considered Schürmann’s Piltawodli school premature but supported it nevertheless. Teichelmann favoured remaining in Kaurna territory, hoping for a mission station near an Aboriginal reserve close to European settlement. Schürmann wanted to move away from settlers. Teichelmann accepted Schürmann’s move to Encounter Bay but believed the Port Lincoln move a mistake. He considered Encounter Bay a much more important field.¹⁴⁸

When Teichelmann established Ebenezer his colleagues thought the project ill-conceived: the location was unsuitable, funds were inadequate to develop it and it could never support an Aboriginal population and school without government assistance. Hermann Lührs, sent from Germany to assist Teichelmann, confirmed the project was unviable – and found Teichelmann hard to work with.¹⁴⁹ Teichelmann was hurt when Schürmann and Meyer accused him of acting unilaterally and looking after himself at Ebenezer.¹⁵⁰ He claimed to have consulted Klose, who left decisions to him, and the SA Missionary Society who promised support.¹⁵¹ Teichelmann resisted the Society’s oversight however, and Meyer, probably unfairly, blamed him for the Society’s demise.¹⁵² Teichelmann’s move to Ebenezer opened cracks in his relationship with Klose who, he complained, no longer kept him informed.¹⁵³ Klose refused to move his school to Ebenezer and complained of Teichelmann’s continual criticism.¹⁵⁴ Teichelmann was upset when Klose did not support his plan to take older Piltawodli boys to farm with him at Ebenezer.¹⁵⁵ When Teichelmann and Grey clashed over the issue Klose unfairly blamed Teichelmann for Grey’s asserting ownership over the mission school.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁶ Graetz, 15. Meyer to DMS 12 Aug 1840. MC.

¹⁴⁷ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844. MC.

¹⁴⁸ Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841. TB190-191.

¹⁴⁹ Lührs to DMS, 10 Feb 1844, Collected Letters. A57-59.

¹⁵⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, 7 Nov 1844, TC. TB266.

¹⁵¹ Teichelmann’s Defence, 5 July 1843, TC. TB235-37

¹⁵² Meyer to DMS, 9 Dec 1843, MC.

¹⁵³ TD. 17 Dec 1844. TA5.

¹⁵⁴ Graetz, 32; TD. Dec 1844. TA57.

¹⁵⁵ TD. Dec 1844. TA57.

¹⁵⁶ Graetz, 39.

In 1840, Teichelmann reported differences with Meyer but did not elaborate.¹⁵⁷ He later accused Klose and Meyer of kowtowing to government. Meyer's ambivalence about using Aboriginal languages particularly upset him. He reported a meeting with Grey:

His Excellency ... expressed his favourite idea, to speak to the natives only in English. Br. Meyer agreed and said to my no small amazement that the language is so lacking in abstract concepts that it would be more advisable to use the English language even in religious instruction because one could never express anything in their language. ... I simply said that our Adelaide language had enough abstract concepts for them to be instructed in Christendom; that in no way was I opposed to teaching the children in the English language in everything except religion. ... An opinion however false in itself, agreed to only because it fits into the Governor's plan, is seized upon by [Mr Meyer] and used as authoritative but it must strike to the disadvantage of our Mission. Br. Meyer's reasoning goes like this: because I don't have the necessary abstract concepts ergo they are not in the language ergo it is better to give up using the language altogether. Later I gave him a host of important expressions for ... reconciliation in our dialect and outlined how the natives apply them.¹⁵⁸

It was Meyer who in 1846 suggested relinquishing DMS support. This distressed Teichelmann who rightly predicted this would precipitate the mission's closure. Earlier in the year he had still been hoping to start a school at Ebenezer but received no encouragement from his colleagues.¹⁵⁹

Undoubtedly the mission's fragmentation impeded its effectiveness, making cooperation and the pooling of resources difficult to impossible. However, except for when Teichelmann and Schürmann parted company, fragmentation resulted from government policy, not conflict between missionaries. With four men working in different spheres in the unfamiliar and fluid situation of a new colony and mission, differences were inevitable. Teichelmann's forceful personality and sometimes justified criticisms were an irritant to relationships with the government, settler community and his colleagues. He suggested some Aboriginal people avoided his forceful preaching. This must have impeded his otherwise caring ministry.

However, differences between missionaries were much less important than other factors in the demise of the mission.

¹⁵⁷ TD. 22 Oct 1840. TA11.

¹⁵⁸ TD. 31 Dec 1844. TA59.

¹⁵⁹ TD. January 1846. TA90.

7.5 Relationships with other Christian Denominations

The DMS' instructions reminded its missionaries they were 'servants of the Christian church of the Lutheran Confession' which upheld 'the teaching, sacraments and the whole development of the apostolic church.' At the same time they were to preserve peaceful relationships with British Christians, demonstrating 'love, patience, gentleness and humility' while never straying from the foundation of Christ's redemption and reconciliation into a 'reliance on human righteousness.'¹⁶⁰ Both the DMS and Angas expected other Christians to support the missionaries. Relations were generally amicable but other denominations had their own priorities.

The Dresden missionaries believed British Christians shared a responsibility for evangelising Aborigines.¹⁶¹ Relations, especially with Dissenter congregations, were co-operative. Teichelmann found English Christians, and especially Wesleyans, more supportive than Kavel's followers.¹⁶² Congregationalist Rev Stow lent his church for German services.¹⁶³ The missionaries attended Congregationalist, Wesleyan and Independent services. Meyer served Independent preacher Ridgeway Newland's congregation in his absence. Teichelmann pastored a 'non-sectarian' congregation near Ebenezer for a time and helped out at an 'English chapel' in the Adelaide area. Schürmann declined to lead Anglican services at Port Lincoln in 1841, wanting to focus on Aboriginal work, but in later years contributed to the Anglican building fund and preached in the Anglican Church.¹⁶⁴

When in 1838 the missionaries' financial situation became dire, local Christians including Stow, William Longbottom (Wesleyan minister 1838-40, 1844-46) and McLaren raised £40 to help them. Stow wrote to the DMS about their plight.¹⁶⁵ Congregationalist Sunday School children at Hindmarsh collected coins for books for Aboriginal children.¹⁶⁶ John Eggleston (Wesleyan minister 1840-42) frequently visited the Piltawodli school and organised women to teach sewing in 1841.¹⁶⁷ Rev John Weatherstone (Wesleyan minister 1842-44) organised this service again in 1843.¹⁶⁸ The women left this to the new Mrs. Klose and transferred their interest to the new Walkerville school in 1844. Wesleyans held prayer meetings with Klose

¹⁶⁰ Supplementary Instructions.

¹⁶¹ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843, SC. S171.

¹⁶² Teichelmann to DMS, 27 Aug 1841.TC. TB188-90.

¹⁶³ Schürmann to DMS, 10 Dec 1838, SC. S37.

¹⁶⁴ Short to CSO, GRG24/6/1849/2270; *The Almanac and Adelaide and Colonial Register*. 1844. 158.

¹⁶⁵ DMS to Stow, 23 June 1839, G10, Assorted Correspondence.

¹⁶⁶ 20 Aug 1841. Graetz, 18. Teichelmann's records show the Sunday School donated £30/12/- in 1840-44.

¹⁶⁷ Graetz, 19.

¹⁶⁸ Graetz, 25.

and invited Piltawodli students to Sunday School events.¹⁶⁹ When contemplating an Aboriginal settlement Teichelmann consulted Eggleston, Stow and Congregationalist lay-preacher William Giles. Encounter Bay settlers contributed money to help Meyer build a school and donated livestock and food. British clergy and leading lay Christians participated in the SA Missionary Society.

However, underlying doctrinal differences caused tensions. Teichelmann said confessional differences had hindered support for the missionaries and had brought the SA Missionary Society to an end.¹⁷⁰ Support proved minimal and unreliable.¹⁷¹ British Christians had other priorities. Most clergy received insufficient support from their congregations. Congregationalist assistance to the missionaries ended when Stow insisted his members pay for their chapel first.¹⁷² In 1839 the Wesleyan Methodists planned their own mission at Encounter Bay.¹⁷³ However, a growing membership and building churches stretched their resources. With the 1841 economic downturn causing financial difficulties they decided to support the Port Philip Wesleyan mission instead.¹⁷⁴

Stow wrote pessimistically to Angas about mission prospects.¹⁷⁵ When Angas' subsidy stopped, Stow saw no further reason for the DMS to maintain missionaries in South Australia, considering it an unpromising, 'inappropriate field.'¹⁷⁶ The New Connexion Methodists bemoaned their Walkerville Sunday School's slow progress.¹⁷⁷ The SA Missionary Society was short-lived, as Schürmann predicted.¹⁷⁸ Teichelmann said settlers thought mission contributions were money 'thrown away.' 'People believe the Aborigines are irretrievably lost,' he wrote, 'because that is what people want.'¹⁷⁹ In 1849 he wrote, 'The Aborigines, since their numbers are small and as a result are scattered and wander about, are generally given up on and discarded by the local Christians.'¹⁸⁰ As Aboriginal numbers plummeted, prominent Christians like Bishop Short, Rev James Farrell and Anthony Forster accepted the commonly-

¹⁶⁹ 10 Feb 1844, Graetz, 31.

¹⁷⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845. TC. TB273.

¹⁷¹ 20 Aug 1841, Graetz, 18.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, Adelaide 21 June, 1839, SC. S61; Arnold Hunt, *This side of heaven: a history of Methodism in South Australia*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985). 37.

¹⁷⁴ Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 38.

¹⁷⁵ Stow letter to Angas, 1841 Select Committee, Minutes 2417.

¹⁷⁶ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S160.

¹⁷⁷ Judith Raftery, *Not part of the public: Non-indigenous policies and practices and the health of indigenous South Australians 1836-1973*. (Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2006). 65-66.

¹⁷⁸ Schürmann to Wermelskirch, 22 Aug 1842, SC. S160.

¹⁷⁹ Teichelmann to DMS, Aug 1842, TC. TB209-210.

¹⁸⁰ Teichelmann to DMS, Aug 1849, TC. TB289.

held view that Aboriginal people were doomed to extinction.¹⁸¹ South Australia's Christians, like the government, were unwilling to support costly Aboriginal settlements they thought unlikely to succeed. All early Australian missions had similar problems.

Many Christians questioned the Dresden missionaries' approach to culture. Gawler, an Evangelical Anglican, supported the missionaries' primary aim of sharing the Christian faith. However, some Christians were influenced by 'Culture-Protestantism' with its emphasis on reproducing British society and mores rather than faith in Christ. For this the might of British civilisation was more effective than God's word. Governor Grey believed commerce and British law would cleanse societies of 'ancient superstitions,' enabling the gospel to be preached.¹⁸² To such colonists, the missionaries' efforts seemed ineffectual and misdirected.

Witnesses before the 1860 Select Committee displayed a similar conviction that cultural change must precede gospel proclamation. Rev Farrell told the 1860 Select Committee:

The German mission here went on the system approved by most Christian ministers; and that was, to attempt to Christianise them before they were at all civilised, or rendered orderly in some degree. I do not think it was very successful.¹⁸³

Farrell suggested providing for Aborigines deprived of resources, Christianising and civilising them 'as a body', and separating children from parents when very young.¹⁸⁴ Wyatt similarly told the Committee, 'My own view ... is this; that the government should ...consider first their physical wants, then to try and civilize them, and then attempt to Christianise them.'¹⁸⁵ Wyatt's views were reflected in the Committee's recommendation that sub-protectors attend to Aboriginal physical necessities, 'train them to steady industrial habits and manners of civilised life', and when they were sufficiently civilised, 'eradicate their vile superstitions and barbarous rites, leaving the mind open for the reception of the simple truths of Christianity.'¹⁸⁶

British Christians influenced by spiritual revivals saw Christianity as more than a moral or civilising influence but still saw a close connection between their faith and culture. British Protestant Christianity was influenced by John Wesley and John Calvin who, while preaching

¹⁸¹ Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon 'The Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860. Minutes of Evidence 98; Keith Seaman, "The Press and the Aborigines: South Australia's First Thirty Years," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 18 (1990): 35-36.

¹⁸² Anne Scrimgeour, "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s," *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 40.

¹⁸³ 1860 Select Committee Report. Minutes of Evidence 1800.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

salvation through faith in Christ, also emphasised the transformation, not only of Christians' personal lives, but of their culture and society in accordance with biblical principles.¹⁸⁷ The Wesleyan/Methodist tradition emphasised the Christian life as a journey towards perfection and aimed 'to reform the nation, particularly the church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land.'¹⁸⁸ Eggleston was renowned for such preaching.¹⁸⁹ Such Christians saw 'civilised', moral living as integral to the Christian life though the more thoughtful distinguished between the essentials of Christianity and what was merely cultural.

The missionaries' more open attitude towards Aboriginal culture dampened support from Christians who expected missionary contact to bring more changes in Aboriginal appearance, manners and lifestyle. Forster, a New Connexion Methodist Sunday School teacher and lay-preacher, articulated this at a SA Missionary Society meeting.¹⁹⁰ He complained that the Society and the missionaries were not clearly focused on rescuing the 'hapless Aborigines' from their 'degradation.' Concerned about Aboriginal nudity he said, 'If they could give them a nearer approach to humanity by clothing them – if they could make them look like men – they would then, perhaps, begin to think like men.'¹⁹¹ Richard Penney suggested another denomination would have a better approach:

We would like to see the Wesleyan body take up the cause, and see if the powers of Methodism ALONE, – that has achieved so many triumphs for the Gospel, among people who have been inaccessible to the efforts of every other system of religion – could not do good service to their master's cause among our benighted Aboriginal brethren.¹⁹²

Grey's Walkerville school provided an alternative to the missionaries' 'failed' model. It and the subsequent Native School Establishment placed more emphasis on teaching 'civilised habits.'¹⁹³ The New Connexion Methodists' 1844 Sunday School report praised Grey's plans, expressing eagerness to assist his 'benevolent arrangements' at the Walkerville school and his 'wise' plan to replace the use of native languages with English. Its teachers aimed to teach the children 'the great truths of Christianity, and *through a process of elementary discipline* [emphasis mine], to lead them eventually to the Saviour of the world,' while exercising 'moral control' and bringing them 'under the influence of instruction and good example.'¹⁹⁴ In 1847

¹⁸⁷ Niebuhr's 'Christ the transformer of culture' paradigm. See page 44.

¹⁸⁸ Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, 11.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

¹⁹⁰ *Observer*. 16 Sept 1843. 6.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Examiner*. 25 Jan 1843. 3D.

¹⁹³ Scrimgeour, "Notions," 42.

¹⁹⁴ *Register*. 7 Dec 1844. 2.

they lamented only 'a very small portion of the rubbish has yet been cleared away which blocks up the passage to the soul.'¹⁹⁵ Forster planned a mission employing 'moral influence' and English to Christianise and civilise 'Murray' people in the Walkerville area. Christianity, he said, would make 'a better man, more useful to himself and more useful to the world.'¹⁹⁶ Such religious ideals played hand-maiden to the government's assimilationist aims.

The Dresden missionaries did criticise Aboriginal moral standards. To a degree they responded to pressures to 'civilise' the local people and encouraged them to settle. To help Aboriginal people find accommodation with the invaders, they understandably introduced aspects of European culture, potentially impacting Aboriginal culture significantly. However, their original intention was the incorporation of Christianity into Aboriginal culture, not Europeanization. A later generation of missionaries would speak of the 'enculturation' or 'contextualization' of Christianity.

Concerned primarily for a spiritual relationship with God the missionaries resisted focusing on external changes such as clothing, cleanliness, manners, or means of livelihood.¹⁹⁷ There is no indication in the missionaries' writings that they were surprised, or upset, as Moorhouse was, when their charges abandoned a European lifestyle on leaving school. The missionaries attended corroborees, initiations, funerals and other ceremonies which some missionaries have shunned. However, they were forced to compromise. Meyer and Klose in particular submitted to community and government pressure, introducing European ways and the use of English to their students who, they anticipated, would need to find their future in conjunction with settler society.

The missionaries' attitude towards marriage shows their cautious approach towards Aboriginal cultural practices. They accepted the validity of traditional marriage.¹⁹⁸ Schürmann sought advice on polygamy. In his reply Wermelskirch warned against an approach which tried to control the conscience of others and took a hard line on things not expressly forbidden in God's word and on which Christian opinion differed.¹⁹⁹ He rejected an approach which involved

an entirely outward striving to supplant in one go the customs and traditions of other nations and introduce the manners and customs of one's own people, rather than letting

¹⁹⁵ *Register*. 29 May 1847. 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Register*. 14 Dec 1844. 3.

¹⁹⁷ Teichelmann expressed concern about Aboriginal nudity in Adelaide because it tempted immoral Europeans to exploit them sexually, causing disease and death. GRG24/1/1842/131 SRSA.

¹⁹⁸ Lutheran theology accepts marriage in all cultures as God-given. This does not mean Christianity has nothing to say about marriage.

¹⁹⁹ Johann Georg Gottfried Wermelskirch, "Gutachten der Dresdener Missions-Gesellschaft, die Vielweiberei betreffend," *Dresdener Missions-Nachrichten* (1839). 136,138.

the yeast of the divine word gradually permeate the dough and letting all that is ungodly in mindset and life disappear by itself as a result of the gracious influence of the Holy Spirit.²⁰⁰

Wermelskirch suggested polygamists should *not* be required to divorce multiple wives in order to be baptised. However, if a man was not already a polygamist, once baptised he should have only one wife. He urged caution about applying biblical authority according to one's own understanding or that of others in such matters. A person new to the faith should not be expected to live a fully sanctified life as a pre-condition of baptism.²⁰¹ Schürmann opposed polygamy only when convinced it was causing suffering.²⁰² Teichelmann advice that girls should leave school at puberty and marry their promised husbands ran counter to Moorhouse's and Hale's plans to marry teenagers according to Western Christian ideals and contrary to tribal custom.

The missionaries felt disadvantaged as foreigners. Schürmann wrote,

It is not actually the obligation of the Lutheran Church, but that of the equally Christian people of England to undertake the preaching of the Gospel in their colonies. Also it would be so much easier for its children than for foreigners... We would be able to make many suggestions, and many of our suggestions would carry far more weight if we were not in the unfortunate position of being foreigners.²⁰³

Some clergy despised the missionaries for their poverty, manual labour and lack of university training. Teichelmann believed 'the affairs of God', and the DMS' and its missionaries' credibility and respect suffered in the eyes of other denominations because of the missionaries' pecuniary situation. He pleaded with the DMS for adequate personal support so that they did not have to beg from others. Requests for money from the government and colonists could then focus on Aboriginal needs.²⁰⁴ The missionaries were ashamed of their shabby clothes and broken-down shoes. Teichelmann was stung by an 'English preacher' telling him 'to have a little dignity' and colonists claiming he was neglecting his office when he worked the land to support himself and the Aborigines at Ebenezer.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 136. Translated by G Lockwood.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 131-40.

²⁰² Schürmann to DMS, 16 March 1840, SC. S95.

²⁰³ Schürmann to DMS, 3 July 1843, SC. S170.

²⁰⁴ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 7 Aug 1841, TC. TB181-2; Teichelmann to DMS, 1 Feb 1845, TC. TB271-72.

²⁰⁵ Teichelmann to Count Detlev von Einsiedel, 25 July 1839, TC. TB115 – 117; Teichelmann to DMS, 4 Jan 1844, TC. TB255-257.

The DMS in turn criticised 'English clergy' attitudes.²⁰⁶ It claimed German missionaries were 'much more inclined and suited than others to adapt to all circumstances' and had succeeded in difficult situations because 'they have not gone out as masters but as servants.'²⁰⁷ By contrast,

The English, particularly those who belong to the Episcopal church,²⁰⁸ are on the whole not well suited to fostering a mission among uncivilised people. They are too attached to form and cannot or will not be parted easily from their European ways. In this they are all too much inclined to listen to the voice of calm human reason rather than to the simplicity of faith. Thereby, however, a whole-hearted devotion to the poor heathen is hindered, to which the German on the other hand is very well suited. ...German missionaries who want to plant the Gospel among uncivilised people, under the gaze of German eyes and expectations, do not fit in with English views and aspirations.²⁰⁹

The DMS pointed to the 'greater success' of Gossner missionaries who worked 'with a very German devotion and simplicity' at Moreton Bay, not realising their work too had few results and would be short-lived.²¹⁰ In criticising the English, the DMS may have had in mind India where British societies employed German missionaries for grassroots mission work.

Relations with the Church of England²¹¹

Growing tension between Anglicans and Dissenters in early nineteenth century England peaked in the 1830s' campaign for religious equality and the Church of England's disestablishment.²¹² In defence of their church, High-Churchmen in the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement (Tractarians) sought a renewal of the early church fathers' doctrines and practices. They claimed the Church of England had a God-given authority derived from the ancient church through bishops able to trace their authority and office back in an unbroken line to the apostles (Apostolic Succession).²¹³ Rivalry with Nonconformists continued through the early

²⁰⁶ DMS to Teichelmann, 5 April 1843, TC. TB16-17.

²⁰⁷ DMS to Teichelmann, 17 May 1842, TC. TB13.

²⁰⁸ Church of England.

²⁰⁹ DMS to Teichelmann, 5 April 1843, TC. TB16-17. Translated by G Lockwood.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ The Church of England in Australia changed its name to the Anglican Church of Australia in 1981.

²¹² David Hilliard, *Godliness and good order: a history of the Anglican Church in South Australia*. (Netley, SA: Wakefield Press, 1986). 2-3.

²¹³ Ibid., 3.

decades of South Australia as High-Church Anglicans sought the social and religious prominence they held in England.²¹⁴

The Dresden missionaries worked willingly with other denominations as long as their right to retain their Lutheran convictions was respected. Teichelmann hoped for closer relations between Lutherans and Anglicans. He spoke positively about the Church of England's return to Reformation teaching on such matters as baptism and the office of the ministry.²¹⁵ However, a stumbling block for the Dresden missionaries was its refusal to recognise Lutheran ordination as it did not afford apostolic succession.²¹⁶ After refusing positions with the SPG the Dresden men continued to be put under pressure in Australia. Their status as clergymen was questioned. It was growing Anglican influence that finally ended their work.

In SA's early years, the Anglican Church was preoccupied with ministering to its members though Anglican Colonial Chaplains Charles Howard and James Farrell were involved in the SA Missionary Society. Farrell said this Society was started to raise support for the Dresden missionaries, but also to 'see that instruction was given the natives in a more comprehensive way, and in a way that was more available to them' than under the German missionaries' approach.²¹⁷ He considered Christianising and civilising efforts inseparable.²¹⁸ Grey arranged Anglican worship services for the Walkerville students. He placed the Native School Establishment under Farrell's supervision. Here Anglican services were conducted and Anglican prayers read morning and evening.²¹⁹ Klose wondered whether he could teach there with a clear conscience as this would mean becoming 'a servant of the English Church.'²²⁰ He sought advice from his colleagues and mission society. His colleagues had concerns but thought he could teach there provided he could do so according to his convictions.²²¹ The DMS agreed to his continuing in the school provided he had charge of religious instruction and was not prevented from educating the children for membership in the Lutheran church.²²² Governor Robe, a High-Church advocate who 'abhorred' Nonconformity, rejected these conditions and

²¹⁴ Ibid., 39.

²¹⁵ Teichelmann to Wermelskirch, 26 May 1838, TC.

²¹⁶ For tensions between German Lutheran and English CMS missionaries and Apostolic Succession, see Laurence Paul Allen, "'English Episcopalians' versus 'German Lutherans': The Contribution of Cultural and Theological Differences to the Failure of the Wellington Valley Mission." (BA (Hons), University of Sydney, 2011). 44ff.

²¹⁷ 1860 Select Committee Report, Minute 1774.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 73.

²¹⁹ Graetz, 45.

²²⁰ TD. June 1845. TA73.

²²¹ Ibid., TA72-3.

²²² DMS to Teichelmann, Klose, Meyer and Schürmann, 14 Aug 1845, All Missionaries; *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt*, 15 Sept 1846, 275; Klose to CSO, 6 Feb 1846, GRG24/6/1846/ 96.

Klose, after providing religious instructions there for seven months, was dismissed.²²³ Robe later erected a gallery at Holy Trinity Anglican Church for Aboriginal students and their parents.²²⁴

Both Robe and Young supported High-Church Anglican aspirations. These were strengthened by the 1846 arrival of four SPG clergy and the Adelaide diocese's establishment following Bishop Augustus Short's arrival in December 1847. Short, a High-Churchman with Tractarian sympathies, believed strongly in episcopal authority.²²⁵ German historian Ernst Otto reports that Short demanded the right to supervise the Dresden missionaries.²²⁶ With this the missionaries asked the DMS to release them, and the Lutheran Mission in South Australia was closed. Only Schürmann continued working formally with Aborigines, first as court interpreter in Port Lincoln and then starting a Barngarla school. On accepting a call to Bethany, Meyer reported in 1848:

Due to the removal of Governor Grey, the government has changed significantly... Adelaide has been appointed as the seat of the bishop. This great shepherd appears indeed to have an interest in the black sheep of his diocese, for he encouraged us to continue the mission at his cost, with the stipulation however that if some should be converted to Christianity, they are then to be led to the English Church. ...This is indeed no fertile ground for our Lutheran Church.²²⁷

Anglican initiated mission work began with Archdeacon Matthew Hale, recruited by Bishop Short. As Robe's close friend and Young's wife's uncle, Short had influence. Hale had a personal fortune and Short a generous bishop's endowment from an English heiress. They enjoyed support from the SPG, influential settlers, governors keen to support Anglican efforts and, until 1851, subsidies which Robe instigated for erecting church buildings and clergy stipends (from 1846) and schools (from 1848). The Anglican Church finally felt in a position to undertake Aboriginal mission work.

Short's and Hale's primary goal was to bring the Christian faith to Aboriginal people but they also saw 'Christian civilisation' as a mission goal.²²⁸ For them the mature Christian was 'civilised', and a Christian community a 'civilised' one. In consultation with Moorhouse, they

²²³ Judith M Brown, *Augustus Short, D.D.* (Adelaide: Hodge Publishing House, 1974). 36; GRG24/4/1846/ 200, SRSA.

²²⁴ 1860 Select Committee Report, Minute 1805.

²²⁵ Hilliard, *Godliness*, 11-20.

²²⁶ Otto, *Hundert*, 50.

²²⁷ Meyer to Dresden, 29 Aug 1848, MC.

²²⁸ 1860 Select Committee Report, 7.

planned a 'Christian village', 'to wean Aborigines from "a state of moral and spiritual degradation" by separating them from their tribal culture.'²²⁹ Short believed if 'taken at an early age, and brought up with & as white children, they would be found very little, if at all, inferior to them.'²³⁰ However, Moorhouse wanted them removed from degrading settler influences.

At the Poonindie 'Christian village' the children were initially to be isolated from the corrupting influence of Europeans, the local 'wild' Aborigines and, to prevent them reverting to tribal ways, their own tribes. From 1853, in return for increased government support, Eyre Peninsula children were accepted and local adults employed. 'Inmates' were subjected to control and strict routines to encourage 'conformity to the habits of civilised life.'²³¹ Hale was convinced of the soundness of isolating children from their parents as early as possible, claiming from experience that Aboriginal children could become Christians 'of a high stamp' and 'truly spiritually minded' if instructed while young. Without early 'stimulation' their intellects became 'hopelessly dwarfed and stunted' and it was impossible to civilise them or interest them in Christianity.²³²

Short visited Poonindie in February 1853. Observing that the 'wild' adult population appeared 'incapable of being reasoned with', Short was impressed by the partially educated young people's 'solid progress in industrial habits, civilised ways and Christian living' which he attributed to their isolation.²³³ He summarised Hale's principles as isolation, industrial education, marriage and separate dwellings for couples, hire and service for wages, and gradual moral improvement based on Christian instruction, worship and supervision.²³⁴ Short noted considerable advancement in three areas – civilisation, moral training and 'Christian attainment.'²³⁵ He cited externals such as dress and appearance as evidence of their conversion and their conduct at a cricket match as proof of their progress in civilisation. After examining their Christian understanding and commitment, Short baptised eleven – the nucleus of an Aboriginal congregation. Hale's and Short's concept of the Christian life was replete with European cultural norms. The use of English was assumed. Inmates initially had an English education background but the policy remained unchanged when Eyre Peninsula people were employed or accepted as residents.

²²⁹ Short to SPG, 17 Aug 1851, quoted in Hilliard, *Godliness*, 35.

²³⁰ Short to SPG, 17 Nov 1848, in *ibid.*, 37.

²³¹ Hale, Mathew B. Hale, *The Aborigines of Australia: Being an Account of the Institution for Their Education at Poonindie*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889. 66.

²³² *Ibid.*, 67-69.

²³³ Augustus Short, "The Poomindie Mission [sic] : described in a letter from the Lord Bishop of Adelaide to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," (London: printed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1853), 6-14.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-20.

Hale's establishment soon threatened Schürmann's Barngarla school. The initial proposal for Poonindie had envisaged the Poonindie missionary taking responsibility for religious instruction and worship services at Schürmann's school.²³⁶ Hale obviously respected Schürmann but showed little regard for his school or evangelistic work. He tried recruiting Schürmann to the Anglican cause a number of times.²³⁷ This would have necessitated Schürmann joining the Anglican Church and receiving Anglican ordination.²³⁸ Schürmann feared for his school's future. He wrote to Meyer in 1851:

You are aware that Archdeacon Hale called upon me ... to join the English Church... [H]e renewed this demand with great urgency and with numerous not insignificant arguments, chiefly derived from my non-ecclesiastical position and 'comparative uselessness' in Port Lincoln. I of course answered negatively, because I was compelled by my conscientious convictions to do so despite how inviting and well-founded his presentation was. How humiliating the thought is that while a strange church seeks fellowship with us, urges us and invites us, our own church pushes us away, forsakes us and despises us... It appears to me that Archdeacon Hale wants to reduce the influence of my school in Port Lincoln. If I read this correctly, it could be that if I don't join him, he will find some reason to shift my school from my section to Poonindie... I can live without that, just as long as my dear God blesses us in what we have. One thing is for sure. I will never accept the responsibility and the shame of attaching myself to an alien confession.²³⁹

Schürmann was right. According to Governor Young and Hale's wishes, as outlined in chapter 6, Hale took charge of Schürmann's school on 1 January 1853 and soon transferred his students to Poonindie. Hale undertook to

use all diligence to draw to the said school, and to retain in it, as many native children as possible, and to feed, clothe and educate them, and to endeavour to train them to the performance of works of industry, and the habits of civilised life; and to impart to them, as far as they shall be able to receive it, a knowledge of the way of salvation, through our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.²⁴⁰

Schürmann disagreed with Hale's English-language-only approach and the separation of children from their people.²⁴¹ Nevertheless, in October 1852, Schürmann 'earnestly requested'

²³⁶ Enclosure, GRG24/4/1850/1346.

²³⁷ Ted Schurmann, *I'd rather dig potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia, 1838-1853*. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987). 198

²³⁸ Teichelmann to Leipzig mission Society, 27 Dec 1852, TC.

²³⁹ Schürmann to Meyer, 23 Aug 1851, SC. Translation by G. Lockwood.

²⁴⁰ Hale to Young, 20 Sept. 1852, in Hale, *The Aborigines*, 63.

²⁴¹ *Southern Australian*, 8 Sept 1843. 2-3.

that Hale accept three of his older girls at Poonindie. They had become too old for his school and were having an unsettling effect.²⁴² Hale agreed and marriages were arranged with young men at Poonindie. As both Schürmann and Hale opposed coercion it can be assumed the girls went willingly. Presumably they (and Schürmann) preferred they live in a Christian community rather than return to traditional marriage and life in the bush. Schürmann's other students absconded when they heard they were to go to Hale's school, but later returned.²⁴³ Hale was impressed by the three girls and what Schürmann had taught them in just two and a half years. They 'gave satisfactory evidence of an earnest desire to lead a Christian life' and were baptised.²⁴⁴

Both in Adelaide and Poonindie, the Anglican Church reaped what the Dresden men had sown.

7.6 Conclusion

The Dresden missionaries believed proclaiming the gospel to their Aboriginal brethren was a shared responsibility. They looked to fellow Christians in Germany, England and South Australia for assistance. George Fife Angas and the DMS were responsible for sending the missionaries out but neither was prepared to fully fund the venture. Both looked to government, Christian settlers, the missionaries' own efforts and even the Aborigines to support the mission. The missionaries complained that the DMS was unrealistic about the needs and costs involved in doing mission work in Australia and DMS policies sometimes hindered their effectiveness. They chafed at Angas' expectations, especially given his minimal and unreliable support.

Contributions from local Christians also proved inadequate. While many individuals gave aid and encouragement the Christian community failed to rally around them in a single-minded way that would have made their mission viable. South Australian Christians were preoccupied with getting themselves established while building churches and schools and supporting clergy. Without government backing they balked at the cost of Aboriginal settlements and schools. Moreover, initial enthusiasm soon gave way to pessimism about mission work amid an Australia-wide conviction that Aboriginal conversion was impossible – and possibly not God's will – and Aboriginal Australians were destined for extinction. The missionaries rejected

²⁴² Schürmann's final school report, SAGG, 24 March 1853. 193.

²⁴³ Ibid. Schürmann reported 22 students in his school in September 1852. Mathew B. Hale, *The Aborigines*, 65. February 1853, Short reported 54 inmates at Poonindie including 13 from Eyre Peninsula. Short, "Poonindie Mission," 14.

²⁴⁴ Hale, *The Aborigines*, 69.

these notions. They saw colonial policies and practices behind Aboriginal extermination, not God's will.

The missionary cause was not helped by differences among Christians over who should set its direction: the DMS, Angas, Kavel, local churches or, finally Bishop Short. Views differed fundamentally on what it would mean for Aboriginal people to become Christian. The DMS' and its missionaries' focus was on their inner spiritual transformation by the Holy Spirit as the missionaries learned their languages, lived with them and brought them God's word. Their focus was not on cultural externals. However, most British Christians, including Angas, expected to see a transformation of Aboriginal culture and society as a prerequisite or a fruit of Christianity. They expected Aboriginal Christians to be Anglicised and assimilated into British society. They were critical of the missionaries' failure to promote or bring about the cultural changes they expected as a concomitant of the Christian faith.

Confessional differences led to denominational and personal ambitions and rivalries in the colony. Establishing one's own denominational presence and supporting mission ventures of one's own church took priority over helping the Dresden missionaries. The missionaries resisted the pressures from local Christians, including the Lutheran Pastor Kavel, to direct the mission. Finally they also declined to become servants of the Church of England. It was this that finally brought their work to an end. Scrimgeour is right in suggesting the missionaries' 'determination to be true to their denominational beliefs, and to refuse to compromise their convictions' was a significant factor in 'the failure of their project.'²⁴⁵

Fragmentation of the missionaries' efforts and disagreements between them also limited their effectiveness. So did their non-British origins. The missionaries with their humble origins, accented, imperfect English, foreign nationality and unfamiliar denominational affiliation could not command the same hearing as the likes of Bishop Short or the wealthy, aristocratic Archdeacon Hale who had 'considerable influence with the governor in all matters relating to the Aborigines.'²⁴⁶

Meyer suggested South Australia should have been left to the English churches which had a responsibility for the spiritual welfare of people whose property English settlers had taken.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Anne Scrimgeour, "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." (PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007). 224.

²⁴⁶ Schürmann to Meyer, 17 Jan 1852, Schürmann, C W 2/Correspondence file no. 2, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

²⁴⁷ Meyer to DMS, 25 July 1844, MC.

CONCLUSION

Recent Christian mission historiography has challenged the representation prevalent in the latter half of the twentieth century of missionaries as hand-maidens to colonial regimes, more guilty than most people for the psychological, spiritual and physical destruction of Aboriginal society. However, it is still widely assumed that missionaries considered themselves bearers of a superior culture whose aim was not just to promote the Christian faith but also to civilise and Europeanise heathen peoples, destroying their culture in the process. In this thesis I have demonstrated that care needs to be taken with such generalisations. Christian mission history represents a variety of goals and approaches reflecting differing theological emphases and attitudes towards culture. Missionaries need to be seen against the backdrop of their real rather than imagined aspirations.

In its instructions the DMS reminded its missionaries, 'We hold you to be servants of the Christian church of the Lutheran Confession among the heathen.'¹ Consequently, their actions must be understood in the light of Lutheran theology rather than from the perspective of British colonial planners, settlers, mission societies and churches. The Dresden missionaries were undoubtedly influenced by pietism and contemporary cultural prejudices. However, they were also deeply committed to Lutheran theology with its distinctive perspective on the central Christian mission task and the relationship between the Christian faith and culture even though circumstances made it impossible for them to focus solely on their primary goals.

Lutheran theology stresses humanity's inability to justify itself before God and the promise of forgiveness, peace with God and eternal life as a gift to be received in repentance and faith ('justification by grace through faith'). This teaching permeates confessional Lutheran missiology in which the mission task is to offer the gospel of forgiveness and reconciliation to all people, not to create an ideal Christian culture or society. As was made clear in their instructions, the DMS' missionaries' primary task was to reach Aboriginal hearts with the gospel in their own language and establish an Aboriginal Christian church, and as much as they were able they were, in Christian love, to stand by and assist Aboriginal people in their temporal needs.² Their task was not defined in terms of civilising or Europeanising Aboriginal people. The missionaries were committed to religious change which would give a new direction to people's lives and transform moral as well as religious aspects of their culture. However, they recognised the 'God-given' role of culture in the functioning of human society.

¹ "Instructions for the two missionaries of the evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann from Dahme (ducal Saxony) and Clamor W. Schuermann from Schleddehausen (via Osnabrueck) 1837," in *Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica Seculi XIX*, ed. George Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840).

² *Ibid.*

Conclusion

Though limited in their understanding of Aboriginal culture, they opposed rapid change and the unnecessary overturning of societal structures and norms. Lutheran teaching on Christian freedom meant that aspects of Aboriginal culture not incompatible with the New Testament need not change. The missionaries tried to distinguish between Christian essentials and mere cultural preference. They envisaged Aboriginal Christians living in a culture still recognisably Aboriginal though modified as the Holy Spirit led converts to see what changes were needed in response to the gospel. They recognised Aboriginal people might also need or choose to accommodate cultural change in response to European contact. They would also have agreed with anthropologist Peter Sutton who, in discussing the contribution of traditional practices to dysfunction in present-day Aboriginal communities, suggests that the care of the vulnerable is more important than any ideology about cultural rights. Sutton holds that some change is needed when cultural practices create disadvantage and suffering.³

The DMS urged its missionaries to model themselves on St. Paul who 'became all things to all people', to identify with Aboriginal people, live with them as nearly as possible at their level, learn their language and at least partially support themselves. They were to focus on spiritual work, which was all that the DMS was willing and able to support financially. It saw the establishment of settlements in an attempt to civilise Aboriginal people as a distraction from its missionaries' real calling.

The missionaries agreed with their Society's emphasis on language learning and spiritual work. However, in the Australian context the DMS' approach proved problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, the missionaries found language learning and evangelism difficult while Aboriginal people lived in small, itinerant groups. Secondly, the contextualisation of the Christian message envisaged by the DMS presupposed relatively stable communities and cultures. However, the overwhelming impact of European culture and colonisation was destroying Aboriginal society and culture. The missionaries became convinced that until the physical needs of Aboriginal people were taken care of their spiritual work would not succeed. Thirdly, in keeping with Lutheran teaching, the DMS saw Aboriginal welfare as a responsibility of settler society as a whole working through the civil authorities. However, the colonising authorities largely reneged on their undertaking to provide adequately for Aboriginal people. Fourthly, there was a mismatch between the DMS' instructions and those of George Fife Angas.

The DMS' approach did not serve Angas' or the colonial authorities' purposes well. Angas expected the missionaries to establish a Moravian-type settlement to promote both civilisation and Christianity. He wanted Aboriginal people 'enlightened' by both the Christian message

³ Peter Sutton, *The Politics of Suffering*. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2011). Introduction, 69, 81ff.

and British civilisation, taught English, made 'useful' to the colony and 'amalgamated' with Europeans. The missionaries, preferring to focus on language learning, evangelism and vernacular education, were troubled by Angas' expectation that they become 'civilisers'. Angas' support was minimal and ended after two years, but the missionaries felt the pressure of his expectations. They were caught between their Society's instructions, Angas' objectives and those of the government. The pressure of conflicting demands intensified as the difficulties of building relationships with a non-sedentary population and the failure of government and settler society to shoulder their obligations toward the Indigenous population became obvious. These factors led the missionaries to take on what they considered the government's responsibility. They tried to assist the local people to adopt a sedentary lifestyle based on agriculture – along the lines Angas had suggested – but they received little support from any quarter. They lacked the necessary resources to offer Aboriginal people a secure livelihood and sustainable communal life as an alternative to their increasingly precarious itinerant lifestyle.

The missionaries did not share the government's colonising agenda. They protested the injustice of appropriating all land without consideration for its original inhabitants. They begged for land to be reserved where Aborigines could develop an independent future through farming or grazing. They envisaged Lutheran congregations in Aboriginal communities established on their own land, retaining their identity, language, and culture insofar as this did not conflict with faith in Christ, with their children receiving education in their mother tongue. This approach did not resonate with the government or most settlers who wanted no challenge to their right to all Aboriginal land, favoured assimilating the people as cheap labour, and believed that missionaries should Europeanise Indigenous people as well as bring them the gospel.

In the first years of settlement the government hoped to civilise Aboriginal people and it seemed there were areas in which government and missionaries could co-operate. However, disillusionment set in when Aboriginal people failed to quickly adopt a European lifestyle. The government soon abandoned attempts to 'settle' or instruct 'recalcitrant' adults. There was little enthusiasm for reserving land in the face of settler opposition or for the cost of establishing Aboriginal settlements. It preferred to absorb Aboriginal people into the labouring class, control them by force and provide rations for the very needy. The missionaries' schools were seen as ineffective agencies of civilisation perpetuating an inferior Aboriginal culture and belief system by preserving local languages. The government's 'civilising' efforts came to focus on teaching English and 'useful' skills to children in isolation from their tribes. Money spent on providing Aboriginal people with a more permanent and independent livelihood was considered money wasted on a dying people.

Conclusion

The Dresden missionaries' experience in South Australia paralleled that of Christian missionaries in the eastern colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century whose work was of limited duration and showed few lasting results.⁴ There the missionaries' fields of labour were quickly settled by Europeans who overwhelmed the Indigenous population, took their land and destroyed their livelihood. The missionaries' work was undermined by harmful European influences, antagonism and mockery.⁵ Experience led observers to believe Christianisation and civilisation were hopeless in the face of European diseases, violence and exploitation and Aboriginal 'recalcitrance' and degradation.⁶ It was suggested that Aboriginal people were incapable of either civilisation or Christian faith and should make way for a superior people. As their numbers plummeted it was widely believed Aboriginal people were doomed to extinction because of their 'recalcitrance', 'ineptitude' and 'depravity' – or because God had willed it. Governments excused their inaction and parsimony in terms of the inevitability of Aboriginal extinction.

The Dresden missionaries refused to accept Aboriginal extinction was inevitable or divinely ordained. They laid blame for such a sentence squarely at the human door of colonial exploitation and neglect. They warned that colonial policies robbing Aboriginal people of sufficient land to support their families and community life would lead to the *extermination* of a proud and independent people.⁷ Begging, thieving, rations or working for hand-outs were no basis for community survival or the confidence necessary for rearing the next generation. Rapid Aboriginal population decline made it impossible for mission work in areas of close European settlement to continue.

The Dresden missionaries believed their mission's demise also had other human causes. They had strong words for their society which sent them to a difficult, pioneering mission field without adequate support, leaving them unable to do effective work or meet the needs and expectations of the sparse, scattered, dispossessed and 'wandering' Aboriginal population. Admittedly the DMS had been misled about how much they would need to provide, the assistance they could expect from Angas and other colonial Christians, and government provision for Aboriginal welfare. Insufficient support left the missionaries financially dependent on a colonial administration out of sympathy with their aims, which used them and then withdrew its minimal assistance before they had time to achieve their real objectives.

⁴ Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia Through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*. (ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc, 2011). Chapter 1.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 27-29; Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, no. 425, Evidence.

⁷ Teichelmann to Angas, 2 Jan 1843, PRG174/5/22, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

The missionaries were put in compromising positions as they became willing or unwilling instruments of government policy, the alternative to co-operation being to abandon Aboriginal people to exploitation, starvation and even massacre. At the same time, the Dresden men co-operated only to a degree. They acted as advocates for Aboriginal people and a conscience to the community. They resisted the main cultural and assimilationist thrust of the colonial agenda, spoke out against the injustice at its heart and finally gave up their cause, at least partially because of their refusal to compromise further.

The hopes of Angas and the DMS that Christian settlers would generously support the missionaries were largely unfulfilled. They were preoccupied with establishing themselves and their own congregations and preferred to support their own churches' projects. They too balked at the expense of funding Aboriginal settlements. Moreover, many saw the Christian life in terms of European civilisation. They were disappointed at the missionaries' failure to 'civilise' Aboriginal people. They supported the government's focus on English education and the separation of Aboriginal young people from their tribes. This, they believed, promised them a better future. The Dresden missionaries were reluctant to accept support which required them to pursue such policies.

Church politics and denominational, national and personal ambitions also fed a reluctance to support the missionaries who were caught between DMS' expectations and the ambitions of men like Governor Grey, Pastor Kavel, Angas, Bishop Short and Archdeacon Hale, all of whom sought to control them. As German Lutherans in an English colony, the Dresden missionaries' influence was limited. With the entry into the mission arena of Wesleyans, Methodists and, especially, Anglicans who hoped to become the established church, the government chose to support these familiar British churches who were more supportive of its goals. The missionaries' commitment to the Lutheran Church made it impossible for them to join the Church of England in order to continue their work.

Not all the missionaries' decisions proved wise with hindsight. Their activities suffered from being located in areas of European settlement but they lacked the means necessary to move beyond the settled areas. Having their work spread over four locations hampered cooperation, a sharing of knowledge (especially of language) and a pooling of resources. Differences with Teichelmann also made co-operation and a common purpose difficult.

The Dresden missionaries have been accused of 'cultural genocide' and included in a general criticism of missionaries as being guilty of 'missionary colonialism' and 'recreating [Indigenous Australians] as subjects of empire.'⁸ Certainly the Dresden missionaries were compromised by

⁸ Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kaurna!: reclaiming an Australian language*. (Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers, 2000). 67; Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 196-97.

Conclusion

their recruitment by one of South Australia's founding fathers and their dependence on government assistance. Consequently they served colonial ends to some extent. They were also implicated in the cultural change which is inevitable when two disparate cultures come together, especially when the power relationship is unequal. Their very presence in the colony implicated them in the destruction of Aboriginal society. At the same time, they protested against colonial injustice and policies that showed no respect for the rights and unique 'God-given' identity of Aboriginal peoples. It was largely because, as German Lutherans, they were not in sympathy with British colonial ambitions and Aboriginal policies that they lost colonial support and their work came to an end.

The Dresden missionaries did target the religious heart of Aboriginal culture, seeking to introduce Christianity in its place. For this reason they will offend those who believe Aboriginal people should retain their traditional religious beliefs and practices or replace them with secular humanism and the norms of Western secular society. They were involved in 'cultural genocide' in so far as their goal was spiritual transformation but they were not apostles of Western culture or civilisation or colonisation.

The Dresden missionaries played a part in facilitating Indigenous continuity and endurance. Aboriginal education in South Australia had its origin in their work. Aboriginal educationalist Dr Alitya Rigney has called the Piltawodli mission school an 'ideal' model with the children remaining in touch with their people and educated in their own language. Because of this school Piltawodli is for her 'a very special place.'⁹ The Dresden men also laid the foundation for Anglican mission work and that of George Taplin. Though often criticised today, both Raukkan and Poonindie played an important role in the survival of Aboriginal people in the settled parts of South Australia. The Christian faith contributed to this. Some descendants of these mission communities have embraced the Christian faith to this day, seeing it as important to their identity and spiritual and psychological well-being.

The Dresden missionaries influenced the establishment of later Lutheran missions in South Australia and Northern Territory.¹⁰ Missionaries and mission planners learned from the Dresden Mission experience: they established missions far from European settlement, accepted responsibility for both the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the Aboriginal people and were more realistic about the financial commitment needed. These missionaries also used

⁹ Discussion at Berlin Mission Society headquarters, Berlin 12 Aug 2011.

¹⁰ Former Leipzig missionaries in India, Revs Friedrich Meischel and David Appelt, served with Teichelmann on the board which led to the establishment of the Lutheran mission at Killalpaninna. This mission in turn gave birth to later Lutheran mission fields.

local languages and drew on the Dresden men's linguistic work.¹¹ Within church circles, the Dresden missionaries are also remembered for their significant role in the establishment of the Lutheran Church in Australia.

The Dresden missionaries most widely known legacy has been their linguistic and ethnographic work which has been instrumental in Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Barngarla peoples reclaiming their language and cultural identity.¹² This was not accidental but in line with missionary intentions. This work grew out of their commitment to preaching in the people's own language and their refusal to see their mission in terms of remaking Aboriginal people in a British mould. This is significant as they worked in an era when both official policy and popular sentiment believed that the sooner Aboriginal language and culture was eradicated the better it would be for both the colonial project and Aboriginal people. Not only was the study of language and culture considered a waste of energy but any preservation of Aboriginal languages, cultural practices and social structures were considered a hindrance to the goal of incorporating them into colonial society as 'useful', English-speaking human beings with the same customs and values as its British citizens. That the missionaries preserved a linguistic and cultural heritage testifies that their goals and methods were out of step with colonial society. It is also evidence that a relationship of trust had developed in which Aboriginal people shared with them their language and culture. In some ways the Dresden missionaries' approach had much in common with more recent developments including the use of Indigenous languages, Aboriginal self-determination, the native title and homelands movements, and greater respect for Aboriginal culture and identity.

In the Dresden missionaries' contribution to Aboriginal survival, their foundational evangelistic and educational work, their example and their linguistic and ethnographic work they made a contribution which proved to be, in the words of Rob Amery, 'beyond their expectations.'¹³ The fact that Aboriginal communities today are reclaiming and reconstructing a distinctive identity is a tribute to their resilience and perseverance. It is also confirmation that the Dresden missionaries need to be seen not primarily as 'civilisers' or destroyers of culture but as men who showed respect for the distinctive identity and dignity of Aboriginal people.

At the Australian Association for Lexicography Conference in Adelaide on 25 July 2013 Israeli linguist and professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann reflected on the Dresden missionaries' contribution.

¹¹ Heidi-Marie Kneebone, "The language of the chosen view: the first phase of graphization of Dieri by Hermannsburg missionaries, Lake Killalpaninna 1867-80." (University of Adelaide, 2005). 9; Clara Stockigt, personal conversation, 19 June 2013.

¹² See Epilogue.

¹³ Rob Amery, "Beyond Their Expectations: Teichelmann and Schürmann's Efforts to Preserve the Kaurna Language Continue to Bear Fruit," in *The struggle for souls and science: constructing the fifth continent: German missionaries and scientists in Australia*, ed. Walter F. Veit and Strehlow Research Centre. (Alice Springs, N.T.: Northern Territory Government, 2004).

Conclusion

He quoted a passage from Ecclesiastes 11:1, 'Cast your bread upon the waters, for after many days you will find it again.'

EPILOGUE: THE DRESDEN MISSIONARIES' LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC LEGACY

Linguistic and ethnographic records left by the Dresden missionaries have made possible the reclamation by University of Adelaide linguists of three South Australian Aboriginal languages. The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work has been written about extensively, for instance by linguist Rob Amery who has played a major role in Kurna language reclamation.¹

Kurna numbers declined rapidly with European settlement. By 1865 W A Cawthorne believed only five Kurna people remained. However, some Kurna resided at Poonindie, and with its closure in 1894, at Point Pearce and Raukkan mission stations. The last fluent Kurna speaker and person of 'full Kurna descent', Ivaritji (Mrs Amelia Taylor), died in 1929. Today several thousand can trace some Kurna ancestry. Typically, they also have Ngarrindjeri and/or Narrunga ancestry with which they identified more closely in the past.² Kurna language reclamation over the past twenty years has led to hundreds now identifying as Kurna. Alitya Rigney suggests possibly a thousand identify as Kurna.

Amery calls Teichelmann's and Schürmann's' record of the Kurna language 'a fantastic achievement' if the conditions under which they worked are taken into account.³ The two men developed close relationships with the Kurna and in just eighteen months produced a sketch grammar of Kurna, a vocabulary of around 2000 words and, of particular importance, about 200 Kurna sentences which illustrate 'what to say and how to say it.'⁴ Governor Grey persuaded them to publish their work in 1840 although they thought publication was premature.⁵ In the introduction they say their chief motives were to improve understanding and communications between Europeans and Aborigines and, by demonstrating the regular

¹ For example, Rob Amery, *Warrabarna Kurna! : reclaiming an Australian language*. (Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers, 2000); Rob Amery, "Beyond Their Expectations: Teichelmann and Schürmann's Efforts to Preserve the Kurna Language Continue to Bear Fruit," in *The struggle for souls and science: constructing the fifth continent: German missionaries and scientists in Australia*, ed. Walter F. Veit and Strehlow Research Centre. (Alice Springs, N.T.: Northern Territory Government, 2004); Rob Amery, "Its ours to keep and call our own: reclamation of the Nunga languages in the Adelaide region, South Australia," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 113 (1995).

² Rob Amery and Jane Simpson, "Introduction to 'Kurna'," in *Macquarie Aboriginal words; a dictionary of words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages*, ed. Nick Thieberger and William McGregor (North Ryde, NSW: Macquarie, 1994).145-46.

³ Rob Amery, "Phoenix or Relic? Documentation of Languages with Revitalization in Mind," *Language Documentation & Conservation* 3, no. 2 (2009). 143.

⁴ Ibid., 141, 46; Rob Amery, "The First Lutheran Missionaries in South Australia, their contribution to Kurna language reclamation and the reconciliation movement," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 10 (Oct 2000): 32.

⁵ C G Teichelmann and C W Schürmann, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology, of the Aboriginal language of South Australia spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide*. (Largs Bay, SA: Tjintu Books, 1982. First published 1841).

Epilogue

formation and construction of the language, to prove the intelligence of Aboriginal people and their capacity for learning. They further hoped to contribute to the study of Aboriginal manners, customs and origins and induce others to do likewise, and ultimately to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of Aboriginal people.

After publication Teichelmann continued working on the language, sending handwritten notes of his 1857 dictionary and 1858 'Notes on Verbs' to Grey, then governor in South Africa.⁶ These gave more complex definitions and 500 more complex sentences and phrases. Teichelmann and Schürmann translated hymns, prayers and bible stories and the Ten Commandments. Only the hymns and Ten Commandments have been located. Klose preserved some letters and texts written by his Kurna students.⁷ Teichelmann and Schürmann acknowledged their language knowledge was incomplete. They recorded only about 3000 words out of a possible 10,000 and did not analyse all grammatical structures.⁸ Nevertheless, the missionaries' records provided 'by far the most comprehensive and best documentation of the language as spoken in the nineteenth century.'⁹ While others recorded word lists, the Dresden men also recorded grammar and, unlike their contemporaries, recorded Kurna in its original, not pidginised, form. Their work has assisted the reclamation of neighbouring languages.

With few precedents for recording Aboriginal languages and little access to other missionaries' work, Teichelmann and Schürmann adopted the English orthography Rev. Threlkeld used in his Awabakal grammar which they had copied from a manuscript in London.¹⁰ They hoped to avoid confusion and establish a uniform system.¹¹ Klose and Meyer adopted their orthography and methods, as did Moorhouse and Weatherstone in compiling a vocabulary of the Ngayawang at Swan Reach.¹² In 1858 Teichelmann expressed some dissatisfaction with the spellings he had adopted but thought changing them was pointless as, he said, the tribe had ceased to exist.¹³ Heidi Kneebone says later Lutheran missionaries at Killalpaninna drew on Schürmann's and Teichelmann's work.¹⁴ Clara Stockigt has traced the influence of

⁶ C. G Teichelmann, "Dictionary of the Adelaide dialect," (Adelaide: State Library of South Australia, 1857); C G Teichelmann, "Of the Verbs," (South African Public Library, 1858).

⁷ Amery, "The First Lutheran Missionaries," 32-33.

⁸ Amery and Simpson, "Introduction to 'Kurna'," 148; Amery, "The First Lutheran Missionaries," 33-37.

⁹ Rob Amery, "Beyond Their Expectations," revised 2011.

¹⁰ Cynthia Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task: Clamor Schürmann and the language achievements among the Parnkalla, Port Lincoln –1840-1852," *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 8 (October 1998). 84. Sir William Jones of the Asiatic Society in Bengal devised this orthography, published in 1788.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Rob Amery, "The First Lutheran Missionaries," 33.

¹³ Amery, "Beyond Their Expectations."

¹⁴ Amery, "The First Lutheran Missionaries," 33.

Teichelmann and Schürmann on Meyer, the Killalpaninna and the Hermannsburg Lutheran missionaries working on the Ngarrindjeri, Dieri and Arrernte languages respectively.¹⁵

Despite its inadequacies, the rediscovery of Teichelmann's and Schürmann's grammar by the State Library of South Australia in 1960 and the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide's acquisition of the Dresden missionaries' correspondence in 1984 enabled the reclamation of Kurna as a spoken language and a revival of Kurna cultural identity since the late 1980s. Kurna is now taught from kindergarten to tertiary level.¹⁶ In 2002 Kurna elders, Dr Lewis Yerloburka O'Brien and Dr Alitya Wallara Rigney, together with Dr Rob Amery, established *Kurna Warra Pintyanthi*¹⁷ (KWP) to coordinate Kurna language reclamation. Language workshops have developed welcome protocols, funeral protocols (including hymns, prayers and liturgy), a Revised Kurna Spelling System, a Kurna Sound System and words for new concepts. They have written stories, songs and cultural and language resources. Kurna is used on plaques, memorials, public art and landmarks around Adelaide and in the names of organisations, buildings and programs. Many Kurna have adopted Kurna names. Two Kurna dance groups celebrate Kurna culture.¹⁸

Amery says Kurna is not a relic of a bygone era but is being transformed to meet future needs and celebrate the survival of Kurna people and their culture.¹⁹ Alitya Rigney, former principal of the Kurna Plains School, attests to language's power to build pupil pride and dignity and affirm their Aboriginality. She has described their excitement and determination to learn their own language which 'tells us who we are and about our country.'²⁰ Amery says, 'Kurna linguistic heritage constitutes an important means of promoting reconciliation between the various factions within the Kurna community and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians...and reveals a complex culture.'²¹

Other language revival movements have drawn inspiration from the Kurna project. By the 1960s, only a handful of elders spoke Ngarrindjeri in complete sentences and a vocabulary of only 480 words remained. Meyer's Ramindjeri vocabulary and grammar and *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of Encounter Bay: South Australia* have played a significant part in

¹⁵ Clara Stockigt. "Description of South Australian Languages by Lutheran Missionaries." Paper presented at the Friends of Lutheran Archives seminar, Bethlehem House, Adelaide, 25 March 2013.

¹⁶ Currently Jack Buckskin is the main teacher.

¹⁷ Literally, 'creating Kurna language.'

¹⁸ www.edu.au/kwp. Cited 4 May 2013.

¹⁹ Amery, "Phoenix or Relic," 141.

²⁰ Berlin Mission Society headquarters, 12 Aug 2011; DMS 175th anniversary celebration, Dresden, 17 Aug 2011.

²¹ Amery, "The First Lutheran Missionaries," 53.

Epilogue

a revival of Ngarrindjeri language and culture.²² Mary-Anne Gale, who is involved in the Ngarrindjeri reclamation project, calls Meyer a perceptive, persistent and gifted linguist.²³ He produced 'a remarkably insightful grammar' with many example sentences, and a comprehensive wordlist of 1,670 entries.²⁴ Meyer's wordlist and grammar formed the basis for that compiled sixteen or seventeen years later by missionary George Taplin.²⁵ Gale says Ngarrindjeri people often prefer Meyer's work to that of Taplin.²⁶ In 2008 a *Ngarrindjeri Learners Guide* was produced, drawing on Meyer's and Taplin's work. Meyer's example sentences have allowed the construction of new and authentic Ngarrindjeri sentences. In 2013, Ngarrindjeri was being taught in twelve schools in South Australia, from kindergarten to tertiary level, and used by Aboriginal dance troupes, choirs, bands and groups involved in cultural tourism.

In 2012, Professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Chair of Linguistics and Endangered Languages at the University of Adelaide launched the reclamation of the Parnkalla/Barnjarla language together with Barnjarla communities in Port Lincoln, Whyalla and Port Augusta, holding workshops in these locations assisted by Australia's Office for the Arts Indigenous Languages Support, and collaborating with the University of Adelaide's Mobile Language Team. Zuckermann says, 'Personal identity, community empowerment, cultural autonomy, spiritual, intellectual sovereignty and improved wellbeing are just some of the added benefits that come from a people being proficient in and reconnected to their language.'²⁷ Zuckermann utilises Schürmann's 1844 vocabulary and grammar, which linguist Cynthia Rathjen calls 'a carefully compiled and scholarly document [which] remains the definitive record of the Barnjarla language.'²⁸ She calls Schürmann 'a brilliant linguist.'²⁹ His use, not only of Indo-European languages but also of Tamil and Malay as a vehicle for grammatical comparison, was

²² H A E Meyer, *Vocabulary of the Aborigines of the southern and eastern portions of the settled districts of South Australia, preceded by a Grammar showing the construction of the language as far as at present known.* (Adelaide 1843).

²³ Mary-Anne Gale, "Two by Two: The Linguistic Heritage of H.A.E. Meyer, Missionary of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden." (paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, University of Adelaide, 6 July 2012).

²⁴ Mary-Anne Gale, "Nothing Pleasing to Impart: H.A.E. Meyer at Encounter Bay, 1840-1848," in *The Germans: Travellers, settlers and their descendants in South Australia*, ed. Peter Monteath (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011). 63-64. Clara Stockigt suggests that Meyer's grammatical insights owe much to Schürmann's input. Personal communication, 19 June 2013.

²⁵ George Taplin, "The Vocabulary of the Narrinyeri language," in *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Language of the South Australian Aborigines* (Adelaide: A Spiller, Acting Government Printer, 1879). 125-41.

²⁶ Gale, "Two by Two."

²⁷ Daniela Dean, "Reviving Barnjarla language," *Whyalla News*, 15 May 2013.

²⁸ C W Schürmann, *A vocabulary of the Parnkalla language spoken by the natives inhabiting the western shores of Spencer's Gulf : to which is prefixed a collection of grammatical rules hitherto ascertained*, South Australian facsimile editions. (Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962. Originally published 1844); Rathjen, "A Difficult and Boring Task," 78.

²⁹ Rathjen, 59.

remarkable for his time.³⁰ His vocabulary contains some 3000 lexical terms with many illustrative phrases and vignettes of Barngarla customs and a rich vocabulary of wildlife, plants and family and clan relationships. Unfortunately none of his Barngarla translations survive.

The missionaries' linguistic records provide many cultural insights. In addition, the missionaries recorded tribal customs and beliefs, showing varying degrees of sensitivity, insight, appreciation and disapproval but also reflecting the degree of trust between the missionaries and Indigenous people.³¹ They recorded some Dreaming stories, religious beliefs, rituals, cosmology, practices for curing ailments, food preparation methods and descriptions of plants, animals and the formation of geographic landforms but failed to record genealogies and many Dreaming stories. A large number of Aboriginal names were recorded, especially by Schürmann. In 2010 anthropologist Michael Harding successfully used Schürmann's *The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia* to re-register a Naou Native Title claim with the National Native Title Tribunal (NNTT).³² Many had thought this would be difficult as the Naou people of the southern Eyre Peninsula bore the full brunt of early European incursion and were moved to Point Pearce in the late 1800s. Schürmann recorded Aboriginal cultural practices, including how they travelled around the country, camped, and utilised the natural resources, as well as ceremonial and ritual practices. Naou people involved in the claim were able to satisfy the NNTT that they continued such practices in the claim area today. Schürmann, who pushed so hard for the recognition of Aboriginal land ownership, would have been gratified.

Dr. Rigney, Karl Winda Telfer (Kurna) and Verna Koolmatrie (Ngarrindjeri) accompanied Rob Amery and Gerhard Rüdiger to the Leipzig Mission's 175th anniversary celebrations. They were clearly moved when, in Halle archives, they handled 1840s' manuscripts written in their own languages, some by their own people. In presentations they expressed their aspirations, pride and gratitude for the recovery of their languages – and gratitude to their ancestors who shared their languages with the missionaries they had learned to trust.³³ Schürmann's pessimistic prediction that '[not] a single one of the Australian dialects will survive for long or become the bearer of Christian spirit and life' has proved only partially true.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid., 82.

³¹ H A E Meyer, *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; South Australia*. (Adelaide: Dehane, 1846); C W Schürmann, *The Aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia, their mode of life, manners, customs, etc*, (Adelaide: George Dehane, 1846); Teichelmann, *Aborigines*.

³² Personal conversation, 2 May 2013.

³³ Including at the Berlin Mission Society headquarters, 12 August 2011; Leipzig Mission House, 15 August 2011; anniversary celebration, Dresden, 17 Aug 2011.

³⁴ Schürmann to DMS, 2 Feb 1846, Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893, Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Instructions for the two missionaries of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann from Dahme (ducal Saxony) and Clamor W. Schuermann from Schledehausen (via Osnabrueck) 1837¹

Beloved brothers in the Lord!

When we invited you to appear this evening in our midst, it was with the intention of speaking with you before your departure to Australia about the important office which you are to hold there. We are not of the opinion that we can impart to you complete, comprehensive directions that take into account your whole future position. For one thing, we have too little knowledge of the country where you are going, and moreover we are not so all-knowing that we can tell you how you should conduct yourselves in every single case. Rather we direct you to Him who is called Counsellor, to the head of His church, the shepherd and bishop of souls, the chief shepherd of His under-shepherds, our Lord Jesus Christ, and ask Him that He would accompany you, go in and out with you on land and sea, in times of solitude and in your official activities, in joy and sorrow, in short, may He be with you at every place, at every time and under all circumstances and lead you by His Holy Spirit, shelter you with His protection and strengthen you with His power.

In order, however, to avoid misunderstandings, disagreements and dissension as far as we can, we wish to share with you the following well considered convictions, well-meant suggestions and all-important wishes with respect to the relationship we have entered into.

While we do not wish to maintain that the work of unregenerate or apostate preachers is completely in vain, since the contrary is confirmed by Holy Scripture and manifold testimonies of church history; nonetheless we are decidedly of the view that the Lord will all the more affirm His Word when those who proclaim it are true Christians, and both believe in the Lord Jesus with their whole heart and also show by their whole life that they have passed from death to life. We are persuaded in your case that you have tasted how gracious the Lord is, and that it is your firm intention to be an adornment to the doctrine of God our Saviour in all respects; nevertheless we cannot omit asking you to take to heart the admonitions which Paul

¹ George Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald, ed., *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica Seculi XIX Jahrgang 1837*. (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840). 676-682. Translated by Greg Lockwood and Lois Zweck 2014.

directed to Timothy: 'Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in the faith and love that are in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us' [2 Tim 1, 13-14 KJV]. And in another place he says: 'Flee also youthful lusts but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord out of a pure heart' [2 Tim 2, 22 KJV]. To these general Apostolic admonitions we add on our part also the special plea that you persevere in prayer. That is to say, we can immerse ourselves in God and His holy work neither with the powers of our understanding nor with the feelings of our heart, but we must allow the Holy Spirit to work on us and in us by the humble and faithful use of the means of grace. The Spirit of the Father and the Son will chiefly glorify the Lord Jesus in the hearts of those who constantly ask, seek and knock. Likewise we ask you to devote yourselves most zealously to heartfelt love among one another and toward all who are bound to you by Christian convictions, especially as there is no hierarchy among you, and you are on a completely equal footing. Through faith in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ the church is extended, but through the love which is a fruit of faith the church is preserved inwardly and outwardly in a flourishing state. Love is the bond of perfection.

From this first point which concerns your personal Christianity, we move to the second point, which concerns your office. We wish you to have a really biblical conception of the calling upon which you are entering. There cannot be the slightest doubt however that both love for the Lord Jesus who gave His best and dearest, His own life, into death for you, as also love for the poor heathen who sit in darkness and the shadow of death, must be the fire that burns unceasingly in your hearts and constantly motivates you to testify to the Gospel of the grace of God. The great apostle to the heathen, Paul himself, says indeed that the love of Christ compels him to preach the word of reconciliation. However the same apostle also asserts that still something more is required, that a missionary above all must be certain of his divine call. He writes: 'For if I preach the gospel, that gives me no ground for boasting. For necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel! For if I do this of my own will, I have a reward, but if not of my own will, I am still entrusted with the office'. In all his letters he comes back to his office, just as that is also his starting point. He appeals to this as to an unshakable rock; he holds on to it, as to a pillar; by this he refreshes himself as with a restorative; by this he drives himself on, as with a spur; by this he conquers all his opponents as with a sharp weapon; by this he swings himself up to the heights that he sings of on a lyre. Like Paul, so all apostles of the New Testament and all prophets of the Old. Among the latter, especially Jeremiah stands out. As an energetic youngster he refuses to take on the prophetic office, and later the troubled man urgently wishes to be allowed to remember the Lord's Word no more and to preach His name no more: 'Lord, you have persuaded me, and I have let myself be persuaded; you have been too strong for me and you have won. It was in my heart like a burning fire locked up in my bones, so that I couldn't bear it'. He had to speak what the Lord

revealed to him. So, dear brothers, let your call to mission service be your chief mainspring. Strive that this may always be the case with you: 'So now we are ambassadors for Christ, God making His appeal through us. We implore you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God'. In the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the sacraments, in public addresses and private conversations, when you comfort repentant sinners and warn insolent despisers of the grace of God, in companionable circles and in your solitary room, in physical hardships and spiritual exertions, in your recreations and studies, may that conviction inspire you, may it never depart from you, but instead grow and daily increase in clarity and depth!

We continue and draw your attention to the third point that we wish to lay on your hearts, your relationship with the Society here. If you discern the voice of the Lord in your hearts calling you to His service, so we too may comfort ourselves in the divine call which has come to us to concerning our activity. We rest on the same foundation, on the foundation of divine grace which calls into being that which is not. You are mindful of the divine grace that has led to your being found competent for and ordained into the glorious office of ministry among the heathen by the Evangelical Lutheran Church. We praise God that in His mercy we were prompted to associate ourselves in our work with the Confessions of our fathers, and that the members of our Church in all regions have come more and more to recognise our endeavours. And as you are inclined to allow yourselves to be commissioned by us, so we believe we have the call to commission you. The task, namely, which the Lord gave His apostles directly when He said: 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature', was initially taken into account by the congregation at Antioch in Syria when at the impulse of the Holy Spirit it designated Paul and Barnabas for mission work. Following in its footsteps, the Eastern and Western Churches, especially the latter, sent out messengers to the heathen, until our pious forefathers, pre-eminently those of the so-called Spener school, took the work in hand and carried it out with the greatest blessing. We associate ourselves with them, and indeed with all the greater right, as we by God's grace hold fast to the teaching, the sacraments and the whole development of the apostolic church. So we ask you to acknowledge us willingly, dear brothers, in this our stance as an Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society and as the organ through which our Church carries out its mission work at present, just as we hold you to be servants of the Christian church of the Lutheran Confession among the heathen.

Inasmuch as we take into account the specifics of the relationship between us, we wish (1) that a regular contact should take place between us. Let us have a quarterly copy of the diary that you are to keep and send us news about yourselves as often as it is otherwise necessary or desirable. You will send this to us not directly but via London through the agency of Mr G F Angas, or via Hamburg through Mr J M Heyn. Take pains in your descriptions to be faithful

and accurate, open-hearted and impartial, so that we always know how things stand with you, and we can remember you before the Lord according to your current situation.

We ask you (2) to include with your quarterly diary a quite specific account of the expenses (apart from your personal needs, for which we intend to allow a certain sum) that you incur for travel costs etc. That you will take pains to exercise the greatest possible frugality with these expenses we confidently take for granted, as you certainly know from which sources our financial resources flow to us. You will withdraw the amounts you need from the Bank of Adelaide, according to the directions which Mr G F Angas in London will communicate to you as a result of our intervention.

Finally we touch on the fourth point which we recommend you take to heart: the relationships you will enter into in South Australia. There you will meet German Christians, and among them also such that are of our Confession. Let it be your first object to befriend them and, insofar as it should be desired, to unite them in an Evangelical-Lutheran congregation and serve them with spiritual care. Thereby you gain an important support in many respects. You will have opportunity, even before a gathering from among the heathen has formed itself, regularly to exercise the office that preaches reconciliation, and this will be as advantageous for your hearts as for your preparation for the service in the Word among the original inhabitants. You bring it about that the heathen don't only see the life of an individual Christian but the immeasurably stronger impact of the blessed bond between a whole congregation. You prepare the way that the mission doesn't need to depend totally on support from Europe, but gradually attains the means to hold its own even without outside assistance.

However we ask you not to enter into any closer relationship with the congregation that perchance forms itself but only assume the role of guest-preachers, in order always to be able to live unhindered for the mission service.

As with the formation of a congregation, it would be desirable for you also to work for the establishment of schools for the Christian children. At the same time you will occupy yourselves with learning the language of the original inhabitants, and so from the beginning make yourselves familiar with a means on which your effectiveness among the heathen essentially depends. We are convinced that you will take the trouble to learn that dialect in the most thorough and efficient way, that you, where possible, both employ a teacher and study the grammar, as well as going among the people in order to grasp the oral expression from life. As soon as you have some command of the language, or think it appropriate to use an interpreter, you will turn to the heathen, preach Christ crucified to them, baptise them when they are ready for it, and form a congregation with the baptised. With the preaching of the

Word you will also combine the instruction of the minors and give thought to establishing an elementary school. In order better to impress upon the hearers the Word of God proclaimed in church and school, it will be appropriate if the Small Catechism of Luther first of all, and later the complete Holy Scriptures, are translated into the language of the indigenous people, and you will undertake this work also as far as you are able. As soon as it becomes necessary, some brothers are to follow you, who will support you partly in the church, partly in the school. But do not forget that the Apostle Paul appointed elders from the congregations he had gathered, and seek also to train for yourselves men whom you can appoint with prayer and the laying on of hands. Should it appear desirable, we want to see to it that Christian artisans join you, who can contribute to the civil culture of the congregation. Until then, dear brothers, you yourselves, as much as you can, will support the heathen with word and deed, and especially seek to remedy their physical sufferings.

If on the other hand you can promote mission work in Europe, without significant costs, by sending over a few specimens of the products of South Australia for the naturalist friends of our Society, we hope that you will not withhold this labour of love for the advancement of science.

Besides the heathen and the German Christians, you will also encounter British. We ask you to maintain a peaceful relationship with them, as far as this can happen without harm to your church's confessions, namely that you will seek to live in Christian harmony and love with the President of the South Australian Colonisation Company, Mr G F Angas, who has befriended us.

We believe, dear brothers, that herewith we have expressed the most necessary things that our mutual relationship requires. We reserve the right from time to time, as it may be necessary, to deliver supplementary instructions. Let it be your earnest endeavour to fulfil our wishes to the best of your ability. But above all, look to the Lord to whom we have from the beginning directed you, that He teach you His ways and lead you in His steps. If you in a childlike way and with your whole heart hold to Him, then you can lack nothing. To Him we commend you in body and soul, your spirit, courage, mind and all your powers. May He lead you, bless you, allow you soon to see the fruits of your labours and preserve you long in the vineyard which He entrusts to you! So then, go on your way, and discharge the office that is conveyed to you by the Lord Jesus honestly, and testify to the heathen of the gospel of the grace of God! The blessing of the triune God rest on you and your work! Amen.

Appendix B: Supplementary instructions on the commissioning of the missionaries Cordes, Meyer and Klose¹

Dear Brothers in the Lord.

The instructions which we gave to Brothers Teichelmann and Schürmann when they were commissioned to South Australia are so general and all-embracing that there does not seem to be any need for us to issue special directions for you, as it should be perfectly sufficient if we simply refer you to the same. But since nothing stands still in the sphere of God in general or in mission affairs in particular, but rather new experience is constantly being gathered, we would like to furnish you with the following supplements to your instructions, which we hand over to you herewith for your observance, at the same time assuring you of our heartfelt paternal involvement and concern.

In recent times the difficulties which the heathen world and our own hearts place in the way of the expansion of Christendom have been augmented by others which derive from the reawakened zeal for mission of the Roman Catholic church. With regard to the dangers and struggles which threaten from this quarter, we implore and exhort you most fervently to take every opportunity to watch and pray so that you do not 'fall from your own steadfastness' (2 Peter 3,17), that you may most zealously seek the Lord so that your hearts may at all times rest on the solid rock of His perfect redemption and reconciliation and never stray onto the shifting sand of your own righteousness. The heart must be in the proper Christian state, that is the first necessity. The second concern which we must impress upon you is that you study the holy word of God without ceasing, and zealously pursue the related theological sciences. The errors with which you will have to contend are of a deep-rooted nature and can only be overcome with weapons from the spiritual armoury. Take care, however – and that is the third [instruction] we must commend to you – to demonstrate love, patience, gentleness and humility in these struggles. The people who oppose you are Christians who hold fast to many priceless truths of God's Word together with us, and only deviate from our Evangelical Lutheran church in a small number of doctrines – very important ones, however, and such that shake the foundations of salvation and the existence of the Christian church, for which reason you must not give in to them in any way. May the Lord preserve you so that you yourselves, together with the souls which may be granted to you by grace, may persist in the faith and ultimately 'receive the end of your faith, the salvation of your souls' (1 Peter 1,9).

¹ HAE Meyer, Additional correspondence from Dresden and Leipzig Mission and individuals there, HAE Meyer, Biographical Box, Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Lois Zweck and Heidi Kneebone. Instructions pertaining to Cordes alone have been omitted from this translation.

Appendix B: Supplementary Instructions

This, dear brothers, concerns all of you in common as messengers to the heathen, even if it applies to one more than the other at this time. However, since you are heading to different continents, you Brother Cordes to East India and you Brothers Meyer and Klose to South Australia, we must in this regard direct various counsels to you individually.

Your commission, dear Brothers Meyer and Klose, is not one of such unique difficulty. You will go from here to London via Hamburg in order, God willing, to set out immediately for Adelaide, the capital of South Australia with the ship *Caleb Angas* led by Captain Poole. En route you will have the opportunity to serve emigrants with the bread of life. They will probably belong to different English church denominations, which will establish their own respective worship services. Seek to provide for communal devotion and edification insofar as it accords with your conscience. Once you have arrived at your destination you will hopefully encounter your predecessors Brothers Teichelmann and Schürmann fit and well, and unite with them for joint work. The brothers are not your superiors but your colleagues; but they are older messengers to the heathen and have gathered much experience which you lack at this time. Learn from them, avoid what has already proven to be disadvantageous or unenforceable, and strive after that which has already revealed itself to them to be beneficial. In your dealings with them conduct yourselves as with brothers in Christ, servants of one master, missionaries of one society, disseminators to his people, pilgrims to his fatherland. Establish a collegium together and consider jointly everything which is to be undertaken according to the opinion of one or the other of you. God is a God of harmony and peace, He will be in your midst and tread Satan beneath your feet. This collegium can exist even if you are not all working at the one place, for you will meet up again at the one place from time to time. You should consult immediately as to the distribution of your forces. If Encounter Bay, according to the latest letter from Schürmann, is more advantageous than the confluence of the Murray and the Darling, then you must consider which one of you is best to join Schürmann or who should most appropriately settle in Adelaide with Brother Teichelmann, or whether you should both accompany him to Encounter Bay. In this regard we place no shackles on you. Conduct yourselves as men who must be accountable both to the Society and to the Lord. In regard to particular branches of activity too we neither can nor will make any binding arrangements: experience must show what the Lord of the church has ordained for each one of you. But in order to prevent you from expending your energies to no avail, we believe – following repeated observation – that you, Brother Klose, should direct your attention less to public preaching and more to teaching, private pastoral care and the external administration of the station. You should not thereby cease to be what you have by God's grace become, an ordained servant of the divine word among the heathen. You are to teach and administer the holy sacraments as necessity demands; we simply wish that you, and indeed each one of the other brothers, should recognise his particular gift which he has received from the Lord, and use it in the fear of God, with thankfulness and without resentment or status-seeking. We cannot impress this

wish upon you and all our dear brothers often enough. The time of the Apostles shows very clearly how difficult it is for anyone to recognise his own special gift of grace, and what ill-will and discord can arise from this misjudgement, as well as how blessed it is when all members of the body of the church fulfil their function and work together in undisturbed harmony (1 Cor. 12, 12-14; Rom. 12, 3-8; 1 Pet. 4, 10-11).

Now we turn to you in particular, dear Brother Meyer! With our full consent you are about to enter into the bond of matrimony with your bride-to-be Friederike Wilhelmine Sternicke from Berlin. We hope that this union will afford you much joy, consolation and support; but we also hope that you will lovingly permit your brothers to share in the alleviation of life's material difficulties which you will enjoy, in the care for physical needs such as the preparation of meals, cleaning of clothes and conduct of the household. We also nurture the confident hope, dear sister, that you will for your part fulfil the request we have just made and lend a helping hand to the colleagues of your future husband. We do this the more so as we refrain from entrusting to you any particular share in actual missionary activity; we do not make it your duty to visit the heathen women and instruct them together with their daughters in Christianity or in feminine handicrafts. If on the other hand you wish to make use of the time remaining to you after attending to your domestic duties to be of use to the female sex, we will perceive therein a proof of your Christian love. But wait for the appropriate opportunity for this, do not compel yourself to act in this way; rest assured that she who works in the background with an unwavering heart and a quiet gentle manner is precious in God's sight, and that the conduct of women is able to win many a soul without a word spoken, 1 Pet. 3, 4. Impress this upon your memory, tell yourself again and again, 'This is my calling, to take care of my household, to attend to it with due diligence and efficiency; therein I serve God, my Saviour, just as pleasingly as the men who teach God's Word in accordance with their office.'

Now that we have told you individually what we consider appropriate for each one of you, we turn to all of you together. Dear Brothers! Work faithfully and diligently in the vineyard which the Lord has entrusted to you, do not look to the right or the left, and do not look back but only forwards. Communicate with us often, as expressed in your instructions to which we refer you once more particularly, telling us how things stand with open hearts and with full confidence. We will be with you in spirit constantly and will seek to support you to the best of our ability. We hope that God will not allow us to lack the requisite financial support for you, but you should learn to trust in the assistance of the Lord rather than in our care. We are often unable to make possible what we would like to do; but He is great in counsel and in deed, His goodness is wonderful. May He lead, protect, console and bless you. May He be gracious to you as He has at all times been merciful to His people. May the Lord bless you and keep you; may the Lord let His countenance shine upon you and give you His peace. Amen.

Appendix B: Supplementary Instructions

Dresden, the 3rd of March 1840

The Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society.

E. P. Löschke

Wermelskirch

Demiani

v. Wirsing

A. Suschke

Fr. W. Schütze

H. Naumann

J. B. Trautmann

Appendix C: Letter and postscript from George Fife Angas to Teichelmann and Schürmann 1838¹

Park House, Dawlich, Devon

May 28th 1838

My Dear Christian Friends:

I cannot permit you to leave the shores of England without again expressing to you the lively interest I take in the work you are about to be engaged in. Be assured of my Christian affection, sympathy & prayers. The over pressure of my engagements in London & the peculiar difficulties which I had to surmount at that time in relation to the persecuted Christian Brethren in Silesia, will account to you for what otherwise might have appeared an indication of indifference to yourselves & the great cause which you are sacrificing all things to promote.

I felt satisfied while you were surrounded by such friends as the Rev^d A Kavel and Mr Flaxman, & especially after the very kind and Christian reception given you by His Excellency Governor Gawler. Under these circumstances I feel as though I have nothing more to communicate.

Perhaps the following suggestions may be of some service to you.

1st The letter of credit which you have with you on the Bank at Adelaide will furnish you with the necessary pecuniary resources, and in relation to the future supplies I shall be governed by the instructions given me by the Rev^d Mr Wermelskirch and the Society at Dresden, & by what they may further communicate to me. Let me urge on you the necessity of the strictest economy in all your operations. However worthless money may be in itself when unemployed, the all wise God has rendered it an essential Element in the promotion of human happiness. Remember that maxim, "He who dispiseth small things shall fall by little & little."

2^d The Governor who has so kindly taken you under his protection will doubtless advise you after your arrival in the colony, what steps you ought then to take. I herewith forward you letters of introduction to David M^cLaren Esq^{re} Chief Manager of the So Aus Comp^y at Adelaide and to the Rev^d Mr Stow a Missionary from the Colonial Missionary Society now living in Adelaide, both of whom I can confidently recommend you to advise with on every point of

¹ PGR174/10/140d-f, i, George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880, PRG174, Adelaide: SLSA.

difficulty. Both are men of Christian Piety and Philanthropic spirit, wise in counsel and cautious in execution.

3^d As to your plan of operation it seems to me that your first step will be to acquaint yourselves with the language, habits & dispositions of the Aborigines in and around Adelaide. Gather from them the history and notions and disposition of their tribes, & gather from them the materials for the compilation of a vocabulary of their language. While prosecuting these objects at Adelaide where you might possibly form a few of the natives into a little school, & after you have obtained their confidence it might be judicious for you to make excursions into the interior in company with such of these men as you can put confidence in. By these means you will prepare the way for the establishment of a missionary station up the river Murray at its junction with the river Darling, which appears to be the most likely spot for the carrying on of extensive operations in regard to the Christianizing and Civilizing of the Aborigines. When the time shall arrive for commencing that establishment you will derive considerable assistance from the location of the Prussian Germans who belong to the Rev^d Mr Kavel's congregation some of whom will doubtless settle at that station as farmers on the principle of the Moravian settlements in Africa. You could there teach the natives the arts of civilized life, by which they may provide food for their families while they are receiving the benefits of education and Christian instruction. The Rev^d Mr Stowe has a copy of Williams Missionary enterprises in the South Seas, he will permit you to read it. From them you will learn what has been accomplished in the South Sea Islands; exercise the same faith & use the same means, & the Word of God assures you that "in season you shall reap if ye faint not."

4th In the prosecution of your important mission you will be greatly assisted by the Government official who is styled the Protector of the Aborigines. How far his authority and means extend & what are his plans of operation, I know nothing. On this matter I must refer you to his Excellency the Governor

5th All efforts made hitherto to benefit the Aborigines of New Holland appear to have singularly failed, chiefly I apprehend from two circumstances, the demoralizing tendency of their contact with the settlers, while the labors of their teacher have been confined to the located districts.

It is just possible that you may find it different at Adelaide. I shall rejoice if it should be so but I am afraid, that even there the habits learnt by the natives will neutralize all your efforts. I apprehend no means can be afforded consistent with the Act of Parliament, to appropriate land for teaching them agriculture. I am confident that no great good is likely to be effected until you can settle amongst them and form a Missionary Town, far in the Interior from which you can have at all times easy access by the river Murray to the market at Adelaide.

There is a prospect of your obtaining pecuniary assistance for your Mission from the settlers but for efficient and regular aid you must look to the product of the labours of the natives themselves at the Missionary Station. It would be a great point gained if you can induce any of the Aborigines to lay aside their habits of war & wandering. Everything depends on the attainment of that object, for this you must look to God in faith. In connection with the patient application of human means, trusting in yourselves you might well be in despair of success, but with God all things are possible. He may have many souls to gather into the sheepfold of Christ, from that degraded people. I pray God that you may be made the instrument of so great an achievement.

6th As a member of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society in London I hope you will forward to me as often as possible whatever information relating to the Aborigines you may possess, with permission to lay the same before the Committee. I cannot promise to be a frequent correspondent with you, but you may rest assured of my cordial cooperation at all times, & my earnest prayer to God for his direction and blessing.

In the meantime I beg to subscribe myself,

Dear Sirs,

Your very affectionately & sincerely.

(Sig^d) George Fife Angas

Postscript of a letter of May 28 per *Pestonjee* to the German missionaries.

In conclusion I may suggest the necessity of your asking wisdom and direction from God and not leaning on your own understanding, of cultivating a deep sense of your own weakness and an entire trust in God for the accomplishment of the great ends you have in view. You are under a deep responsibility to God to use the means of good which he has entrusted to you, while you consider also that Paul may plant and Apollos water but God alone can give the increase.

Let me refer you to St. Pauls 1st epistle to the Philippians 2nd chapter for a knowledge of the principles that should govern your conduct as Missionaries to the Aborigines of New Holland; for the sole example that should regulate your actions & the motives that will enable you to

Appendix C: Angas' Instructions

endure privations and sufferings with patience and resignation and the end for which you ought alone to consider life valuable and death glorious.

Yours is a grand undertaking. You go forth at the Lords command "not to seek your own, but the things of Christ". You have the light, you go 12,000 miles to cause it to shine amidst the darkness; you have the moral image of a Christian, you go to show its influence amongst the subjects of Satan. You are in the enjoyment of the knowledge and comforts of civilized life, you go to allow others to share with you. You are going to explore the dark moral wilderness of aboriginal existence in a British Colony, which hitherto has shrunk into consumption and decay the moment that it came in contact with British footsteps. Now you go as Pioneers, as Messengers of mercy, to stay the moral pestilence and test the problem whether it is a fair inference from the past that God has doomed the extermination of all the nations of the soil which he in his inscrutable Providence has placed under the dominion of the British Empire.

No life can be better spent than in making such an experiment and happy are the men to whose lot it has fallen to test it. Oh! reflect how much of improvement and of advancement may spring from the residence of one individual only belonging to a more civilized community, among an uncivilized community! Such a visit, made under auspicious circumstances as yours undoubtedly is, and such as has never before presented themselves in the history of this nation, both from the constitution of the New Colony, the Christian principles and worth of the New Governor and the great number of professing Christians located amongst the settlers already there; such a visit as yours, may, under God, raise the Tribes of the insular continent from barbarism to the highest pitch of refinement, from being the subjects of Satan's kingdom to become the servants of the Most High God, the heirs of immortal bliss!!

I am affectionately Yours

In the Bonds of the Gospel

(Sig^d) George Fife Angas

Appendix D: Timelines

Some significant dates for early South Australian mission history

- 1834 South Australian Act.
- 1835 South Australian Company formed.
- 1836 SA Company begins settlement on Kangaroo Island, July 1836.
The Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden formed, 17 August 1836.
Seminary started in Dresden under J G G Wermelskirch.
SA proclaimed a British province, 28 December 1836.
- 1837 Report of House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements).
George Fife Angas seeks missionaries for new colony.
- 1838 Teichelmann & Schürmann arrive in SA with Governor Gawler, 12 October.
George Gawler governor of SA 17 October 1838–15 May 1841.
Pastor August Kavel and Old Lutheran followers arrive, 20 November.
- 1840 Klose and Meyer arrive in SA, 10 August.
Matthew Moorhouse Protector of Aborigines June 1840–1856.
Maria massacre, July 1840.
- 1841 George Grey governor of SA 15 May 1841–25 October 1845.
Attacks on overlanders. Rufus River massacre.
Report of House of Commons Select Committee on South Australia.
- 1842 Waste Lands Act.
J B Trautmann acting DMS Director March 1842–March 1844.
- 1844 Karl Graul DMS Director 1844–1861.
- 1845 Frederick Holt Robe governor 25 October 1845–2 August 1848.
- 1847 Adelaide Anglican Diocese established under Bishop Short.
- 1848 Lutheran Mission in South Australia closed.
- 1848 Henry Fox Young governor 2 August 1848–20 December 1854.
- 1850 Anglican Archdeacon Hale begins mission settlement at Poonindee in October.
- 1859 George Taplin begins mission work among the Ngarrindjeri.
- 1860 Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, Upon 'the Aborigines.'

Christian Gottlob Teichelmann

- 1807 Born 15 December, Dahme, Saxony, Germany.
- 1831-36 Trains at Jänicke's Mission Institute, Berlin.
- 1836-38 Trains at DMS seminary in Dresden.
- 1838 Ordained 4 February and commissioned on February 8 with Schürmann.
Arrives in SA with Schürmann and Governor George Gawler on the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*, 12 October.
- 1838-42 Works in Adelaide Aboriginal Mission based at Piltawodli.
- 1840 With Schürmann publishes a Kurna grammar and vocabulary in August.
- 1841 Booklet on Kurna customs, *Aborigines of South Australia* published.
- 1842 Buys 80 acres ('Ebenezer') at Happy Valley 25 October.
- 1842-45 Attempts to establish a mission with Kurna people at 'Ebenezer.'
- 1843 Marries Margaret Nicholson in the Presbyterian Church in Adelaide, 25 December.
- 1845 Piltawodli Mission closed.
- 1846 In January the missionaries decide to relinquish work at Ebenezer and Port Lincoln and focus on Adelaide and Encounter Bay. In September missionaries decide to relinquish aid from the DMS.
Teichelmann and Klose organise Trinity Lutheran congregation in Adelaide.
- 1846-48 Ministers without a call to Adelaide area Germans, English and Aboriginal people.
- 1848 Lutheran Mission in South Australia closed.
Purchases land at Morphett Vale under mortgage.
- 1848-56 Farms at Morphett Vale.
- 1851-56 From Morphett Vale takes services at Trinity fortnightly.
- 1856-58 Pastor at Salem and Callington, SA. Also farms.
- 1857 Sends updated Kurna dictionary to Grey then governor in South Africa.
- 1858 Sends 1858 'Notes on Verbs' to Grey.
- 1858-64 Pastor at Callington and Kanmantoo
- 1865-67 Pastor at Carlsruhe and Peter's Hill, SA.
- 1871-73 Pastor at Monarto, SA.
- 1873 Retires.
- 1874 Moves to Stansbury, SA where his sons took up land.
Foundation member of Methodist congregation. With Margaret, starts Sunday School.
- 1888 Dies May 31. Buried at Stansbury.
- 1906 Margaret Teichelmann dies 30 March.

Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann

- 1815 Born 7 June at Ellerbeck near Osnabrück, Hannover, Germany
- 1832-36 Trained at Jänicke's Mission Institute, Berlin, 23 July 1832–29 July 1836.
- 1836-38 Trained at DMS seminary in Dresden.
- 1838 Ordained 4 February and commissioned on February 8 with Teichelmann.
Arrives in SA together with Teichelmann and Gawler 12 October.
- 1838-40 Works in Adelaide Aboriginal Mission based at Piltawodli.
- 1839 Begins Kurna school at Piltawodli 23 December.
- 1840 Plans a mission at Encounter Bay. Started learning Ramindjeri.
Schürmann and Teichelmann's Kurna grammar and vocabulary published August 1840.
10 September goes to Port Lincoln as sub-Protector of Aborigines.
- 1842 Reports shooting of innocent Aboriginal people. Sub-Protector position abolished September 30. Grey persuades Schürmann stay in Port Lincoln.
- 1842-45 Requests for land and government assistance for an Aboriginal settlement denied.
- 1843-45 Teaches Barngarla farming skills on his own small farm.
- 1844 Publishes a vocabulary and grammar of the Parnkalla/Barngalla language.
Declines offer of position at Walkerville English school for 'Murray' children.
Requests for government support to start a school at Port Lincoln denied.
- 1846 In January, missionaries decide to consolidate work in two locations, Adelaide and Encounter Bay. Schürmann moves to Encounter Bay March 1848 where he teaches in Meyer's school.
Publishes *The Aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia*.
In September the missionaries decide to relinquish aid from the DMS.
- 1846-48 Farms with Meyer and Ramindjeri people.
- 1847 Marries Wilhelmine (Minna) Charlotte Maschmedt on 11 February at Encounter Bay.
- 1848 Lutheran Mission in South Australia closed.
Governor Robe asks Schürmann to go to Port Lincoln as court interpreter.
- 1849 Schürmann starts Barngarla school at 'Wallala,' North Shields, near Port Lincoln at Governor Young's request.
- 1850 Archdeacon Hale begins Poonindee mission in October.
- 1851 Schürmann offered a position at Poonindie. He declines.
- 1853 Hale takes responsibility for Schürmann's school 1 January. Students moved to Poonindie in February.
Schürmann takes a call to minister to German Lutherans in Victoria's Western District, based at Tarrington.
- 1863 Asked to begin mission work in Lake Eyre Basin but declines.
- 1885-93 President of the Victorian district, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia.
- 1891 Minna Schürmann dies October 28, 1891.
- 1893 Dies March 3. Buried in Adelaide but reinterred in Tarrington.

Heinrich August Eduard Meyer

- 1813 Heinrich August Eduard Meyer born 5 May in Berlin.
- 1833-36 Attends Jänicke's Mission Seminary in Berlin July 1833–October 1836.
- 1837-9 Attends the DMS seminary in Dresden followed by Tamil studies at Erlangen University.
- 1840 Ordained on 26 February and commissioned on 2 March with Klose.
Marries Friederike Wilhelmine Sternicke 4 March.
Arrives in South Australia 10 August on the *Caleb Angas*.
Settles at Encounter Bay 13 September.
Starts a short-lived open-air school October 1840.
- 1841 Starts a school at 'Government House,' Encounter Bay, 5 December.
- 1843 Granted a lease of 20 acres of (poor) land to teach Ramindjeri to farm.
Given 2 acres by Moorhouse on which to build a house and school.
Meyer's Ramindjeri vocabulary and grammar published in May.
- 1843-48 Meyer farms with some Ramindjeri people.
- 1844 Meyer's new school-house and chapel opened 27 October. Uses Ramindjeri and English.
- 1846 Missionaries decide to focus work on two locations, Adelaide and Encounter Bay. Schürmann joins Meyer at Encounter Bay March 1846.
Meyer publishes *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribes*.
In September the missionaries decide to relinquish aid from the DMS.
Meyer's school closes late 1846.
- 1847 Adelaide Anglican Diocese established under Bishop Short.
- 1848 Lutheran Mission in South Australia closed.
Meyer accepts a call as pastor at Bethany, SA.
- 1851-61 Meyer the first President of the Bethany-Lobethal Synod (later the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia or ELSA).
- 1851-60 Organises eleven new Lutheran congregations.
- 1862 Meyer dies aged 49. Buried at Bethany.
- 1889 Wilhelmine Meyer dies.

Samuel Gottlieb Klose

- 1802 Samuel Gottlieb Klose born 27 December in Löwenberg, Silesia, Germany (now Poland).
- 1840 Ordained with Meyer on 26 February, commissioned on 2 March.
- 1840 Arrives in Adelaide with Meyer 10 August on the *Caleb Angas*.
- 1840-45 Lives in Schürmann's house and takes charge of the Kaurna mission school at Piltawodli.
- 1843 Governor Grey provides boarding facilities at Piltawodli school from June.
- 1844 Marries Elizabeth Duncan nee Holbrook in Trinity Church of England 16 April.
Grey starts English school for 'Murray' Aboriginal children at Walkerville.
At Grey's insistence Klose begins using English at Piltawodli school except for religion classes.
- 1845 July Governor Grey closes Walkerville and Piltawodli schools and opens a Native Training Institute on Kintore Avenue teaching in English and under the supervision of Colonial Chaplain Farrell (Anglican). Klose's students moved to the new school. Klose employed for seven months.
- 1846 Klose's employment at the Native Training Institute terminated in February.
Klose and Teichelmann organise Trinity Lutheran congregation (German) in Adelaide.
- 1846-51 Ministers to Trinity congregation. Initially continues to minister to Aborigines. Buys 'Ebenezer' and moves at Happy Valley.
- 1848 Lutheran Mission in South Australia closed.
- 1849 Trinity congregation dedicates its own building in Angas Street.
- 1851 Dismissed by Trinity congregation, Klose goes to the Victorian goldfields where he has some success.
- 1864 Conducts services at Happy Valley Congregational Church.
- 1866-84 Deacon of Happy Valley Congregational Church.
- 1889 Klose dies 14 August. Buried at Ebenezer, reinterred in cemetery adjacent to Congregational church.
- 1891 Elizabeth Klose dies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Unpublished Sources

A. German Archives

Francke Foundation Archives, Halle. Leipzig Mission Archives files including:

Applications from Prospective Mission Seminary Students ALMW 1.56. Selected documents translated by Lois Zweck.

Correspondence with Bavaria. ALMW 1.10. Selected documents translated by Lois Zweck.

Correspondence with Berlin. ALMW 1.13. Selected documents translated by Lois Zweck.

Correspondence with Greiz. ALMW 1.33. Selected documents translated by Gerhard Ruediger and Lois Zweck.

Correspondence with Pastor Wermelskirch. ALMW 1.84. Selected documents translated by Lois Zweck.

London Files. ALMW1.48 and 1.49. Translated by Greg Lockwood.

Mission Seminary Affairs. ALMW 1.58. Notes from Lois Zweck.

Leipzig Mission Archives, Leipzig. Mission news publications and Annual Reports of the Dresden and Leipzig Mission. Translated by Greg Lockwood and Hans Oberscheidt.

Parish Office in Greiz, Germany. Correspondence between Schmidt and Naumann. Translated by Lois Zweck.

Thuringia State Archives in Altenburg. Archive of the von de Gabelentz Family, no. 701; Ministry of Altenburg, Department of Cultural affairs, no.9544; Privy Ministry (Geheimes Ministerium) no. 2089. Selected documents translated by Antje Schloms and Geoff Noller.

B. Lutheran Archives, Adelaide

Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) General 4. Various translators.

Assorted Correspondence. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder G. Translated by Marcus Krieg.

Collected Letters from the Missionaries and Conference Reports, 1838-1846. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A. Translators Marcus Krieg, Erich Meier, Herma Roehrs, and Werner Hebart.

Correspondence from Dresden Mission Society to all missionaries as a group, 1839-1849. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 1/Folder A. Translators Marcus Krieg, Erich Meier, Herma Roehrs and Werner Hebart.

Klose, S G (Biographical Box).

Bibliography

Menge, Johann Box.

Meyer, H A E. (Biographical Box). Various translators.

Meyer, H A E. Correspondence with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden 1839-1850. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) 2/Folder M.
Translated by Heidi Kneebone, Cynthia Rathjen, Sandy Martin and Lois Zweck.

Minute Book of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission in South Australia 1863-1875. Translated by Werner Hebart.

Schürmann Correspondence 1838-1893. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 2/Folder S.
Translated by Marcus Krieg and others.

Schürmann, C W, 2/Correspondence file no. 2. Various translators.

Schürmann Diaries 1838-1845. C W Schürmann box 1. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.
Translated by Geoff Noller.

Teichelmann, C G. Diaries 1839-1846. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TA.
Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Marcus Krieg.

Teichelmann Correspondence 1838-1853. Adelaide Missionaries (Dresden) Letters 3/Folder TB.
Adelaide: Lutheran Archives. Translated by Geoff Noller.

C. State Records of South Australia

Colonial Secretaries Office Correspondence GRG24/1, GRG24/4 and GRG24.6.

Dispatches received from the Secretary of State GRG2/1.

Government Dispatches to the Secretary of State GRG2/5 and GRG2/6.

Letterbook of the Protector of Aborigines 1840-1857. GRG52/7/1.

Reports of the Protector of Aborigines. GRG24/1.

D. State Library of South Australia.

Brown, John. Diary. PRG1002/2.

George Fife Angas Papers 1808-1880. PRG174.

Newspaper Cuttings Teichelmann-Schürmann collected by E A Johnson. 1935.
572.9942/T262.

Somerville, J.D. The Church of England on Eyre Peninsula and the Poonindie Mission
(Research Paper). ca. 1946. PRG15/92.

Somerville Papers. PRG15/91 and PRG15/92.

Taplin, George. Diaries 1859-1879. (3 volume transcription.) PRG186/1/3.

Teichelmann, C G. "Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect." 1857.

E. Other Unpublished Sources

Teichelmann, C G. "Of the Verbs." South African Public Library, 1858.

Published Sources

A. Newspapers and Periodicals

Adelaide Chronicle.
Adelaide Examiner.
Adelaide Observer.
Advertiser.
Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung.
Almanac and Adelaide and Colonial Register.
Evangelisch-Lutherisches Missionsblatt.
Der Lutherische Kirchenbote für Australien.
Dresdner Missions-Nachrichten.
Dresdner Missionsblatt.
Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt.
Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes.
South Australian.
South Australian Colonist.
South Australian Educational Journal.
South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register.
South Australian Government Gazette.
South Australian News.
South Australian Register.
Southern Australian.

B. Reports

Annual Reports of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden, 1836-1850.
 First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia, House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1836, no. 491.
 Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1837, no. 425.
 Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, Upon 'the Aborigines', *Proceedings of the Parliament of South Australia*, 1860, 111.
 Second Report of the Select Committee on South Australia, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1841,1, no. 394.

C. Other Published material

- Angas, George French. *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impression of the Countries and People at the Antipodes*. London: Stewart and Murray, 1847.
- Bull, John Wrathall. *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an Extended Colonial History*. Adelaide, E S Wigg & Son and Sampson Low, London 1884. Facsimile edition 1972.
- Cawthorne, W A. "Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives. 1844." Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society, 1927?
- Dickey, Brian, and Peter Howell, eds. *South Australia's Foundation: Select Documents*. Netley, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- DMS. "Instructions for the Two Missionaries of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society at Dresden, Chr. G. Teichelmann from Dahme (Ducal Saxony) and Clamor W. Schuermann from Schleddehausen (Via Osnabrueck) 1837." Translated by Greg Lockwood. In *Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica Seculi Xix*, edited by George Friedrich Heinrich Rheinwald. 676-82. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840.
- "Extracts from Reminiscences of Captain Dirk Meinertz Hahn, 1838-1839." *South Australiana* III, no. 2 (1964). Translated by F J H Blaess and L A Triebel.
- Eyre, Edward John. *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines and the State of Their Relations with Europeans*. eBooks@Adelaide, 2010. <<http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/>>
- . "Suggestions for the Improvement of the Aborigines." In *An account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*. eBooks@Adelaide, 2010. <<http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/>>
- Graetz, Joyce, ed. *Missionary to the Kaurna, the Klose Letters*, Friends of the Lutheran Archives Occasional Paper No.2. North Adelaide: Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 2002.
- Grey, George. "Report on the Best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia." In *An Epitome of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs and Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand*, edited by H. Hanson Turton. Wellington: George Didsbury, 1883. <<http://library.victoria.ac.nz/library/>>.
- Grey, George. *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery*. Vol. 2, London: T & W Boone, 1841.
- Hale, Mathew B. *The Aborigines of Australia: Being an Account of the Institution for Their Education at Poonindie*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889.
- Kolb, Robert, and Timothy J Wengert, eds. *The Book of Concord, the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (1580)*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.
- Mann, C. *Report of the Speeches Delivered at a Dinner Given to Capt. John Hindmarsh, R.N., on His Appointment as Governor of South Australia: To Which Is Appended, an Answer to an Article in the Forty-Fifth Number of the Westminster Review*. Facsimile reprint, Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962. London: W Cloves, 1835.
- Meyer, H A E. *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe; South Australia*. Adelaide: Dehane, 1846.

- . *Vocabulary of the Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern Portions of the Settled Districts of South Australia, Preceded by a Grammar Showing the Construction of the Language as Far as at Present Known*. Adelaide: James Allen, 1843.
- Moorhouse, Matthew. *A Vocabulary and Outline of the Grammatical Structure of the Murray River Language*. Adelaide: Andrew Murray, 1846.
- Motte, Standish. *Outline of a System of Legislation, for Securing Protection to the Aboriginal Inhabitants of All the Countries Colonised by Great Britain*. London: John Murray, 1840.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter, ed. *Hermann Koeler's Adelaide: Observations on the Language and Culture of South Australia by the First German Visitor*. Unley SA: Australian Humanities Press, 2006.
- Papers Relative to South Australia*. London: printed by William Clowes, 1843.
- Schürmann, C W. *The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln, Their Mode of Life, Manners, Customs, Etc*. Adelaide: George Dehane, 1846.
- Schürmann, C W. *A Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language Spoken by the Natives Inhabiting the Western Shores of Spencer's Gulf : To Which Is Prefixed a Collection of Grammatical Rules Hitherto Ascertained*. South Australian Facsimile Editions. Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962. Originally published 1844.
- Short, Augustus. "The Poomindie Mission [Sic] : Described in a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Adelaide to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." London: printed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1853.
- Taplin, George. *Copy of diary of the Rev. Geo. Taplin of Pt. McLeay : vol 1, from April 4, 1859 to August 1, 1865*. Adelaide: Unknown publisher, 1958.
- Taplin, George. "The Narrinyeri: An Account of the Tribes of South Australian Aborigines." In *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, edited by J D Woods. 1-156. Adelaide: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, reprint 2009.
- Taplin, George. "The Vocabulary of the Narrinyeri Language." In *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Language of the South Australian Aborigines*. 125-41. Adelaide: A Spiller, Acting Government Printer, 1879
- Tappert, Theodore G, ed. *Luther's Works*, . Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.
- Teichelmann, C G. *Aborigines of South Australia*. Adelaide: SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxilliary Missionary Society, 1841.
- Teichelmann, C G, and C W Schürmann. *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary and Phraseology, of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia Spoken by the Natives in and for Some Distance around Adelaide*. Largs Bay, SA: Tjintu Books, 1982. First published: Adelaide: Thomas and Co., 1840.
- Wilhelmi, Charles. *Manners and Customs of the Australian Aborigines*. Melbourne: Mason and Firth, 1862.
- Williams, J A, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprise in the South Sea Islands*. London: John Snow, 1840.
- Woods, J D, ed. *The Native Tribes of South Australia*. Adelaide, SA.: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 1997. First published 1879.
- Wyatt, William. *Some Account of the Manners and Superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes*. Adelaide: E S Wigg & Son, 1879.

SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Articles, Papers and Book Sections

- Albrecht, Paul G E. "Learning from Past Missionary Work in Central Australia for Ministry to Aboriginal People Today." *Lutheran Theological Journal* 47, no. 2 (August 2013): 122-29.
- . *Relhiperra: About Aborigines*. Quadrant Online, 2012.
<http://www.quadrant.org.au/Albrecht%20Relhiperra.pdf>.
- Amery, Rob. "Beyond Their Expectations: Teichelmann and Schürmann's Efforts to Preserve the Kurna Language Continue to Bear Fruit." In *The Struggle for Souls and Science: Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia*, edited by Walter F. Veit and Strehlow Research Centre. Alice Springs, NT: Northern Territory Government, 2004.
- . "The First Lutheran Missionaries in South Australia, Their Contribution to Kurna Language Reclamation and the Reconciliation Movement." *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 10 (Oct. 2000): 30-58.
- . "It's Ours to Keep and Call Our Own: Reclamation of the Nunga Languages in the Adelaide Region, South Australia." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, no. 113 (1995): 63-82.
- . "Phoenix or Relic? Documentation of Languages with Revitalization in Mind." *Language Documentation & Conservation*, 3, no. 2 (2009): 138-48.
- . "Sally and Harry: Insights into Early Kurna Contact History." In *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, edited by Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus. Monograph 6: Aboriginal History, 1998.
- . "Too Many Firsts? A History of Aboriginal Languages and Linguistics at the University of Adelaide." Paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, 6 July 2012.
- Amery, Rob, and Mary-Anne Gale. "They Came, They Heard, They Documented: The Dresden Missionaries as Lexicographers." Paper presented at the AUSTRALEX Conference: 'Endangered Words, Signs of Revival', University of Adelaide, 25-28 July 2013.
- Amery, Rob, and Jane Simpson. "Introduction to 'Kurna'." In *Macquarie Aboriginal Words; a Dictionary of Words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages*, edited by Nick Thieberger and William McGregor. North Ryde, NSW: Macquarie, 1994.
- Attwood, Bain. "Returning to the Past." Paper presented at the History and Politics Seminar, University of Adelaide, 6 June 2011.
- Austin-Broos, Diane. "Translating Christianity: Some Keywords, Events and Sites in Western Arrernte." *Journal of Anthropology* 21 (2010): 14-32.
- Banks, Andrew. "Losing Faith in the Civilising Mission: The Premature Decline of Humanitarian Liberalism in the Cape 1840-1860." In *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, edited by Martin Dauton and Rick Halpern. 364-83. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

- Barry, Amanda. "A Matter of Primary Importance: Comparing the Colonial Education of Indigenous Children [Online]." In *Rethinking Colonial Histories: New and Alternative Approaches*, edited by Penelope Edmonds and Samuel Furphy. Melbourne, Vic: RMIT Publishing, 2006.
- Berndt, Ronald M, and Catherine H Berndt. "Body and Soul: More Than an Episode." In *Australian Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: Ethnographic and Historical Studies*, edited by Tony and Rose Swain, Deborah Bird (eds). 45-59. Bedford Park, SA: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1988.
- Blaess, F J H. "Missions - Pioneers in Australia." *The Australian Lutheran*, serialised 1947-1948.
- Brauer, A. "A Further Page from the Life of the Fathers." *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1930, 41-67.
- . "More Pages from the Life of the Fathers." *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1937, 43-68.
- . "Pastor Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann." *The Australian Lutheran Almanac*, 1937, 45-68.
- Briese, Russell. "August Hermann Francke's Work for the Poor." *Lutheran Theological Journal* 30, no. 2 (August 1996): 50-57.
- Brock, Peggy. "Negotiating Colonialism: The Life and Times of Arthur Wellington Clah." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008. Available at: <http://msp.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/shs/missions/index.php/missions>.
- Brock, Peggy. "Setting the Record Straight: New Christians and Mission Christianity ". In *Indigenous People and Religious Changes*, edited by Peggy Brock. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Brown, A R. "Rough Notes on the Social Organisation of Australian Tribes." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 48 (Jul-Dec,1918): 222-53.
- Burridge, Kenelm. "Aborigines and Christianity: An Overview." In *Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions*, edited by Tony and Rose Swain, Deborah Bird (eds). 18-29: Australian Association for the Study of Religion at the South Australian College of Advanced Education: Sturt Campus, Bedford Park, South Australia, 1988.
- Caruso, Jennifer. "Don't Mess with the Missionary Man: N.T. 'Half-Caste' Children, the Methodist Overseas Mission and A. P. Elkin's Sub-Rosa Assimilation Project." Paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference, 'Connections', University of Adelaide, 9-13 July 2012.
- Clarke, Philip. "The Aboriginal Presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia." In *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, edited by Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus. Aboriginal History, 1998.
- Dally, Volker Martin. "Culture and Conversion: The Indian Caste Dispute in the C19th and Its Consequence for Today." Paper presented at the Friends of Lutheran Archives seminar, Bethlehem House, Adelaide, 22 July 2013.
- Dally, Volker Martin. "Triple-A: Christian Missionaries as Preservers of Indigenous Languages in Australia, Asia and Africa." Paper presented at the AUSTRALEX Conference: 'Endangered Words, Signs of Revival', University of Adelaide, 25-28 July 2013.

Bibliography

- Dally, Volker. "One Bible - Many Churches: Inculturation of the Gospel as a Challenge Towards Lutheran Theology." Paper presented at Australia Lutheran College, Adelaide, 24 July 2013.
- Davies, Margaret. "Settlers and Aborigines at Port Lincoln 1840-1845." *South Australiana* 18, no. 1 (March 1979): 24-44.
- Doherty, Matthew. "The Agency of Locals: The Congo Balolo Mission and the Indigenous Christian Community." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.
- Edwards, Bill. "Establishing Connections on an Aboriginal Mission: Ernabella 1937-73." Paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference, 'Connections,' University of Adelaide, 9-13 July 2012.
- Edwards, Bill. "Tjukurpa Palya - the Good Word: Pitjantjatjara Responses to Christianity." In *Indigenous People and Religious Change*, edited by Peggy Brock. Boston: Brill Leiden, 2005.
- Elbourne, Elizabeth. "Mother's Milk: Gender, Power and Anxiety on a South African Mission Station, 1839-1840 ". In *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Elton, Jude. "Aboriginal Employment and Agency: Challenging the Colonial Myths." Paper presented at the Anthropological Society of South Australia, South Australian Aboriginal History Symposium, University of Adelaide, 27 May 2012.
- Etherington, Norman. "Individualism in Southeast Africa: Missions and the Colonial State." Paper presented at the *Individualization through Christian Missionary Activities?* conference, Max Weber Centre for Advanced Social and Cultural Studies, Erfurt, Germany, 25-28 April 2012.
- Evans, Julie. "Sovereignty, Authority and the Civilising Mission: Reassessing Missionary Conflict with Colonial Authority, Authority and the Civilising Mission in Jamaica." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.
- Ford, Lisa. "Protected Subjects: Humanitarian Interventions and Legal Subjecthood in the British Empire." Paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference, 'Connections', University of Adelaide, 9-13 July 2012.
- Foster, Robert. "The Aboriginal Location in Adelaide: South Australia's First 'Mission' to the Aborigines." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* vol 28, no. 1 & 2 (December 1990).
- Gale, Mary-Anne. "Two by Two: The Linguistic Heritage of H.A.E. Meyer, Missionary of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden." Paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, University of Adelaide, 6 July 2012.
- . "The Linguistic Legacy of H A E Meyer: Missionary to the Ramindjeri People of Encounter Bay, 1840-1848." Paper presented at the The German Presence in South Australia conference, University of Adelaide, October 2005.

- . "Nothing Pleasing to Impart: H.A.E. Meyer at Encounter Bay, 1840-1848." In *The Germans: Travellers, Settlers and Their Descendants in South Australia*, edited by Peter Monteath. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011.
- Gammage, Bill. "The Adelaide District in 1836." In *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, edited by Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk. 7-23. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- Ganter, Regina. "Gossner (1836) and the Berlin Mission Societies." <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/missionary-training/gossner-1836-and-berlin-mission-societies>. [Cited 21 May 2013]
- . "Hermannsburg Mission Society (1849)." Griffith University, <http://missionaries.griffith.edu.au/missionary-training/hermannsburg-mission-society-1849>. [Cited 21 May 2013].
- Gara, Tom. "The Life and Times of Mulla Wirraburka ('King John') of the Adelaide Tribe." Chapter 4. In *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, edited by Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus. Aboriginal History: Monograph 6: Aboriginal History, 1998.
- Grimshaw, Patricia. "Missions, Colonialism and Gender." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History* edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.
- Grimshaw, Patricia, and Andrew May, eds. *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Grope, Leslie B. "Fruit That Remained: Zinzendorf's Influence on the Australian Lutheran Church." *Lutheran Theological Journal* 22, no. 3 (December 1988): 123-28.
- Grope, L B. "How Beauteous Are Their Feet." *Yearbook of the Lutheran Church of Australia*, 1981, 23-62.
- Habel, Norman. "The Passionate Christian." *Lutheran Student*, no. 100 (1978): 31-38.
- Hemming, Steve. "'Kurna' Identity: A Brief History." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* vol 28, no. 1 (December 1990).
- Holland, Alison. "Aboriginal Affairs: Humanitarian Interventions Then and Now. Dis/Connections, Possibilities and Problems." Paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference, 'Connections', University of Adelaide, 9-13 July 2012.
- Jensz, Felicity. "Colonial Agents: German Moravian Missionaries in the English-Speaking World." In *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- . "German Missionaries and the Construction of Knowledge about Central Australia in the Nineteenth Century." Paper presented at the History Seminar, Flinders University, SA, 14 October 2011.
- . "Imperial Critics: Moravian Missionaries in the British Colonial World." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.

Bibliography

- Kneebone, Heidi. "Why Do You Work? Indigenous Perceptions of Lutheran Mission Work in the Encounter Bay Area, 1840-47." *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives* no.10 (October, 2000): 30-58.
- Krichauff, Skye. "Moravian Missionary Kuhn and the Narungga People." Paper presented at the Friends of the Lutheran Archives seminar, Bethlehem House, Adelaide, 21 February 2011.
- Lake, Meredith. "Salvation and Reconciliation: First Missionary Encounters at Sydney Cove." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History* edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.
- Löhe, Adolph. "Missions (Lutheran)." In *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, edited by Julius Bodensieck. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965.
- Luecke, Horst. "Hamburg Connections of Early English Colonists." Paper presented at the German-Australian Connections conference, University of Adelaide, 24 September 2010.
- May, Andrew. "The Promise of a Book: Missionaries and Native Evangelists in North-East India." In *Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*, edited by Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May. 81-95. Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 1998.
- Mitchell, Jessie. "'Can These Dry Bones Live?': Conversion and Worship on Aboriginal Missions and Protectorate Stations, 1830-1850." Paper presented at the Trans-Tasman Missionary History Conference, ANU, Canberra ACT, 2004.
- Mitchell, Jessie. "The Nucleus of Civilisation: Gender, Race and Australian Missionary Families, 1825-1855." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History* edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. "Hermann Koeler's Observations on South Australia in 1837 and 1838." In *The Germans: Travellers, Settlers and Their Descendants in South Australia*, edited by Peter Monteath. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011.
- Nettlebeck, Amanda, and Robert Foster. "Food and Governance on the Frontiers of Colonial Australia and Canada's North West Territories." *Aboriginal History* 36 (2012): 21-41.
- Nobbs, Chris. "The Bush Missionary's Defence: A Key Document in the History of Australian Mission Ethnography." Strehlow Research Centre.
- . "Lutheran Missionaries on Cooper's Creek in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." University of Adelaide, History department seminar paper, 24 November 2010.
- O'Brien, Anne. "Interrogating 'Philanthropy', 'Welfare' and 'Humanitarianism' for Indigenous and Non-Indigenous People in Australia." Paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference, 'Connections', University of Adelaide, 9-13 July 2012.
- O'Connor, Luisa. "Kudnarto." Chap. 5 In *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, edited by Jane Simpson and Luise Hercus. Aboriginal History: Monograph 6: Aboriginal History, 1998.
- Patton, Barry. "'From the Influence of Their Parents': Aboriginal Child Separations and Removals in Early Melbourne and Adelaide." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries*

- in colonial history*, edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-may and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008.
- Pech, Rufus. "Mission Societies as Shapers of Australian Lutheran Theology." *Lutheran Theological Journal* 28, no. 1 (1994): 12-27.
- Pfitzner, Peter. "Agents of Colonialism? An Inquiry into the Role of Lutheran Missions to Aborigines in Australia." Paper presented at the World Congress of Sociology, Durban, July 2006.
- Piggin, Stuart. "The Origins of Australian Protestant Missions: Evangelical Visions." Paper presented at the Trans-Tasman Missionary History Conference, ANU, Canberra ACT, 2004.
- Porter, Andrew. "Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire, the Nineteenth Century* edited by Andrew Porter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Ranger, Terence. "Christianity and the First Peoples: Some Second Thoughts." In *Indigenous People and Religious Change*, edited by Peggy Brock Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Rathjen, Cynthia. "A Difficult and Boring Task: Clamor Schürmann and the Language Achievements among the Parnkalla, Port Lincoln –1840-1852." *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives*, no. 8 (October 1998): 59-95.
- Renner, J T Erich. "Australian Lutheran Roots: Orthodoxy and Pietism." *Lutheran Theological Journal* 28, no. 1 (1994): 38-45.
- Reynolds, Henry. "South Australia: Between Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand." In *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, edited by Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk. 24-32. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- Rigney, Lester-Irabinna. "Aboriginal Language and Education." Paper presented at the Linguistics Research Seminar, 7 March 2013.
- Robert, Hannah. "'Satisfying the Saints' - Colonial Entrepreneurs in the 1830s and 1840s and the Elasticity of Language [Online]." In *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Tracy Banivanua and Julie Evans Carlton, Vic.: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 2002. 7-21. University of Melbourne conference and seminar series, 11. Available at: <<http://search.informit.com.au.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/documentSummary;dn=742603529461941;res=IELHSS>>. [cited 22 Oct 12].
- Rüdiger, Gerhard. "In God's Own Time - Aborigines and the Dresden Missionaries in South Australia." Paper presented at the South Australian Mission Study Association, Tabor College, Millswood, SA, 2 July 2013.
- Rüdiger, Gerhard. "Listening to Their Voices: Tracking Paper Trails in Archives in Germany in 2010." Paper presented at the Friends of Lutheran Archives seminar, Bethlehem House, 25 July 2011.
- Scherer, James A. "The Triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions." *Missio Apostolica*, 1, no. 2 (November 1993): 71-81.
- Schild, Maurice. "Historic Heritage - Lively Hope." *Lutheran Theological Journal* 28, no. 1 (1994): 3-11.

Bibliography

- Scrimgeour, Anne. "Notions of Civilisation and the Project to Civilise Aborigines in South Australia in the 1840s." *History of Education Review* 35, no. 1 (2006): 35-46.
- Scrimgeour, Anne. "'The Tongue of England Alone': Opposition to the Use of Kurna as a Language of Instruction at Piltawodli." Paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, 6 July 2012.
- Seaman, Keith. "The Press and the Aborigines: South Australia's First Thirty Years." *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 18 (1990): 28-36.
- Schulz, K. Detlev. "The Lutheran Debate over a Missionary Office." *Lutheran Quarterly* 19, no.3 (Autumn 2005): 276-301.
- Schulz, Klaus Detlev. "In Search of the Proprium of Lutheran Mission: Eight Theses." *Logia* 15, no.1 (Epiphany 2006): 5-7.
- Schulz, K. Detlev. "Mission in an Age of Secularism and Pluralism." Paper presented at the 'Come Holy Spirit' Conference, Horsham Vic, 10-12 July 2009.
- Schulze, Frederick. "German Missionaries: Racism and Othering: Connections and Comparisons." Paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 31st Annual Conference, 'Connections', University of Adelaide, 9-13 July 2012.
- Sherlock, Peter. "The Politics of Agency." In *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, edited by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008. Available at: <http://msp.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/shs/missions/index.php/missions>.
- Stockigt, Clara. "Description of South Australian Languages by Lutheran Missionaries." Paper presented at the Friends of Lutheran Archives seminar, Bethlehem House, Adelaide, 25 March 2013.
- Steiner, Marie. "Matthew Moorhouse: A Controversial Colonist." *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 33 (2013): 55-68.
- Strehlow, John, and Peter Sutton. "Discussion between John Strehlow and Professor Peter Sutton." German-Australian Connections Network conference, University of Adelaide, 8 March 2012.
- Strehlow, John. "The Debate between Carl Strehlow and Baldwin Spencer on the Aboriginal Concept of God." Paper presented at Australian Lutheran College, Adelaide, 2012.
- Strehlow, T G H. "Aboriginal Religion and the Role of Christian Missions." *Lutheran Student* (1977).
- Teichelmann, Christian, and Matthew Moorhouse. "Report on the Aborigines of South Australia', Presented to the Statistical Society in Adelaide, 1841." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28, no. 1 (December 1990): 38-53.
- Traeger, Rhonda. "The Encounter Bay Mission 1840-1848." In *Brief Encounters at Victor Harbour*. Victor Harbour: South Coast Fellowship of Australian Writers, 1982.
- Veber, Maria. "Teichelmann and Schurmann and Pedagogy." Paper presented at the German-Australian Connections conference, University of Adelaide, 25 September 2010.
- Walsh, Michael. "Left-Footed Linguists: The Role of Roman Catholic Clergy in the Documentation of Australian Languages." Paper presented at the Society for the History of Linguistics in the Pacific conference, University of Adelaide, 5 July 2012.

- Wermelskirch, Johann Georg Gottfried. "Gutachten Der Dresdener Missions-Gesellschaft, Die Vielweiberei Betreffend." *Dresdener Missions-Nachrichten* (1839): 131-40. Translated by Gerhard Rüdiger and Greg Lockwood.
- Woollacott, Angela. "Political Manhood, Non-White Labour and White Settler Colonialism in the 1833-40s' Australian Frontier." Paper presented at the History Seminar, Flinders University, Bedford Park, SA, 30 April 2010.
- Woolmington, Jean "'Writing on the Sand': The First Missions to Aborigines in Eastern Australia." In *Australian Aboriginal Australians and Christian Missions: Ethnographic and Historical Studies*, edited by Tony and Rose Swain, Deborah Bird (eds). 77-92. Bedford Park, SA: Swain, Tony and Rose, Deborah Bird (eds), 1988.
- Zweck, Lois. "For They Are Our Neighbours." *Journal of Friends of the Lutheran Archives* no.22 (December 2012): 38-61.
- Zweck, Lois. "Source Material on the Dresden Missionaries Working in South Australia." Presentation at the forum: 'The University of Adelaide, German missionaries and Aboriginal people - 175 Years of Language Reclamation in SA, University of Adelaide,' 24 July 2013.

B. Books and Booklets

- Albrecht, Paul G E. *Aboriginal Australians*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1988.
- . *The Church's Role in Meeting the Needs of Indigenous People*. Magill, S. Aust: Paul G.E. Albrecht, 1995.
- . *From Mission to Church 1877-2002: Finke River Mission*. Adelaide: Finke River Mission, 2002.
- Amery, Rob. *Warrabarna Kurna! : Reclaiming an Australian Language*. Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers, 2000.
- Attwood, Bain. *The Making of the Aborigines*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989.
- Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Online). Canberra: Australian National University, 2006. <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/adbonline.htm>.
- Barry, Amanda, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May, and Patricia Grimshaw. *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*. [online] Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008. Available at: <http://msp.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/shs/missions/index.php/missions>.
- Berg, Sean. *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2009.
- . *The World of the First Australians*. 2nd ed. Sydney: Ure Smith, 1977.
- Berndt, Ronald M, Catherine H Berndt, and John Stanton. *A World That Was: The Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia*. Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1993.
- Bodensieck, J ed. *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*. Vol. 11. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1965.
- Brauer, A. *Under the Southern Cross, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1956.

Bibliography

- Brock, Peggy, ed. *Indigenous People and Religious Change*. Boston: Brill Leiden, 2005.
- Brock, Peggy. *Outback Ghettos: Aborigines, Institutionalisation and Survival*. Studies in Australian History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Brock, Peggy, Doreen Kartinyeri, and Aboriginal Heritage Branch, South Australia. *Poonindie: The Rise and Destruction of an Aboriginal Agricultural Community*. Adelaide: Government Printer and the Aboriginal Heritage Branch, Dept. of Environment and Planning, South Australia, 1989.
- Brown, Judith M. *Augustus Short, D.D.* Adelaide: Hodge Publishing House, 1974.
- Burridge, Kenelm. *Encountering Aborigines: A Case Study: Anthropology and the Australian Aboriginal*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1973.
- Carey, Hilary M. *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Cox, Jeffrey. *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.
- Department for Administrative and Information Services. 'A Little Flour and a Few Blankets', an Administrative History of Aboriginal Affairs in South Australia, 1834-2000. Gepps Cross: State Records of South Australia, 2002.
- Eckermann, C V. *Koonibba: The Mission and the Nunga People*. Adelaide: Norma Eckermann, 2010.
- Etherington, Norman, ed. *Missions and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1961.
- Fort, Carol S. *Keeping a Trust: South Australia's Wyatt Benevolent Institution and Its Founder*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2008.
- Foster, Robert, Rick Hosking, Amanda E Nettelbeck, and Wakefield Press. *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2001.
- Foster, Robert, and Amanda Nettlebeck. *Out of the Silence*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2012.
- Gammage, Bill. *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, London: Allen & Unwin, 2011.
- Harms, E and C Hoff, eds. *Second Koonibba Jubilee Booklet, 1901-1951*. Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis & King Ltd, 1951.
- Harris, John W. *One Blood: 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope*. 2nd ed. Sutherland, N.S.W.: Albatross Books, 1994.
- Hastings, James ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. <http://books.google.com.au>.
- Henderson, Barbara. *A Straight-out Man: F.W. Albrecht and Central Australian Aborigines*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992.
- Hilliard, David. *Godliness and Good Order: A History of the Anglican Church in South Australia*. Netley, SA: Wakefield Press, 1986.
- Hiney, Tom. *On the Missionary Trail, the Classic Georgian Adventure of Two Englishmen, Sent on a Journey around the World, 1821-29*. London: Chatto and Windus, 2000.

- Hodder, Edwin. *George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891.
- . *History of South Australia from Its Foundation to the Year of Its Jubilee*. Vol. 2, Modbury, S. Aust: Archive CD Books Australia, c2007. Originally published: London : Sampson Low, Marston, 1893.
- Hodge, Charles R. *Encounter Bay: The Miniature Naples of Australia: A Short History of the Romantic South Coast of South Australia*. Adelaide: C.R. Hodge, 1932.
- Hoff, C and others. *Koonibba: 25 Years of Mission Work among Australian Aboriginals, 1901-1926*. Adelaide: The Lutheran Publishing Co. Ltd., 1926.
- Hunt, Arnold. *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985.
- Griffin, T, and M McCaskill, eds. *Atlas of South Australia*. Adelaide, 1986.
- Jenkin, Graham. *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri: The Story of the Lower Murray Lakes Tribes*. Point McLeay: Raukkan Publishers, Reprint edition 1985.
- Jensz, Felicity. *German Moravian Missionaries in the British Colony of Victoria, Australia, 1848-1908: Influential Strangers*. Studies in Christian Mission. Vol. 38, Leiden [The Netherlands]; Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Karsten, Hermann. *Die Geschichte Der Evangelisch-Lutheran Mission in Leipzig*. Guenstow, 1893.
- Keegan, Timothy, ed. *Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents, 2004.
- Kennedy, Wm. Bruce "Lutheran Missionary to the Aborigines Pastor Christian Gottlob Teichelmann 1807-1888: His Family, Life & Times." Coolangatta: W. Kennedy, 1989.
- Kenny, Robert. *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World*. Carlton North, Vic.: Scribe Publications, 2007.
- Krichauff, Skye. *Nharungga Wargunni Bugi-Bugillu: A Journey through Narungga History*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2011.
- Leske, Everard, ed. *Hermannsburg: A Vision and a Mission*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977.
- Linn, Rob. *A Diverse Land: a History of the Lower Murray, Lakes and Coorong*. Meningie Historical Society Inc, 1988.
- Mattingley, Christobel, and Ken Hampton (eds). *Survival in Our Own Land: 'Aboriginal' Experiences in 'South Australia' since 1836 / Told by Nungas and Others*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing in agreement with The Division of State Aboriginal Affairs and the Dept. of the Environment, Heritage and Aboriginal Affairs, South Australia, 1998.
- Mielssen, Hilde, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad Skeie, eds. *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011.
- Mitchell, Jessie. *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia through God, Charity and Empire, 1825-1855*. ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Inc, 2011.
http://epress.anu.edu.au/good_faith_citation.html.

Bibliography

- Moore, Wilbert. *Social Change*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India (Private) Ltd, 1965.
- Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Mission*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books 1964.
- Newbigin, Lesslie. *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1989.
- Niebuhr, Richard. *Christ and Culture*. New York: Harper and Rowe, 1951.
- Öberg, Ingemar. *Luther and World Missions*. Translated from Finnish by Dean Apel. St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2007.
- Otto, Ernst. *Hundert Jahre Missionsarbeit*. Dresden: C Ludwig Ungelenk, 1919.
- Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957.
- Pope, Alan. *One Law for All? Aboriginal People and Criminal Law in Early South Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2011.
- . *Resistance and Retaliation: Aboriginal-European Relations in Early Colonial South Australia*. Bridgewater: Heritage Action, 1989.
- Porter, Andrew. *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Prest, Wilfrid, Kerrie Round, Carol S. Fort, and Wakefield Press, eds. *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2001.
- Rafferty, Judith. *Not Part of the Public: Non-Indigenous Policies and Practices and the Health of Indigenous South Australians 1836-1973*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2006.
- Rowley, C D. *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*. Ringwood Vic: Penguin Books Australia 1972.
- Schubert, David A. *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985.
- Schulz, Klaus Detlev. *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology of Mission*. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2009.
- Schurmann, Ted. *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia, 1838-1853*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987.
- Simpson, Jane, and Luise Hercus, eds. *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6. Canberra: Aboriginal History, 1998.
- Stanley, Brian. *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism*. Leicester: Apollos, 1990.
- Stevens, Christine. *White Man's Dreaming: Killalpininna Mission 1866-1915*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Stolle, Volker. *The Church Comes from All Nations: Luther Texts on Mission*. Translated from German by Klaus Detlev Schulz and Daniel Thies. Saint Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 2003.
- Stolle, Volker. *Wer Seine Hand an Den Pflug Legt: Die Missionarische Wirksamkeit Der Selbständigen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen in Deutschland Im 19. Jahrhundert* Bleckmarer Missionsschriften, 1992. Sections translated by Greg Lockwood.

- Strehlow, John. *A Tale of Frieda Keysser, Frieda & Carl Strehlow: An Historical Biography*. Vol. 1, London: Wild Cat Press, 2011.
- Strehlow, T G H. *The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies*. Melbourne: Hawthorne Press, 1956.
- Sutton, Peter. *The Politics of Suffering*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2011.
- Swain, Tony. *Interpreting Aboriginal Religion: An Historical Account*. Bedford Park, S. Aust.: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1985.
- Twells, Alison, ed. *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850: The 'Heathen' at Home and Overseas*. Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York Palgrave Macmillian, 2009.
- Veith, Gene Edward, Jr. *The Spirituality of the Cross: The Way of the First Evangelicals*. St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1999.
- Warneck, D G. *Evangelische Missionslehre: Ein Missionstheoretischer Versuch* Vol. 3 Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1897.
- Warneck, Gustav. *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*. Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1901.

C. Theses

- Allen, Laurence Paul. "English Episcopalians' Versus 'German Lutherans': The Contribution of Cultural and Theological Differences to the Failure of the Wellington Valley Mission." BA (Hons), University of Sydney, 2011.
- Barry, Amanda. "Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-Eastern Australia, 1837-1937." PhD, University of Melbourne, 2008.
- Blaess, F J H. "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod in Australia and the Mission Work Amongst the Australian Natives in Connection with the Dresden (Leipzig) Lutheran Mission Society and the Hermannsburg Mission Institute 1838-1900." BD, Concordia Seminary, St Louis, USA, 1940.
- Dingle, Sarah. "Gospel Power for Civilization: The C.M.S. Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860." PhD, University of Adelaide, 2009.
- Edwards, William H. "Moravian Aboriginal Missions in Australia." PhD, Flinders University, 2007.
- Foster, Robert. "An Imaginary Dominion: The Representation and Treatment of Aborigines in South Australia, 1834-1911." PhD, University of Adelaide, 1993.
- Gibbs, R M. "Humanitarian Theories and the Aboriginal Inhabitants of South Australia to 1860." BA (Hons), University of Adelaide, 1959.
- Grainger, Geoffrey "Matthew Moorhouse and the South Australian Aborigines, 1839-1856." BA (Hons), Flinders University, 1980.
- Hedditch, Sam. "The Missionary Response: An Analysis of Colonial South Australia's Management of Its Indigenous 'Issue'." BA (Hons), Flinders University, 2007.
- Kneebone, Heidi-Marie. "The Language of the Chosen View: The First Phase of Graphization of Dieri by Hermannsburg Missionaries, Lake Killalpaninna 1867-80." PhD, University of Adelaide, 2005.

Bibliography

- Lake, Meredith. "'Such Spiritual Acres': Protestantism, the Land and the Colonisation of Australia, 1788-1850." PhD, University of Sydney, July 2008.
- Linn, Rob. "The Mentalities of Early South Australian Pastoralists: The Angas, Keynes, McBean and Melrose Families in Central South Australia." MA, University of Adelaide, 1984.
- Lockwood, Gregory. "The Peace of the Kingdom: A Study of the Concept of 'Peace' in the New Testament and Lutheran Missiology." ThD, Concordia Seminary, St Louis, 1983.
- Pearson, Noel. "Guugu Yimidhirr History: Hope Vale Lutheran Mission (1900-1950)." In *Maps, Dreams, History*, edited by J Kociumbas. Sydney Studies in History. Sydney: Department of History, University of Sydney, 1998.
- Quandt, Anne. "The Example of Clamor W Schürmann and his Documentation of the Parnkalla Language." MA, University of Bremen, 2012.
- Schmiechen, H J. "The Hermannsburg Mission Society in Australia 1866-1895: Changing Missionary Attitudes and their Effects on the Aboriginal Inhabitants." BA (Hons), University of Adelaide, 1971.
- Scrimgeour, Anne. "Colonizers as Civilizers: Aboriginal Schools and the Mission to 'Civilize' in South Australia, 1839-1845." PhD, Charles Darwin University, 2007.
- Stockigt, Clara. "The Peculiar Nature of the Language: A Morpho-Syntactic Analysis of the Lutheran Description of South Australia's Aboriginal Languages, 1840-1938." PhD, University of Adelaide, work in progress.
- Walsh, Phillipa. "The Problem of Native Policy in South Australia in the C19th with Particular Reference to the Church of England Poonindie Mission, 1859-1896." BA (Hons), University of Adelaide, 1966.

D. Other Unpublished Material

- Auricht, J C. "Eigentliche Geschichte der Luth. Kirche Australiens." 1888. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.
- Brauer, A. "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia." Draft manuscript 303-000, 1947. Adelaide: Lutheran Archives.
- Hampel, Neil A. "Yalata Mission 1952 -1977." Yalata Lutheran Mission, 1977.
- Lodewyckx, A. Biographical Notes on Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann. Adelaide: SLSA.