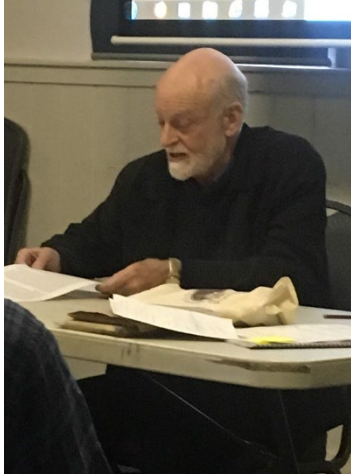# HENRY HANDEL RICHARDSON'S GERMANY

by Dr. Richard A. O'Sullivan

(This talk was delivered by Society member, Richard O'Sullivan at the Words in Winter HHR event in Trentham in 2019. Richard is a retired Associate Adjunct Professor of Physics at RMIT who has a long interest in and knowledge of Germany and its history and culture. He lived for several years in Munich, Stuttgart and Berlin, and is a fluent speaker of German.)

Richard O'Sullivan speaking in Trentham

In 1889 Henry Handel Richardson arrived as a young student in Leipzig [Probyn & Steele, vol. 1, p.xiv].. I travelled as a young student to Germany 80 years later. During those 80 years, cataclysmic changes had taken place in Germany; great changes had also occurred in Australia and particularly in Australia's relationship with Germany. In spite of those changes and others that have occurred in the past 50 years, I hope to convey an impression of Germany as experienced by HHR during her stay there up to 1903 and during subsequent visits up to 1913 (Munich) & 1924 (Seefeld - this was probably the town of Seefeld 36 km E of Salzburg, but there are also towns of this name 20 km NE of Berlin and 14 km SW of Bremerhaven) [Probyn & Steele, vol.1 pp. xvii-xviii].

HHR's first certain contact with German language and culture took place in Koroit in 1879 at the age of 10, when she and her sister Lil were sent by their mother to be taught by the local German parson's wife [Richardson (2)]. The parson, C.L.H. Rupp, introduced Ettie to Mendelssohn's *Song Without Words* and sang chorales to her in German[1]. This was far less unusual than it would have been 50 or 80 years later, since German culture was prominent in Australia in the late 19th century and German had eclipsed Irish as the second most commonly spoken European language after English. It is also possible that Ettie had been introduced to German music and culture much earlier, since her father had been a good friend of the famous botanist Baron Ferdinand von Mueller (see below) [Steele, pp. 32-34, Green, p.354n]. Von Mueller served in *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* as the model for Baron von Krause, who in a detailed scene recognizes musical talent in the young Cuffy Mahony and offers to pay for his tuition in Germany

[Richardson (4), pp. 640, 740-747].

Understanding the background to the prominent German presence in Australia (and particularly in Victoria and South Australia) can illuminate both the developments in Germany in the 19th century and the reasons for HHR's move to Germany with her mother and sister. The first person of German background to settle in Australia had been the Captain of the First Fleet and first Governor of NSW, Arthur Phillip, whose father was Jacob Phillip from Frankfurt [Pembroke, p.3]. This was unremarkable, given that the United Kingdom had been ruled by the Hanoverian dynasty since the accession in 1714 of King George I, who was simultaneously King of Hanover. This British-German union lasted until 1837. German was the first language of the British Royal Family, who continued to seek marriage partners from Protestant German-speaking territories until well into the 20th century and maintained alliances with those territories against their traditional enemy, nominally Catholic France.

At the time of Australia's first European settlement, no country called Germany existed, even though German was the first language of more continental Europeans than any other (as it still is today) and even though the German speaking peoples possessed a rich musical, philosophical, artistic and literary culture. Representatives of this culture included, in music: Johann Sebastian

Footnote 1: Years after the publication of *Myself When Young*, Rupp's children strongly denied Richardson's negative accounts of his and wife's treatment of them [Sendy p. 30].

Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel, Christophe Willibald Gluck, Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and in philosophy: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (co-inventor of mathematical calculus with Sir Isaac Newton), Christian Wolff and Immanuel Kant.

The three most widely recognized (and translated) German literary figures in the 18th century were Lessing, Goethe and Schiller. The most famous work of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing from Saxony (1729-1781) was *Nathan der Weise (Nathan the Wise)*, inspired by the life of his close friend Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1805), who was a leading figure in the German Enlightenment and grandfather of the composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847). Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) wrote numerous poems and plays, including *Die Räuber (The Robbers)* and *Wilhelm Tell*, which were protests against tyranny, and *Don Carlos*, which celebrated the value of freedom of thought, self-sacrifice and loyalty. The most celebrated German writer of both the romantic and classical movements was Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), a friend of Schiller. Goethe was born in Frankfurt but spent most of his later life in Weimar. Goethe's early novel *Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers (The Sorrows of Young Werther),* depicting a tragic love affair, became a hit all over Europe and was said by Napoleon to be his favourite novel. In *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (Wilhelm Meisters Apprenticeship)*, Goethe portrayed the aspirations and disappointment of a talented youth. HHR's husband later compared it with her first novel, *Maurice Guest* [Richardson (2), p.118].   Goethe also wrote many poems and plays, of which the most famous is *Faust*, which deals with the temptations of philosophical and scientific achievement and has remained topical to the present day. HHR's writing shows that she was well-read in these classical German authors (as well as later ones) and she recounts in her memoir *Myself When Young* provoking consternation in an inquisitive gentleman by reading *Faust* during a voyage to Norway around 1890 [Richardson (2), p. 88]. Many of the plays of classical German writers are widely known today as operas and many of their poems as the texts of German *Lieder.*

Women had broken through traditional boundaries in the 17th and 18th centuries and *das Gelehrte Frauenzimmer* (the scholarly woman) had become a feature of German baroque culture [Cole, p. 109]. The Hanoverian Sophie Charlotte, wife of King Friedrich I of Prussia, mastered the work of Leibnitz, Descartes and Spinoza. Elizabeth Charlotte, from the Palatinate, sister of King Louis XIV of France, was noted for her originality, independence of thought and observations on the frivolity of society and Anna Maria Schumann (1607-1678) mastered 14 languages and wrote on mathematics, history, philosophy and theology. The 17th century had seen the rise of the salons in France and Germany in which essays, poems, scientific treatises, satires and polemics were presented. These salons were increasingly presided over by scholarly women, such as Dorothea, the daughter of Moses Mendelssohn and wife of Friedrich Schlegel, Caroline, wife of August Wilhelm Schlegel, Sara Levy and Amalie Beer [Cole, p.110]. These salons provided a likely model for the gatherings in the Richardson-Robertson house in Strasbourg, which HHR missed during her later life in England.

A year after European settlement in Australia, the French Revolution had broken out. France was soon at war with the rest of Europe, first in defence of the Revolution and then, under Napoleon, with the aim of building a French Empire. There was initial enthusiasm for Napoleon among many in the German speaking lands as the harbinger of freedom of thought and freedom from despotism, but enthusiasm gave way to opposition when it became clear that French rule

had replaced one form of despotism with another. Ludwig van Beethoven famously dedicated his *Eroica* symphony to Napoleon but later withdrew the dedication. After meeting Goethe, Napoleon exclaimed *Voilà un homme*, but Goethe was said to have been unimpressed. In 1806 Napoleon dissolved the Holy Roman Empire, which had claimed the allegiance of many of the German speaking lands. He transferred the territories along the Rhine (including Alsace, with its capital in Strasbourg) to France and later established the Confederation of the Rhine, which included all the German-speaking states except Austria, Prussia, Brunswick and Hesse-Cassell.

At the battle of Waterloo in 1814, Napoleon's *Grande Armée* was on the point of defeating the Duke of Wellington's British army, when General Blücher's Prussian force arrived and turned the tide of battle decisively against Napoleon. The following year at the Congress of Vienna, under the leadership of the astute Austrian Cancellor Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859), the victorious powers re-arranged the map of Europe yet again. They stripped France of all its conquered German speaking territories except Alsace and organized the rest into 39 sovereign states, in which the hereditary monarchies were re-instated (including the kingdoms of Saxony and Bavaria). The three most powerful of these states were Austria-Hungary, Prussia and British-ruled Hanover. The 39 states were loosely united into the German Confederation (*der Deutsche Bund*) with a Federal Diet or Congress (*Bundestag*) in Frankfurt. The Diet was presided over by the Austrian Emperor and its members were appointed by the rulers of various states [Cole, p.144, Russell, p.159].

Blücher was fêted in London as Britain's co-victor at Waterloo and Prussia became Britain's favourite continental power [Hawes, p. 92]. Since high government and military positions in the German states were reserved for the aristocracy, social mobility was almost non-existent. The only way for non-aristocrats to make a career was to go to university and make a name in languages, history, theology, music, science or philosophy - fields with no obvious political applications. This led to the middle class ideal of the *Bildungsbürge*r (the culturally educated citizen) and to the rise of the German universities to world pre-eminence. The only option for those who wanted to criticize the current state of affairs was to emigrate - first to London and then perhaps, for even greater freedom, to the United States. The realization, from the new science of linguistics, that the English and German languages shared a common origin 1000 years ago and the joint victory at Waterloo extended the feeling of Anglo-German affinity from the court to the wider society. For the first 3/4 of the 19th century, English and German writers described their peoples as "cousins" [Hawes, p. 97]. Queen Victoria's husband, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, supported by King Leopold of Belgium, tirelessly pursued his "Coburg Plan", according to which Prussia should first reform along British constitutional lines and then unite all Germans [Hawes p. 98].

Meanwhile the hopes for unification and liberal constitutional reform, which had driven thousands to volunteer in the struggle for liberation from Napoleon, were dashed. While liberal and democratic ideas were suppressed, economic recovery and industrial development led to economic reforms. Prussia pushed for the abolition of trade barriers and the formation of a customs union (*Zollverein*), which all German states except Austria joined by 1850. However, industrial development and agricultural agglomeration destroyed cottage industries and deprived much of the population of land, work and food.

This repressive climate provoked student unrest and the formation of the Young Germany movement of intellectuals and writers [Cole, p.149], of which *Heinrich Heine* (1797-1856) was a leading member. His satirical and lively prose was widely read (including by HHR) and his poem *Die Lorelei (The Loreley)* is known world-wide in Liszt's musical version. This intellectual ferment combined with the demands by artisans for the abolition of medieval guild constraints and by peasants for land led to an revolutionary explosion throughout the German speaking lands, following the the February Revolution in France in 1848 [Cole, p.153]. In response to the 1848 revolution, many German regimes introduced constitutions and established the first elected National Assembly in Frankfurt (*Frankfurter Nationalversammlung*). Because of the large number of academics and students among the delegates, it was mocked by some as the "professors' parliament". After the revolutionary activity had subsided, however, the rulers ignored the Assembly's recommendations and then began to persecute its members and supporters. Several hundred of those fled to the United States and a few came to Australia, including, to South Australia, the theologian, journalist and community leader Dr. Karl Muecke and to Victoria: Karl Damm, who became president of the German Association, writer and publicist Hermann Puettmann, the artist Ludwig Becker, Victoria's "German Poet" Theodor Mueller and newspaperman J.G. Franke [Wehner, p. 9]. In addition to the democratic reformers and intellectuals, however, a much greater number of craftspersons, merchants and artists, who faced limited opportunities at home, sought emigration to a freer and more open society.

The first assisted German immigration to Australia was funded by the McArthurs in NSW, who brought a number of Rhinelanders to Camden to work as indentured vine-dressers in the 1830s. In South Australia, George Angus Fife started an immigration scheme in 1844 which brought thousands of Germans, mainly traditional Lutherans who refused to accept the imposition of a reformed liturgy (*Agende*) by the Prussian King Friedrich Willhelm III in 1830 [Wehner, p. 105]. By the 1840s and 1850s, several German travellers to Australia had published books about their experiences, including C.E. Meineke's *Festland Australien* (1837); Hasskarl's *Australien und seine Kolonien* (1848); Albert Heising's *Suedaustralien* (1850), *Die Deutschen in Australien* (1853) and *Das Australische Festland* (1855); Friedrich Gerstaecker's *Reisen um die Welt* (1853); Rudolf Reimer's *Suedaustralien: ein Beitrag zur Auswanderungsfrage* (1851) [Wehner, p. 10-11]. Particular interest was aroused by reports of Ludwig Leichhardt's expeditions and his disappearance in 1848 (which inspired Patrick White's novel *Voss* a century later [White]). There were also pamphlets and propaganda leaflets published by shipping companies.

Initially books dealt with the more settled colonies of NSW and SA. In 1848, however, an alluring description of Victoria appeared in a Bremen pamphlet *Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Suedaustralien und Australia Felix* and translated extracts from William Westgarth's book *Australia Felix or a Historical and Descriptive Account of the Settlement of Port Philip* (1848) were published in the *Allgemeine Auswanderungszeitung* [Wehner, p. 11]. The powerful attraction exercised by the expression "Australia Felix" in Germany may well have influenced HHR in using it as the sub-title of the first volume of *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* [Richardson (2), p.133]. Westgarth, born in Edinburgh, in association with other Melbourne businessmen, who had had dealings with German businessmen (William Dutton, educated in Bremen, Thomas McCombie, editor of the *Port Philip Gazette*, and Geelong landowner, Dr. Alexander Thomson) saw merit in bringing German agricultural and viticultural workers to meet the shortage of skilled agricultural workers in Victoria. After consultation with the colonial government of

NSW, the Colonial Office and the Emigration Committee in London and, after Separation, with Lieutenant Governor Charles Latrobe in Melbourne,Westgarth travelled to Bremen and arranged for the shipping of 630 German immigrants to Port Philip in 1849-1850 [Wehner, pp. 15-18]. The discovery of gold in 1854 produced a large increase in German immigration until 1864 when Prussia banned the emigration of young men of military service age.

By 1860 German speaking immigrants were estimated to comprise up to 4% of Victoria's population (compared with 7% in South Australia) [Wehner, pp. 48,80]. There were new German settlements north of Melbourne in Westgarthtown (now Thomastown) and Waldau (now Doncaster) as well in the established villages of Northcote, Hawthorne, Boroondara (now Kew) and Richmond. Many settlements contained a high concentration of immigrants from a particular region, e.g. in Westgarthtown from Saxony [Wehner, p. 40]. Lutheran congregations were established in these villages, since more than 90% of the immigrants were Lutheran. The Lutheran Trinity Church on Spring St., built in 1853, still stands today. The second largest group were Jewish, followed by smaller numbers of Catholics, Baptists and others. Although they were a small percentage of the total number of German-speaking immigrants, German Jewish immigrants (who were escaping a resurgence of discrimination after the end of Napoleonic rule) comprised nearly 30% of Melbourne's Jewish community (the largest in Australia) in 1860 and were responsible for the founding of Melbourne's second and third Hebrew congregations in East Melbourne and St. Kilda [Wehner, pp. 47,113].

Several German newspapers circulated in Melbourne in the 1850s and 1860s. As well as news, they published essays, stories and poems. A humorous view of the immigrant experience was provided in a ballad by the naturalist and artist Dr. Ludwig Becker, published in the *Melbourner Deutscher Zeitung* in 1860 [Wehner, pp. 20-22, 26-27]. After recounting the privations of the voyage, he describes the immigrants' arrival:

Nach hundert dreiundzwanzig Tag	On the hundred 'n' twenty-third day
Das Schiff zuletzt vor Anker lag.	The ship at last at anchor lay.
Und alle eilten auf den Strand	We all hurried to the strand
Und tanzten auf dem golden Land...	And danced upon the golden land...
In Melbourne ist der Wandersmann	In Melbourne is the wanderer
Und sieht sich dort die Strassen an,	And gazes on the streetscape there,
Das Leben ist verkehrt und toll	Life is upside down and droll
Die Menschen und die Häuser voll.	The people mad, the houses full.

Although German-speaking immigrants comprised only a small percentage of the total Victorian population, they made a disproportionately large contribution to science, art and music. A high number of scientifically trained Germans came to Australia, inspired by the great scientific explorer and observer, Alexander von Humboldt [Wehner, p. 63]. Among the most prominent was Baron Ferdinand von Mueller (1825-1896), Government Botanist, botanist on Gregory's 1855 Northern Australia Expedition, inaugural director of the Botanic Gardens, inaugural president of the Royal Society of Victoria, and author of many botanical treatises (and Walter Lindesay Richardson's friend [Steele, pp. 32-34, Green p. 354n]); Georg Balthasar Neumayer (1826-1909), physicist, geophysicist, hydrographer and meteorologist and founder of the Flagstaff Observatory; Ludwig Becker (c.1808-1861), geologist, meteorologist, explorer, artist, scientific authorand

naturalist on "Burke and Wills' Expedition"; Dr. William Blandowski (1822-1876?), geologist, zoologist, anthropologist and artist and Dr. Hermann Beckler (1828-1914), physician, botanist and explorer [Wehner, pp. 221-236].

The artists included Becker, Blandowski and several others [Wehner, pp. 187-202]. The most notable, however, was Eugen von Guérard (1812-1901), born in Vienna, who studied and painted in Duesseldorf and Italy before establishing his studio in Melbourne in 1852. Strongly influenced by the environmental ideas of Alexander von Humboldt, he travelled extensively along the East Coast, to South Australia and Tasmania and to Mt. Kosciusko with Neumayer's expedition. He was appointed the first Master of the School of Painting at the National Gallery of Victoria, where his students included the famous landscape painters Frederick McCubbin and Tom Roberts. His numerous landscapes are still exhibited today and provide an often unique record of early Victoria. His numerous paintings of Victorian aborigines provide a unique and respectful record of aboriginal life at a critical point in the colonization of Victoria (well before the establishment of the famous Hermannsburg mission in the Northern Territory by A.H. Kempe and W.F. Schwartz in 1877).

Music was generally regarded as the field in which Germans were dominant in Melbourne in the second half of the 19th century [see Murphy (1) and (2) and Sutherland for details]. The performances of German singers, musicians and composers (both local and visiting) were continuously celebrated in both German and English newspapers. Many successful musicians and singers who came to visit Melbourne subsequently settled in the city or stayed for years. The most popular form of music in the 1850s and 1860s was choral singing and the most popular choir was the *Deutsche Liedertafel* (male choir) *Harmonia*, originally founded in 1854 as the German Glee Club. Composers, musicians and singers often taught as well as performing, both privately and in schools. Among the most prominent were the composers and conductors Carl Elsaesser (1817-1885) from Württemberg and George Loder; pianists and composers Charles Bial (1833-1892) from Silesia, Julius Buddee (c.1820-1890) from Berlin, Christian Hünerbein via Hamburg, Julius Samuel Imberg (c.1808-1863) from Berlin, A. Stockmeyer via Hamburg and George Weinritter; violinists and composers Miska Hauser 1822-1887) from Pressburg (now Bratislava), Carl Schmitt (1834?-1900) from Munich and Johann Kruse II (1859-1927) born in Melbourne; brass player Richard Koehler; oboist and composer J. Schott; flautist, conductor and composer Julius Siede (1825-1903) and singers and conductors Charles Castelli aka Karl Gloggner from Lucerne, Charles Niemitz, Hermann Schlüter and Johann Sprinckhorn (c.1811-1873) [Wehner, pp. 171-186].

Until the death of Metternich in 1859, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had played the dominant role in Central European politics, although Prussia had been growing in strength industrially. In 1862 Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) was appointed Minister President of Prussia. He was determined to unite the German states under Prussian leadership. He achieved this through skilful alliances and a series of short and decisive wars: in 1864 to prevent Denmark annexing German-speaking Schleswig Holstein and in 1866 against Austria (then allied with Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony and Württemberg) [Russell, p.162]. Following Bismarck's victory, the Hanoverian Guelph monarchy was deposed and Hanover, which had resisted hardest, was reduced to a province of Prussia [Hawes, p.107]. The North German Federation (*Norddeutscher Bund*), incorporating the states north of the River Main, including Saxony, was now founded under Prus-

sian domination [Haffner, p.128]. In order to subdue the southern states of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, Bismarck provoked the French Emperor Naopoleon III to attack Prussia and then posed as the defender of all of Germany [Russell, p.163]. Following Prussia's unexpected victory, due its technological superiority, Bismarck had the reluctant Prussian King Wilhelm I crowned German Emperor (*Deutscher Kaiser*) in the Palace of Versailles in 1871 and declared the foundation of the Second German Empire, with a political structure modelled on the USA (except that the Emperor was not elected) and including Alsace, Lorraine and all the German states except Austria [Haffner, p.139].

The Imperial Parliament (*Reichstag*) was elected by universal male suffrage, but the Chancellor, Bismarck, could only be appointed or dismissed by the Emperor. Initially, Bismarck ruled with the support of the two right wing parties (the Conservatives and the National Liberals) and waged war against the Catholic Church (*der Kulturkampf*), provoking a new wave of emigration, and against the Socialists [Cole, p. 169, Russell, p.166]. In reaction, the number of representatives in the Reichstag of both the Catholic Centre (*Zentrum*) Party and the Social Democratic Party massively increased [Haffner, p. 143]. As a wily politician, Bismarck then changed course and Germany became the first nation in Europe to introduce social welfare measures, such as compulsory insurance for accidents, sickness and old age as well as a minimum wage [Cole, p.168, Russell, p.167].

In the new era of prosperity and political stability, a large number of mathematicians, scientists, philosophers, historiographers, artists and musicians rose to world leadership. Only a few can be mentioned here. Following geographer Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and mathematician Karl Friedrich Gauss (1777-1855), came: physicists: Wilhelm Weber (1804-1891), the inventor of the telegraph, Wilhelm von Röntgen (1845-1923), the discoverer of X-rays, Max Planck (1858-1947), the discoverer of quantization, Max von Laue, the inventor of X-ray diffraction, the Austrian Ernst Mach (1838-1916) as well as the young Albert Einstein (1879-1955) and others. Following chemist Justus Liebig (1803-1873) and anatomists Johannes Müller (1801-1858) and Johann Schönlein (1793-1864) came biologists Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) and Robert Koch (1843-1910) and Paul Ehrlich. The Viennese Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), who founded psycho-analysis and was a dominant influence on the understanding of mental illness in the early twentieth century, had a wide ranging impact on literature and society and specifically on Henry Handel Richardson's treatment of it in the third volume of *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* [Green, Richardson (4)].

Following Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Johann Gottlob Fichte (1762-1814), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and Friedrich Schelling (1775-1854), came philosophers Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), Karl Marx (1818-1883), Hermann Cohen (1842-1918), Paul Natorp (1854-1924), Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), Nicolai Hartmann (1882-1950) and the supreme iconoclast, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Nietzsche also composed music and was a friend Richard Wagner, but broke with Wagner because of Wagner's anti-semitism [Yovel, Cole, p.176]. Nietzsche counted a number of women among his intellectual friends and HHR was attracted to Nietzsche's writing, although more for its poetic than its philosophical character. The greatest German historian of the 19th century was Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886).

Among prominent German artists were Alfred Rethel (1816-1859), Anselm Feuerbach (1829-

1880), Wilhelm Leibl (1844-1900), Arnold Böcklin (1827-1901) and Adolf von Mentzel (1815-1905). The great composers of the time are household names. In music, romanticism remained a feature in the work of Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), Richard Wagner (1813-1883), Franz Schubert (1797-1825), Robert Schumann (1810-1856), Richard Strauss (1864-1949) and the Austrians Anton Bruckner (1824-1896), Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Johann Strauss II (1825-1899) and Franz von Suppé (1819-1895).

Realism and naturalism replaced romanticism in German literature in the second half of the nineteenth century. Following Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1841) came poets including Eduard Mörike (1804-1875),Theodor Storm (1817-1888), Stefan George (1868-1933), Friedrich Nietzsche (1884-1900) and a little later Hugo von Hoffmannsthal (1874-1929) and Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926) and the Nobel prize winning playwright, Gerhard Hauptmann (1862-1946). Other well-known playwrights included Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1913) and Jakob Julius David (1859-1906). Among the most internationally known novelists were Theodor Fontane (1819-1898) and later Hermann Hesse (1877-1962), Heinrich Mann (1871-1950) and Thomas Mann (1875-1955). (An article on contemporary German writers read by Henry Handel Richardson is in preparation.)

In 1888 Kaiser Wilhelm I died and was succeeded by his son Friedrich III, who was married to Queen Victoria's oldest daughter. Friedrich died of cancer 99 days later and was succeeded by his son, Kaiser Wilhelm II. Wilhelm II notoriously had a withered left arm and a narcissistic personality [Russell, p. 168]. Trump-like, he delighted in military pageantry and the applause of crowds and was contemptuous of political advisers. In 1890, a few months after HHR's arrival in Leipzig, Bismarck resigned after Wilhelm refused his advice and threw an inkwell at him [Cole, p. 182]. In contrast to Bismarck, who had wanted to maintain the status quo, Wilhelm aspired to be the leader of a world power and embarked on a naval race with Great Britain, which was to end in disaster.

Nevertheless the first 26 years of the Wilhelmian period were regarded as *Wunderjahre* (wonder years) of rising prosperity in Germany [Russell, p. 170]. By 1900 German industrial output surpassed that of Britain [Lord, p. 31, Tomalin, p. 25]. Germany was also socially progressive. The Social Democratic Party became the largest in the Reichstag and trade unions fought for better wages and working conditions. In 1865 Luise Otto-Peters (1819-1895) had launched the General German Women's Association,which started the suffragist movement. In 1894, Auguste Schmidt (1840-1913) formed the Federation of German Women's Associations and its newsletter *die Frau*. These movements led to women being classed as "legal persons" in 1900 and admitted to universities as full time students in 1901 [Cole, p. 170].

Knowledge of major political, social and cultural developments can be gained from history books. In her novel *Maurice Guest* and in her short stories, however, HHR describes aspects of arriving in and living in a foreign country, for which even an extensive knowledge of the literature, culture and language do not prepare a young student. These include dialects, neologisms, colloquialisms and references to local customs and history which are taken for granted. In spite of financial strains, HHR shared in the rise of the cultured increasingly prosperous middle class during her time in Germany. Nonetheless her short stories [Richardson (1)] and her novel *Maurice Guest* [Richardson (3)] show that she paid attention to the attitudes and expressions of the

poor and disadvantaged, who are often left behind during times of rapid change.

Wilhelm II meanwhile led Germany into a series of foreign policy crises, in which Germany narrowly avoided war and became increasingly isolated diplomatically. His devotion to his grandmother, Queen Victoria, and his respect for his uncle, King Edward VII, kept his rivalry with Great Britain in check, but after Edward's death, relations between the two countries deteriorated. When, without warning, the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, a chain of unwise decisions unleashed the catastrophe of World War I between the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France and Russia). That catastrophe led to a chain of further catastrophes during the 20th century: the Bolshevik revolution, the hyperinflation of the 1920s, the rise of Fascism and Nazism, World War II and the Holocaust.

Bismarck, who had never gone to war without sufficiently strong allies to make defeat unlikely, would not have allowed the development of a situation in which the three strong powers of Britain, France and Russia were allied against the weaker alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. During an earlier Balkan crisis in 1877, in which Russia, Turkey and Austria were at loggerheads he had said prophetically "Bulgaria is not sufficiently important to plunge Europe, from Moscow to the Pyrenees and from the North Sea to Palermo, into a war the outcome of which nobody can foresee". Rather than join the war on either side, he had played the role of honest broker and presided over the Berlin Congress of 1878 [Haffner, p. 147], which worked out a compromise accepted by all parties [Russell, p. 168].

The outbreak of war tore apart relationships between emperors, scientists, artists, musicians, businesses and writers, so much that some have called it a European civil war. For HHR, now living in Dorset, it tore apart parts of herself. On 8 August 1914 she wrote in a letter "England could nor refuse to fight under the circumstances. But I have loved Germany very dearly and have many good friends over there; & its *Kultur* has meant so much to me that it has been hard to accept the fact of our being declared enemies. I am one of those who know that we are not fighting the German people (who had no more wish for war than ourselves) but an intolerable militarism, which belongs by rights to the middle ages, & has become a menace to all Europe" [Probyn & Steele, vol. 3, p. 603].

Even in Australia the emotions unleashed by the outbreak of war also resembled those of a civil war. People smashed their previously prized German pianos and Meissen porcelain in the street. Tens of thousands of German Australians were rounded up and placed in internment camps, including some who complained bitterly that their sons were fighting in the AIF (Australian Infantry Force). There was a wholesale renaming of towns, suburbs and streets. In Melbourne, Waldau became Doncaster and Westgarthtown became Thomastown. Weinberg Road became Wattle Valley Road and German Lane, which ran from Brunswick to Northcote, was pointedly renamed Separation Street. When war ended in 1918, the majority of the German Australian internees felt so rejected by their chosen country that they re-emigrated back to Germany. Even the decisive part played in the allied victory by Australia's greatest general, Sir John Monash, was downplayed by the military historian Charles Bean and the journalist Keith Murdoch, because Monash was Jewish and perhaps also because his parents were Prussian.

Even the role of German Australians in the cultural life of 19th century and in historic events, such as William Brahe's steadfast conduct in the Burke and Wills Expedition, were downplayed. A few traces remain, however, such as the names of the Melbourne suburbs Heidelberg, Coburg, Brunswick, Altona and Elsternwick, which were so well established that they were no longer seen as foreign. The most striking musical legacy is our National Anthem, whose tune is recognized by Germans today as that of an old militia marching song *Der Gott der Eisen wachsen liess* and our most well-known song Waltzing Matilda, whose title comes from the phrase *Mathilde waltzen* ("to lug one's swag" in the argot of 19th century German journeyman artisans) and whose words, written by Banjo Patterson, were inspired by the drowning death of the itinerant shearer "Frenchy" Hoffmeister at the time of the 1890 Queensland shearers' strike [see among others: Pearce, *passim*.].

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