

**WAR PRECAUTIONS OR PERSECUTION?**  
**THE TREATMENT OF ENEMY ALIENS AND OTHERS**  
**IN TASMANIA DURING THE GREAT WAR:**

AN EXAMINATION OF THE *RECORD OF ALIENS* FILES OF THE  
INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF, 6TH MILITARY DISTRICT  
1914 - 1919.

by

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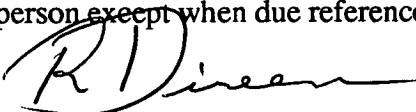
## Abbreviations

AIF	Australian Imperial Forces
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANZAC	The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
CBE	Companion of the British Empire
DNO	District Naval Officer
DSO	Distinguished Service Order
GSO	General Staff Officer
HMAS	His Majesties Australian Ship
HMS	His Majesties Ship
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World
KCB	Knight Commander of the Bath
MC	Military Cross
MD	Military District
MHA	Member House of Assembly
OBU	One Big Union
OC	Officer Commanding
RC	Roman Catholic
RSSILA	Returned Soldiers' and Sailors' Imperial League of Australia
SS	Steam Ship
WPA	War Precautions Act
WPR	War Precautions Regulations
WW1	World War One

## Disclaimer

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or award in any University, and to the best of my knowledge and belief the thesis contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person except when due reference is made in the text of this thesis.

Signed:



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# INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an investigation of the *Record of Aliens* files of the Intelligence Section, General Staff, 6th Military District (Tasmania) for 1914 - 1919 held by the Australian Archives in Hobart. By positioning the *Record of Aliens* files within the context of the social and economic forces shaping Tasmanian attitudes during the war I have attempted to enhance our understanding of the information contained within the files and provide as balanced an assessment of their historical significance as possible.

The *Record of Aliens* files were released for public access during 1992 and consist of 759 standardised numbered forms (see appendix 2) of one, or occasionally two sheets, in alphabetical order. The files are a summary, probably completed in late 1919, of information collected from August 1914 until late 1919. The original files appear to have been destroyed. For purposes of the present analysis two copies of the *Records* were made and one set arranged to provide a chronological record of the activities of the Military Intelligence Section throughout the war and the immediate post-war period, while the other set has been classified into various categories as presented in the first section of chapter four. The main difficulties with the chronological analysis are that 124 files are undated (16.2%) and a number of different dates relating to different events or reports are shown on the one file. In the latter case the date of the earliest significant event recorded was used as the basis of classification. A similar problem arose with the categorical analysis since many individual files record-ed different types of events. The most significant event was used for primary allocation and the file was then cross-referenced for the other information. X

The central question informing this paper is whether the recorded acts of surveillance, questioning, registration and detention of enemy aliens and others within Tasmania during the First World War were reasonable war precautions or harsh acts of reprisal against "the enemy within"? In seeking an answer I have set out my investigation as follows. Chapter one presents the Commonwealth Government's role in maintaining the external and internal security of Australia during the war. Chapter two explores the nature of Tasmanian society during the decade from 1910 - 1920. Chapter three provides a detailed chronological survey of the *Record of Aliens* files and chapter four presents an analysis of the files and a conclusion.

# CHAPTER ONE

## THE IMPERIAL WAR

### EXTERNAL SECURITY

Australia was ready for war. The country possessed a brand new navy consisting of one battle cruiser (*HMAS Australia*), four light cruisers (one lent by the Admiralty for training purposes), three torpedo boat destroyers, two submarines and five training boats. Three more torpedo boat destroyers and two store ships were under construction.<sup>1</sup> In late 1909 compulsory military training for men and boys aged from 12-20 had replaced the voluntary system introduced in 1904. Field-Marshal Kitchener at the invitation of the Deakin Fusion Government toured Australia for two months in the summer of 1909/10 and presented a well received report on defence policy recommending an expanded regular army (to 80 000 men), extended compulsory military training to the age of 25, and the establishment of a military college. Defending the Kitchener strategy in 1912 Senator Pearce (ALP), described it as: "a splendid opportunity of building up Australian Nationalism".<sup>2</sup>

When Great Britain declared war on Germany, 4 August 1914, Australian leaders were aware of the likelihood of conflict with Germany but they were not party to the decision that enrolled them in the war. Nevertheless, as loyal British subjects, Australia's political leaders plunged wholeheartedly into the rhetoric of total conflict: Australia will stand beside Britain "to our last man and our last shilling"; the hand-me-down words of opposition leader and soon to be Prime Minister, Andrew Fisher, were the first of many clichés used to rally the young nation. Severe drought and rising unemployment became secondary issues as the European War captured the imagination of the population. Liberal Prime Minister Joseph Cook immediately placed the Australian Navy at the disposal of the British Admiralty and promised King George 20 000 soldiers to throw at the Kaiser.<sup>3</sup> In Tasmania, as elsewhere, men and boys rushed to enlist, many were spurred on by the popular belief that the conflict would be "all over by Christmas."<sup>4</sup> Only the best physical specimens of Australia's male population were selected to defend the honour of the "mother" country by helping subdue the "arrogant and ambitious" Germans. From a total population of 4 455 005 (1911 Census) 52 561 men enlisted by the close of 1914, about 1.2%, with 31 881 embarking for overseas duty. The figures for Tasmania are 1 895 enlistment's, about 1%, from a population of 191 211.<sup>5</sup>

Just as the enlistment motives of individual soldiers ranged from child-like belief in imperialist fantasies of war<sup>6</sup> through to the self-interest of the "six bob a day tourists" so too did a mixture of motives drive Australian leaders in their unrestrained support for the "war to end all wars". Loyalty to Empire and a desire to honour Great Britain's commitment to the protection of "poor little Belgium" certainly played a role. However, Australia's pre-war defence preparations were primarily fuelled by the fear of "Asian hordes", supposedly held at bay by the "White Australia policy".<sup>7</sup> Active membership of a united empire controlling the world's most powerful navy was considered essential for the protection of Australian interests against the threat of either German or Japanese expansionism. Besides, a federal election for both Houses of Parliament was due in early September and the war enjoyed popular support. (Andrew Fisher replaced Joseph Cook as Prime Minister when Labor won 31 of the 36 Senate seats and gained a majority of ten in the House of Representatives.)<sup>8</sup>

Australian forces occupied German New Guinea and other German possessions south of the Equator in September and October of 1914; Japan declared war on Germany on 23rd August and claimed the prizes to the north. *HMAS Sydney*, while on troopship escort duty, approached and destroyed the small German battle cruiser, *Emden*, respon-sible for the loss of 16 British merchant ships in the Indian Ocean and frightening proof of the effectiveness of Germany's war preparations in the antipodes. Nevertheless, in international terms, the Dardanelles invasion, following a period of training in Egypt and an unsuccessful naval assault, represented Australia's entry to the war. The Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) role in the Gallipoli campaign was presented, and quickly accepted, as being of mythic proportions. Oddly enough, the defence of empire was also perceived as a pathway to Australian nationhood. While the federation of the Australasian colonies in January 1901 had formally created the Commonwealth of Australia, personal loyalties were still focused on individual states and the empire as a whole. People considered themselves Tasmanian and British, for example, rather than as Australians and, for some, the war provided a glorious opportunity to baptise the young nation with the blood of its soldiers. According to Major-General Sir John Gellibrand, K.C.B., D.S.O. "Many a man enlisted from a State, but all who came back felt they returned to Australia." And: the men have developed an allegiance "to an ideal Australia, white, straight, and pleasant for all the citizens".<sup>9</sup>

While it should be accepted that the ejaculation of inexperienced but game troops onto the wrong beach in the pre-dawn hours of April 25th 1915, and the immediate aftermath, more resembled the fumbling of over-eager youth than the disciplined

incursions of a mature military force, nevertheless, it is difficult to ignore the myth-making elements of the campaign (from an Australian point of view). The British born but locally elected Australian War Correspondent, C. E. W. Bean, took up this view of the campaign in his despatches and further elaborated it in his Official History of the War.<sup>10</sup> During the eight months the Australian Imperial Force (A.I.F.) remained dug in on the barren shores of the Dardanelles approximately 7 600 Australians were killed and 19 000 wounded.<sup>11</sup> However, the gruesome circumstances of the Turkish campaign were merely a taste of the hardships to come in the muddy, blood-soaked trenches of Europe. The Australians had displayed their excellent fighting morale on the Peninsular and were to be systematically used as "shock" troops by Field-Marshal Douglas Haig for the duration of the war. Australian troops suffered casualties at a rate of 65% as compared to about 50% for Britain and Canada. By the end of the war 416 809 or approximately 40% of all Australian men aged from eighteen to forty-five had enlisted in the A.I.F. Of the 331 781 assigned to theatres of war, 63 163 had been killed and another 156 128 wounded.<sup>12</sup>

Australia maintained five overseas divisions of the A.I.F. in France from early 1916. Unlike the Canadian forces these divisions were used by the British Commanders when and where they pleased; only in January 1918 were the divisions brought together as one Australian Corps. Casualties, sickness and desertion all exacted their toll. Late in 1916, Field-Marshal Haig, supported by the British born ANZAC Commander Lt-General Birdwood, argued strongly for the death penalty for Australian deserters to bring them in line with all other forces since "the crime of deserting from the base from drafts proceeding to the front has recently been rife among them."<sup>13</sup> To its credit the Australian Government refused to allow the ultimate penalty to be applied to its voluntary forces. In early 1917 Australian Prime Minister, W. M. "Billy" Hughes, extremely popular in Britain for his jingoistic patriotic fervour,<sup>14</sup> foolishly promised the "mother country" another Australian division. The reality, however, was that great difficulty was being experienced in simply maintaining the operational strength of the existing five divisions and only a sense of *esprit de corps* and Hughes' frantic efforts in 1916 and again in 1917 to introduce conscription prevented the dismantling of one division to reinforce the other four. Following an extraordinary enlistment response to the Gallipoli casualty lists (See enlistment graph Appendix 3) the numbers of men joining up declined steadily for the duration of the war.

The murderous Somme offensive brought on the conscription debate in Australia.<sup>15</sup> In just seven weeks from late July 1916 the A.I.F. suffered 27 000 casualties at a

time when voluntary enlistment's were running at about 6 000 per month. Hughes, arguing that 32 500 men were needed immediately and another 50 000 over the next three months and aware of the anti-conscription position of the Labor dominated Senate, called a referendum on conscription.<sup>16</sup> For Hughes the issue was the survival of the Australian Nation because although Britain would be humiliated by a German victory: "Does any man or woman doubt that Australia would become a German possession?"<sup>17</sup> One of the more common arguments against conscription was that it would "imperil white Australia, since immigrants, and probably non-whites, would be required to replace the workers sent to war."<sup>18</sup> In addition, many thought Hughes' reinforcement figures grossly inflated. On 28 October 1916 the electorate narrowly returned a No vote. (See Appendix 3). The continued support of W. M. Hughes for the introduction of conscription and his refusal to hold the promised national prices referendum (to give the national government wide-ranging economic powers for the duration of the war) resulted in a dramatic split within the ruling Labor Party with Hughes walking out of a caucus meeting in November 1916 with 23 of his supporters. Following his expulsion from the Labor Party he formed a new ministry made up of a combination of his Labor followers and the Liberal Party. This alliance merged to form the Nationalist Party in February 1917. At this time the Government faced a Labor majority in the Senate but the mysterious illness of three Tasmanian Senators reversed the situation. However, two healthy Tasmanian Senators refused to co-operate in extending the life of the parliament and the Prime Minister was forced to shelve his plans to attend the Imperial War Conference in London and a bitterly fought half Senate and House of Representatives election was held on 5 May 1917. Campaigning on a three point platform of "win the war", maintain Australian national life, and preserve the empire, the Nationalist Party captured all eighteen available Senate seats and increased their House of Representatives majority from 23 to 33 seats.<sup>19</sup> Significantly, Hughes promised that if elected his Government would not legislate to introduce conscription.

A second conscription plebiscite was held on 20 December 1917 and the campaign was even more virulent than the first. Many Irish Catholics were still smarting from Britain's harsh treatment of the Easter insurrectionists in Ireland the previous year and the new Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr. Mannix, continued to maintain that Australia was doing "more than her fair share - in this war."<sup>20</sup> The defeat of the striking Railway and Coal Miners Unions in NSW and the contentious arrest of the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) officials under the *Unlawful Associations Act 1917*, further aroused the ire of the radical Australian socialist movement quite apart from the already fierce opposition of the ALP to conscription for overseas service. Queensland Premier, T. J. Ryan "asserted that conscription would place



military law above civil law, ... lead to industrial coercion [and] destroy the power of unionism."<sup>21</sup> The Hughes Government, facing the loss of 55 000 casualties in the mud and madness of Messines, Bullecourt and Ypres, and fearing the collapse of Russia and Italy, demanded a Yes vote: "I tell you plainly that the Government must have this power. It cannot govern the country without it, and will not attempt to do so."<sup>22</sup> Occasional acting Prime Minister, W. A. Watt, put it even more plainly: "anyone who voted 'no' must be either ignorant or disloyal."<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the electorate consolidated their No vote. (See Appendix 3). Hughes resigned but was soon recalled by the Governor-General who, lacking a viable alternative, commissioned him to form a new government.<sup>24</sup>

## INTERNAL SECURITY

The 1911 Census shows 32 990 German-born and 2 774 Austro-Hungarian-born persons living in Australia, and many more people were of German descent. Pre-war trade with Germany was extensive, apart from Australia's imperial commerce, Germany ranked second only to the USA in terms of imports and close behind France in the value of exports.<sup>25</sup> In both South Australia and Queensland German communities were prominent and took pride in their cultural heritage, united by language and the Lutheran religion, they actively maintained their German identity and had established their own schools for that purpose. Prior to the war, Australian authorities were both aware and concerned that the *Generalkonsulat* in Sydney was being used as a clearing house for the results of clandestine German surveillance of the Pacific region. According to Tampke and Doxford, "the Australian Military Authorities also correctly realised that Australia played the key part in Germany's strategic and military planning in the western Pacific region".<sup>26</sup> At the outbreak of war it was therefore considered necessary to neutralise the security risk of "enemy aliens". Extracts from the *Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* of August 10th and 13th were published in the *Police Gazette - Tasmania* for Friday, 21 August 1914, proclaiming on behalf of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Commonwealth of Australia, Sir Ronald Craufurd Munro Ferguson, that: "all persons who are subjects of the German Empire [are] to forthwith report themselves to the officer of police nearest to the place in which such persons reside and to supply to such officer particulars as to their names, places of residence, and occupations or businesses, and such other matters as such police officer thinks fit to require". The registration order also required notification of change of residence and a second proclamation applied to subjects of the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.

The cornerstone of Australia's wartime internal security legislation, the comprehensive *War Precautions Act 1914* (WPA), based closely upon Britain's *Defence of the Realm Act*, became law on 29 October 1914.<sup>27</sup> (See Appendix 1). The then Attorney-General W. M. Hughes said "the Bill ... is mainly directed to preventing the leakage of important secrets, to secure the safety of the means of communication, railways, docks, harbours, or public works, and to deal with aliens, and, in certain circumstances, with naturalised persons. Its aim is to prevent the disclosure of important information, to give power to deport, and otherwise deal with aliens, to interrogate and obtain information in various ways."<sup>28</sup> In effect, according to F. K. Crowley, the WPA "gave the Commonwealth Government complete control over the press and the economy, and enabled it to establish a centralised and militarist administration."<sup>29</sup> Robson points out that the WPA "enabled the central government and its agents to do nearly anything they liked."<sup>30</sup> Six regulations within the WPA provided the authority for the continuing imposition of the censorship that had been adopted throughout the Commonwealth under the supervision of the Deputy Chief Censor in Melbourne in co-operation with the Chief Censor in London from 5 pm., 2 August 1914. The regulations made it an offence for any person: to provide or elicit any information "directly or indirectly useful to the enemy [or] advocate or encourage disloyalty or hostility to the British Empire"; to make false reports, *especially if likely to interfere with recruitment*; to print or distribute forbidden material; to publish material in such a way that inferred the hand of the censor. Mail censorship was intended to prevent information reaching the enemy, trace cases of enemy trading and detect disloyal persons and enemy sympathisers. By the end of the war, the letters of about 15 000 persons were under surveillance.<sup>31</sup> The WPA regulations empowered the state to force entry and search on the basis of suspicion and to seize and destroy "injurious matter". Furthermore, to the frustration of this researcher, no public reference to the work of Military Intelligence or the internment of Germans or other persons was permitted.

In August 1914 instructions came from London for the round-up of all enemy reservists many of whom were released after signing a parole form as follows: "I hereby swear that I will not take up arms against Great Britain, and that I will not act in any way inimical to the interests of Great Britain till the end of the war."<sup>32</sup> Enemy aliens on parole were required to report weekly to their nearest police station. In September further instructions were received to arrest all enemy alien reservists and all enemy subjects of military age found on ships. In October all enemy subjects whose conduct was "suspicious or unsatisfactory" were to be interned. In May 1915 enemy aliens, naturalised or not, were banned from proximity to ships, wharves and military or naval buildings. That same year Regulations number 55 and 56 were introduced

authorising the internment of disaffected or disloyal naturalised subjects and allowing the internment of disloyal natural-born British subjects of enemy descent as well as any person of "hostile origin or association." Clearly, no potential enemy or dissident could expect to escape the jurisdiction of the WPA. In October 1916, all aliens, enemy or otherwise, were required to register themselves. Also in 1916, *War Precautions Regulations* were introduced to control the holding of shares or the transferring of land by enemy subjects and naturalised subjects of enemy origin, and no person other than a natural-born British subject could have an interest in a mining lease or business.<sup>33</sup>

Internment camps were established and maintained in each Military District until September 1915 when most of the prisoners were concentrated at the enlarged Holdsworthy Internment Camp near Liverpool, NSW. Some military district camps continued in a down-graded capacity for the local voluntary internment of destitute aliens and as staging posts for prisoners in transit. Additional camps were established at Berrima, Trial Bay and Burke. In total, 6890 persons were interned during the war and another 4260 were on parole. Approximately 5500 prisoners were German or of German origin (nationality was determined by paternal descent), and another 1100 were Austro-Hungarians, mostly from the WA gold fields, there were 100 Bulgarians, a dozen Turks and a sprinkling of other nationalities. Sailors accounted for 1100 of the Germans and another 980 had been transported from British Territories overseas. About 700 of the prisoners had been naturalised (393 Germans) and another 70 were native-born British subjects of German descent. About 4500 of the prisoners (3272 Germans) had been residents of Australia in August 1914.<sup>34</sup>

Not all the camps were as unpleasant as the gang-ridden and overcrowded Holdsworthy camp; dusty in summer, miserably cold in winter. Only Burke, where 58 men, 84 women and 67 children were held, was worse.<sup>35</sup> The Berrima and Trial Bay camps, on the other hand, were probably as pleasant as prisoners could hope to experience. Berrima, 137 kilometres south-west of Sydney, housed 400 German sailors and ships officers most of whom had been taken from their ships at the start of the war. The officers and crew of the *Emden* were also interned here. These prisoners generally had freedom of movement about the district and their wartime experience was something of a "picnic". As official prisoners of war they seemed to enjoy the indulgence and the respect of the Australian authorities that was withheld from the civilian internees at Holdsworthy.<sup>36</sup> One prisoner's "account of life at Berrima reads like a Brochure for a particularly salubrious holiday camp".<sup>37</sup> Five hundred kilometres north of Sydney, Trial Bay, like Berrima, was a former

prison set in idyllic surroundings. The 580 internees were predominantly professional men, selected for their superior social standing, and able to pay for their accommodation. Parole during the day, good food, theatre, music and a weekly newspaper made the life of the inmates more than bearable. Only a lack of female companionship and an awareness of their imprisonment curtailed the development of a holiday atmosphere.<sup>38</sup>

Life was not so pleasant for most people of German descent living in Australia. As war broke out so too did 300 larrikins in Melbourne, rioting through the streets and attempting to burn down the German Club. The twin wartime pressures of rising prices and lower real wages resulted in resistance to the employment of Germans or even Australians of German descent. The University of Melbourne dismissed two German lecturers. Ernest Scott writes that many strikes were threatened if German workers were not dismissed and "there were nine recorded instances of ... stoppages of work because employees objected to working with Germans."<sup>39</sup> The number of Germans availing themselves of voluntary internment due to destitution testifies to the economic difficulties faced by enemy aliens and, probably, by most persons bearing a German name. Constant newspaper reports of alleged German atrocities in Belgium and the publication of the Bryce Report to provide official and lurid (and suspect) confirmation of those reports, the sinking of the Lusitania, the execution of Miss Edith Cavell,<sup>40</sup> the unexpected length of the war and the terrible casualty lists all combined to engender within the bleak war-time shared imagination a depersonalised hateful enemy. Internationally accepted popular concepts of social Darwinism merged with the unquestioned racism of Australian nationalism and imperialism to shape the enemy into a racial type; a brutal, greedy, cunning and warlike "Hun".<sup>41</sup> To many, perhaps subliminally, WWI was a bitter struggle to deny ascendancy to an ambitious rival race devoid of nobility and that sense of fair play that made the British the finest race on earth. This type of thinking, that is, focusing on 'race' as the primary motivation for action and allegiances results in the assumption of a racial war, which in turn brings the front line into the community. Thus Joseph Cook, Minister for the Navy: "The Germans are a foul brood. They kill babies. They torture and mutilate prisoners. They destroy and defile. They sink unarmed ships, fire on crews and passengers, strike metals for the Lusitania. They say treaties are scraps of paper. They are fearful liars and the Champion bullies of the world."<sup>42</sup>

In 1916 Defence Minister Pearce convinced Cabinet to intern Australian-born Pastor Gustav Fischer basing his opinion on a report received from Major E. L. Piesse, Director of the Intelligence Section of the General Staff, which read, in part: "The situation in the German districts gives great anxiety to British residents, and

the best way of relieving their anxiety, as well as of keeping German residents in check, is to intern occasionally a few leading German residents."<sup>43</sup> According to Scott: "the state of public feeling that existed at the end of the war and for some time afterwards [made] the peaceful re absorption of a large number of hostile Germans and Austrians into the general population obviously impossible." And so, between May 1919 and June 1920, nine 'special' ships carried 5 276 internees back to Germany. Of the remainder, 1 124 persons were liberated, 58 had escaped, 202 had died (3 while attempting to escape and 104 of influenza), 46 were released to the Jugo-Slavian forces in Serbia and 50 had become insane. Until 1925 (1930 for Turks) an amendment of the Immigration Act prohibited Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians, Hungarians or Turks from entering Australia.<sup>44</sup>

# CHAPTER TWO

## TASMANIAN SOCIETY (1910-1920)

The population of Tasmania in 1911 was 191 211 persons 90.37% of whom were born in Australasia and another 8.69% (14 606) were born in Europe: 13 532 in the British Isles (including 2 187 from Ireland); 121 in Denmark; 119 in Sweden; and 590 in Germany (0.31% made up of 353 males and 237 females). One person was born in Japan, 362 including nine females, were born in China, and 57 (24 females) in Syria. Almost three times as many persons living in Tasmania were born at sea (122) than in Polynesia (44). The 'Non-European Races' were divided into full-blood and half-cast and Aboriginal persons had to be classified "half-cast" to be counted at all. It is of interest that the 1921 Census lists only 389 Tasmanian residents born in Germany, 201 less than in 1911. The number of Russian-born residents also decreased - from 44 to 20 persons over ten years.<sup>45</sup> The census figures for religion also reflect the homogen-eous nature of Tasmanian society before the war. The Church of England accounted for 48.55% of the Tasmanian population as compared to the Australian average of 39.98%. Only 0.01% were Lutherans as compared to 6.45% in South Australia and 3.79% in Queensland and an Australian average of 1.40%. Seventh Day Adventists were 0.26% compared to the Australian average of 0.14% and second only to Western Australia at 0.45%. The Roman Catholic religion accounted for 16.04% of residents as compared to an Australian average of 21.74%, only South Australia recorded a lower percentage at 12.87%. The appropriate figures to express recruitment potential show that while the percentage of the population aged between 12 and 18 years in Tasmania was higher than for the other states the proportion of the population aged from 18 to 26 was 1% lower, and for all males of Military Service Age (18-59) Tasmania's proportion of the total male population was 52.77% compared to an Australian average of 56.71%. Tasmania registered Australia's highest percentage of both male and female dependants within its population.

### THE ECONOMY

Tasmania was predominantly an agricultural society at the outbreak of the Great War. The 1911 Census shows 40.2% of all breadwinners were engaged in primary production with 65% of them directly engaged in agriculture; 8.5% in the pastoral industry; 6.3% in forestry; and 18% in mining and quarrying. Industrial workers represented no more than 22.7% of all breadwinners. The commercial class

accounted for another 11.5%; domestic service, 10.4%; transport and communications, 6.2%; and another 7.2% were members of the professional class. The proportion of female breadwinners was 18.6% of the total. Tasmania had a high proportion of its population living outside the metropolitan area (79.11% compared to a national average of 61.97%) and was the only state to experience a net loss of its native-born population to the other states.<sup>46</sup> The level of unemployment shown by the 1911 Census is low but this is probably a result of the net migration of workers out of Tasmania. (The 1921 Census shows a doubling of the number unemployed). Wages were lower than anywhere else in the Commonwealth.<sup>47</sup> In 1924, L. F. Giblin (see introduction to chapter three) prepared a short paper on the taxable capacity of the Australian States for the period from 1914 to 1923. Giblin's indexed, comparative table of tax paying capacity shows the average capacity of the other States to be 70% greater than that of Tasmania and indicated that the State experienced its lowest level of tax paying capacity in the two years 1916/17 and 1917/18 with the latter year showing the least capacity to pay.<sup>48</sup>

School attendance was compulsory for all children aged from 6 to 13 years. Of the Tasmanian children in this age group 16.06% were not attending school as compared with the average non-attendance figure for Australia of 9.21%. The Tasmanian figures for non-attendance are slightly higher for boys than girls which is the reverse of the national situation. These statistics are not surprising for an isolated state where many small landholders were engaged in subsistence farming to support large families. Apart from the more expansive properties of the midlands and east coast pastoralists and the hop growers of the Derwent Valley, most small farmers relied upon a cash crop such as potatoes and peas in the Northwest, apples and pears in the Huon and hay and oats wherever they would grow, as well as supporting a cow or two, some chickens, a vegetable garden and perhaps a few pigs. Surplus cash for wages or the purchase of labour saving farm equipment was scarce and many children were kept home from school to help on the farm. Those that did attend often faced a long walk to a one or two room timber schoolhouse as well as heavy household chores before and after school.<sup>49</sup>

Tasmania employed a lower proportion of its workforce in the commercial and the transport and communications sectors than any other state of the Commonwealth. Public transport was provided by coastal and interstate shipping, city tramways, railways (with much pressure for a line to the Huon) and horse drawn coaches. Private transport consisted of horse drawn carriages, oxen or horse drawn drays for heavy loads, bicycles, motorcycles, a few automobiles and, commonly, the long forgotten art of walking. Ploughs and other farm implements were generally drawn

by Clydesdale horses, the gentle giants of country life. Tractors were unknown until after the war. The primary means of private communication was a postal service, soon to undergo a scathing Royal Commission Report, while a range of newspapers covered public events. Interstate and international news and private messages were conveyed quickly by telegram or the expensive cablegram service and radio communication was just beginning with the establishment of a wireless station in Hobart. Launceston and Hobart had been connected by telephone as early as 1903 and by 1913 there were 59 telephone exchanges servicing a total of 2 727 subscribers.<sup>50</sup> Books and magazines were readily available for the literate. There was no Tasmanian Hansard but the Launceston and Hobart daily papers reported the more important parliamentary debates. On weekends self-chosen public speakers presented and debated their views on the domain. Theatre, especially vaudeville, thrived before and throughout the war as did the 'pictures' leading to a drawn out debate on the merits of Sunday screenings. Horse racing, Australian rules football, cricket, amateur athletics, sailing and bowls were the most popular sports but only the last and first maintained their vigour during the war years.<sup>51</sup>

The negative economic impacts of the First World War on Tasmania, due to the loss of central European markets and the disruption to both international and interstate shipping, were eventually outweighed by the forced economic developments resulting from the dramatic wartime changes in international trade.<sup>52</sup> The war caused a major slump in the mining industry as Germany had been an important customer for Tasmanian minerals, however, the innovative Mt. Lyell Company<sup>53</sup> proved itself a great asset to the State and Empire by maintaining, unabated, the supply of copper to England. Tin mining in N.E. Tasmania provided good returns and osmiridium, at nine times the price of gold per ounce, attracted many fossickers until the supply from the Urals Mountains reopened and substitutes for the metal were found. In terms of agriculture, the expanding apple growing industry, largely concentrated in the Huon, was the greatest casualty of the war since most of the steamers necessary to transport the annual harvest to Britain were assigned to more pressing wartime duties and a series of bad harvests due to unfavourable weather conditions, ranging from droughts to flooding, exacerbated the fruit grower's problems.<sup>54</sup> All industries experienced increasing material costs and higher wages for their (reduced) workforce, however, higher prices for most products were available if they could only be got to market. Meat prices in particular were high throughout the war and many dairy cattle were sold to the butchers until butter and cheese prices rose to such an extent that a number of butter and cheese factory co-operatives were established, particularly on the N.W. Coast where many blighted potato growers turned to the greater rewards available from the new dairy industry. The demand for mutton ensured that wool



prices soared, while disruption of timber imports from the USA and the Baltic invigorated the local timber industry after an initial slump and only a lack of shipping and a downturn in local building activity impeded its rapid development. The demand for small fruits to make jam for the Imperial forces was strong whereas early closing legislation and public opinion concerning the consumption of alcohol resulted in a poor market for hops. Wheat growing faded away in the face of mainland competition but rabbits thrived despite good skin prices and the high price of meat.

In 1913 the Hydro-Electric Power and Metallurgical Company, established by J. H. Gillies, a metallurgist and entrepreneur, commenced the Great Lake hydro-electric power scheme designed for completion over three stages. Unable to raise sufficient finance to complete the project, the company turned the scheme over to the State Government and Mr Gillies concentrated on building a calcium carbide works at N.W. Bay to make use of the cheap and plentiful hydro power when it came on line. On 7 July 1916 the Earle Government reached an agreement with the Electrolytic Zinc Company of Australasia Pty. Ltd. (the company chairman, W.L. Baillieu, was under pressure from Prime Minister Hughes who was actively working for imperial control over the base metals industry after the war) to provide fifty acres of Crown land at Risdon Cove for the processing of zinc concentrates using a guaranteed supply of hydro-electric power from the first stage of the Great Lake Scheme. The company commenced production under the able direction of H. W. Gepp on 16 December 1916 and, along with the N.W. Bay calcium carbide development, was so successful that the Great Lake Hydro-Electric Power Scheme was expanded and by 1 January, 1920 the *Mercury* was predicting that soon "we shall be the chief manufacturing centre of Australia ...[and] the most important manufacturing country of the Southern Hemisphere."<sup>55</sup>

As stated earlier, the disruption of shipping was a major source of damage to Tasmania's wartime economy. Many imported materials were either unavailable or their delivery delayed. On the dramatic side, a dredge built in Scotland for the Launceston Marine Board was destroyed in the Indian Ocean by the *Emden* and a German submarine sank a steamer loaded with Tasmanian apples in 1917. During 1914 Ocean Pier was opened to service large ocean going vessels and the first ship arrived from New York via the Panama Canal but it soon became obvious that the new canal would result in less shipping visiting Hobart, not more. Before 1916 Hobart was linked to the mainland and New Zealand by a ten day service between Melbourne, Hobart and Wellington and a weekly service between Sydney, Hobart and Wellington but by 1916 there was no longer a passenger service to Melbourne although regular cargo shipments were maintained. For some time the only

passenger connections to the mainland were weekly Hobart to Sydney and Launceston to Melbourne services. The coal miners strike disrupted all coastal shipping in November and December of 1916 and during 1917 only 225 vessels visited the Port of Hobart, 170 less than in 1914 and representing a fraction of the pre-war average tonnage. (Less than 20% of the apples shipped in the previous season were exported to Britain.) By late 1917 the simmering waterside worker's dispute became linked to the NSW's railway strike and was further extended to seamen, coal miners and others to become "the most serious strike experienced in the Commonwealth during the war ... and for a few weeks paralysing the shipping industry of Australia."<sup>56</sup> The *Mercury* claims the strike disadvantaged Tasmania more than anywhere else and for the first time in Tasmania's history the island was "left without steamer communication with the mainland for some weeks."<sup>57</sup> Volunteer crews eventually provided an irregular mail, passenger and cargo connection to the mainland. London to Hobart sailings remained almost non-existent during these last years of the war and the 1918/19 summer was disrupted by another maritime strike and, more tragically, by the Spanish Influenza epidemic and the resulting quarantine restrictions. The epidemic was particularly virulent in New Zealand and all shipping between Hobart and Wellington was suspended for the summer. During 1919 the State Government decided to establish a line of steamers to trade between Tasmania and the mainland but nothing eventuated and, not surprisingly, given the continued shortage of shipping, a wooden boat building revival took place in Southern Tasmania.

## THE POLITICS OF RECRUITMENT

Tasmania entered the war with a Labor Government under the leadership of the Hon. J. Earle relying on an independent member of the House of Assembly for a majority. It soon became clear that the fundamental business of government for the duration of the Great War would be to maximise the number of recruits joining the Australian Imperial Forces and a State War Council was formed to initiate a vigorous recruitment policy. By 6 August the State Commandant, Colonel W. J. Clark, and his staff of seven officers had mobilised the troops required for local deployment and guard duty and by the 8th, cable censorship had commenced in Launceston and Hobart. On the 10th Colonel Clark could already report that 570 men had registered for service with the proposed Expeditionary Force and by the 13th training had commenced at Pontville. On the 15 August 1915 the Acting Premier J. E. Ogden requested the Deputy Post-master General to arrange for the following appeal to be displayed at every Post Office throughout the State: "The Tasmanian Military Authorities have undertaken to furnish an additional five hundred men for military

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service, and the Government of this State desires to appeal to the people of Tasmania to make an enthusiastic and immediate response to this call to arms to assist the Mother Country in her hour of need. This is our opportunity to show that in this distant outpost of the Union our loyalty to the Throne is no less fervent than that which permeates the length and breadth of our far-flung Empire."<sup>58</sup> On 20 October 1914 the Tasmanian portion of the Expeditionary Force comprising 39 officers, 5 staff officers and 1 036 other ranks embarked for Europe on the transports *Geelong* and *Katuna*. The Training Camp was then relocated from Pontville to the more suitable site of Claremont for the duration of the war. After this initial rush, according to L. Broinowski, recruiting progressed more slowly, however: "throughout the war ... when British troops suffered severe casualties, a stimulus was automatically given to recruiting in Tasmania."<sup>59</sup>

The Port Cygnet, Huon and Esperance Councils were among the first Local Governments to send the Premier expressions of "loyalty to the Throne and Mother Country" and offering all possible support for the prosecution of the European War.<sup>60</sup> It's likely these community leaders appreciated the fact that Government assistance may become necessary to maintain their export fruit shipping requirements during war-time. Another precautionary measure was a parliamentary truce negotiated by the Government involving three Liberals taking up Cabinet positions and a one year extension to the life of the parliament, however, the latter provision was disallowed by the Legislative Council and the truce collapsed. On a less conciliatory note, it was soon understood that strict enforcement of the newly enacted *WPA* was an effective means of both encouraging enlistment (or at least preventing men from being publicly discouraged from "playing the game") and for guiding and harnessing community concerns. Two recruiting campaigns were held during 1915 and the total number of men despatched by the end of the year rose to 120 officers and 5 550 other ranks.<sup>61</sup> The *Mercury* of 1 January 1916 claimed, in the same issue announcing the Gallipoli evacuation, that: "Tasmania has so far suffered less in trade and business from the war than perhaps any other country in the Empire."

A General Election held in March 1916 resulted in a Liberal win, 16 to 14 seats, with Walter Lee becoming Premier. A referendum held at the same time required the voters to select a suitable closing time for public houses and, as a result, from 1 January 1917 no alcohol could be sold after 6pm.<sup>62</sup> Parliamentary business throughout 1916 was conducted in a co-operative manner; the great Lake Power Scheme was expanded, Daylight Savings was introduced and debate commenced on the Returned Soldier's Land Settlement Bill. In June the Adelaide Premiers Conference resolved that persons of enemy birth should not gain positions in the

public service while 'suitable' persons of British origin are available.<sup>63</sup> At the beginning of July, after three months training, the wholly Tasmanian 40th Battalion left Hobart and, following further training in England, landed in France on 24 November 1916. By this time, due to reinforcements policy, the 12th Battalion was also becoming a wholly Tasmanian unit (see Appendix 3 for the principle military engagements of the two Tasmanian Battalions). From early 1917 recruitment in Tasmania came under the control of a "State Recruiting Committee, composed of prominent citizens representing all parts of the state and all political creeds; the staff consisting of a State Organising Secretary, 6 Recruiting Officers and about 20 Recruiting Sergeants. Local Recruiting Committees in many Municipal centres have co-operated in the movement, and members of the Federal and State Parliaments have done much to stimulate recruiting by addressing meetings in all parts of the State."<sup>64</sup> State Parliament became more lively in 1917 with sharp accusations of disloyalty against David Dicker MHA and well founded suspicion of Premier Lee's collusion with the Prime Minister to replace Labor Senator Ready with J. Earle MHA.<sup>65</sup> (When John Earle, a supporter of conscription, resigned from the Labor Party, to be replaced by J. A. Lyons, in November 1916 he publicly denounced the party as worse than the Hun). However, despite these eruptions, the spotlight of public attention was firmly fixed on the federal stage and usually focused on W. M. Hughes. From his imposition of the WPA and introduction of a graduated income tax to help fight the war, to his replacement on 27 October 1915 of three time Labor Prime Minister, Mr Andrew Fisher, "Billy" Hughes took the centre stage, and with the able support of his loyal colleague Defence Minister Pearce, Government Leader in the Senate, he put on quite a performance. His dramatic costume change from socialist to conservative leadership primarily explained by his commitment to conscription is described in chapter one. Tasmania led the applause by returning every one of the Nationalist "win the war" candidates in the May elections of 1917. State by-elections that same year gave the government a majority of 20 - 10 over the Labor opposition and the state elections of 1919 again increased the majority of the Lee Nationalist Government. The federal election of 1919 eliminated Tasmanian Labor Party representation within the Commonwealth Parliament.

A majority of Tasmanians voted yes to both conscription plebiscites although with somewhat less enthusiasm on the second occasion (see Appendix 3 for results). While the enlistment rate for Tasmania after June 1917 was 39% less than previously, the Tasmanian Recruiting Committee could boast that "during the first eight months of the current year [1918] Tasmania has enlisted a higher percentage of Recruits than any other of the Australian States."<sup>66</sup> During that year several Bills were passed by State Parliament giving employment preference to returned soldiers in

all Government Departments. In total, Tasmanians invested 4.577 million pounds in war loans and donated over 350 000 pounds to a multiplicity of war funds and charities with the Red Cross and Belgium Relief funds receiving the greatest support. By the end of the war 15 485 or approximately 38% of all Tasmanian men aged from eighteen to forty-five (2% less than the Australian average) had enlisted in the A.I.F. This figure represents 8.10% of the island's population as compared to the Australian average of 9.36%. About 20% were married men.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps an old ploughman's saying has some bearing on these figures: "The King may rule, the lawyer plead, the parson pray for all, and the soldier fight at his countries call, but the man with the plough must plough to feed them all."<sup>68</sup> As shown earlier, at the time of the First World War Tasmania was primarily an agricultural society with a significantly reduced population of men of military age due to interstate migration and featuring a greater percentage of dependants than any other state. Of the 12 907 Tasmanians who did reach the theatres of war, 2 432 or 18.8% were killed: 16% died in 1915, 27% in 1916, 33% in 1917 and 24% in 1918.<sup>69</sup>

## THE NEWSPAPERS

The effect of censorship on the public record remains the greatest hindrance to the development of an understanding of Tasmanian society during the First World War. Since disloyal statements and statements that may discourage recruitment were illegal, the public record provides little direct evidence of the extent of home front disaffection with the war. The contents of the *Record of Aliens* files informing the next chapter will help provide an answer to this question but even this examination of a primary source must keep in mind the more influential values and assumptions shaping the society in question. Without this reconstructed perspective the contents of the aliens files cannot be fully understood and a balanced account of the period would become more difficult to achieve. A study of representative newspapers is probably the most accessible means of developing an understanding of the various 'value systems' operating at the time. Letters to the editor provide a window to the concerns and feelings of the public (see next section) whereas scanning the daily editorials and news items assists the development of a greater awareness of the social and political ideologies both shaping and reflecting public opinion.

Tasmania was well serviced by the print media. In Hobart, two daily, three weekly and five monthly newspapers were published. Launceston published two papers for each period. Devonport, Burnie, Zeehan and King Island published daily papers, the *Huon Times* was a twice-weekly, Scottsdale published a bi-weekly paper and Stanley had a weekly. The Government published a monthly *Agricultural Gazette* and a

weekly *Tasmanian Government Gazette*. In addition all of the mainland papers and periodicals were available by mail or through local agents.<sup>70</sup> It is impossible to read them all and for the purposes of this study, after a glance at the *Huon Times* and the *Bulletin*, the *Mercury* was selected as the best indicator of mainstream conservative thought in Tasmania and the *Daily Post* as representative of the strong socialist movement of the period. I also worked through the pictorial section of the *Tasmanian Mail*, a weekly sister to the *Mercury*, for an indication of what Tasmania and Tasmanians looked like, and what they were looking at, during the war. The changing pictorial emphasis of the *Tasmanian Mail* during the war is presented in appendix 4.

War news came by cable and invariably presented the Allied forces in a positive light, such as the headlines "Amazing Success" and "Turks utterly at a Loss" delivering the news of the Gallipoli withdrawal,<sup>71</sup> and in the worst possible light when referring to Germany, for example, dismissing the fact that the German Embassy in New York warned people not to travel on the *Lusitania*.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, newspapers were the only available source of topical information, other than local news, for the ordinary person. Letters from the overseas troops could provide little more than a poorly informed and individual perspective that was censored anyway. Therefore, because of the distorting effect of censorship and propaganda, the papers must be read for the information they gave the public rather than as a record of facts regarding the war. Since many of the repeated product advertisements posed as news stories it is reasonable to assume that many readers had a degree of sophistication in dealing with the war propaganda that also posed as news. Rumours, of course, were rife, 'L' wrote to the *Mercury* that since a report of British losses "I have heard it rumoured that the men killed were our own men - Australians ... I have an only brother at the front ... Hoping to hear no more such rumours." The editor responded that: "The rumour is absolutely baseless as regards Australians. But we publish her letter as a reminder of the cruelty of spreading these lying tales." The date of publication of L's expression of anxiety was 24 April 1915.

On 27 August 1914, W. H. Simmonds, editor of the *Mercury* makes his political position clear with the following question to his readers: "Is it conceivable that sensible Australian electors, had they known that we should now be involved in War, would have entrusted their fate in three out of the six States to Governments largely committed to untried and dangerous policies of communistic adventure?" On the 5 March 1915 Simmonds wrote that "the Germans ... are aiming specially at Australia, they mean to have it" and quoted Defence Minister George Pearce: "Germany was out for colonies; she needed room to expand ... Australia was the stake in the

game that was being played." On the eve of war, 3 August 1914, E. Dwyer Gray,<sup>73</sup> editor of the *Daily Post*, wrote: "The debacle we are about to witness is a disease of capitalism. A Labor world would know nothing of it. "and on 27 April 1917 under the heading "Fusions Real Objective", "The war profiteers have by this time made it plain ... that there is a still greater war fiercely raging throughout the civilised world than that being fought on the battlefields of Europe. It is the war between Capital and Labor [the capitalists] are preparing for the industrial war which is to come." The first editorial of the *World*, carrying on the tradition of the *Daily Post* as Tasmania's Labor newspaper from 1 July 1918, appeared under the slogan "A world to Win" and stated that the paper stood for "Justice [and that] the social structure is everywhere founded on injustice ... the world in which we believe is a workers world. The worker must be King. The world must be socialised. Capitalism as a system must be abolished. Industrial organisation is the chief means by which the rights of man can be asserted. A triumphant unionism will yet call into being the great Co-operative of Australia."

The *Mercury* and the *Daily Post*, the latter struggling for financial survival, represented an imperial versus a class vision of the future of Australia. Both visions drew strength from racism and nationalism but in differing ways. The *Daily Mail* supported Labor's White Australia Policy in the interests of Australia's workers whereas the *Mercury* gave editorial support to views such as those expressed by Mr Ashbolt, Vice President of the Australian Chamber of Commerce, who dismissed the White Australia Policy as an impossible ideal and, echoing the Governor of South Australia, suggested that the northern part of Australia be made "an enclosed territory for cultivation by coloured people ... providing big employment for whites as administrators, police and overseers ... and in the course of time we would convert the rest of Australia into pure white."<sup>74</sup> Despite these differences, most Australians, with the possible exception of the Irish, considered themselves Britons and the United Kingdom "Home". Nationalism was also expressed fervently but differently by the imperialists and the socialists and the difference between a ready acceptance of the status quo (Australia as part of the Empire) and a burning desire to raise the working class to a dominant social and political position (Australia, the working man's paradise) provides a key to understanding the virulence of the conscription debate in Australia during the Great War.

The *Tasmanian Mail* on 27 July 1916 suggested that anti-conscriptionists feared that conscription would clash with industrial independence and place the workers at a disadvantage. The editor candidly went on to suppose that should conscription be introduced "military control would to some extent check the tyranny that is now

exercised by the unions and perfervid Labour advocates." For the *Mercury* the issue was simple: "Vote 'YES'! and HONOUR AUSTRALIA'S PLEDGE" and "KEEP FAITH WITH OUR BOYS: VOTE 'YES'. In the weeks leading up to the conscription plebiscite (28 October 1916) cartoons, articles, letters and editorials all called for conscription in order to provide adequate reinforcements to the men in the trenches. The anti-conscription meetings were noted but were given little exposure. "WE DARE NOT FAIL - Vote YES!"<sup>75</sup> The *Daily Post* provided a more even-handed coverage of the public meetings held throughout the state (perhaps because John Earle was Chairman of the Board of Directors) but was clearly against compulsory overseas service. The paper accused the Prime Minister of being obsessed with the view that "If we agree with him we are loyalists [and if we] disagree with him, we are traitors". The editorial continued with the argument that society must avoid duplicating Prussian militarism in Australia and that men were needed at home to keep producing for Britain and the troops. "We cannot face the expenditure we are now being put to unless the wealthy give their money as the workers are expected, and may be compelled, to give their lives".<sup>76</sup> Given the argument for conscription it is of interest to note that "almost 45% of the troops voted 'no'; in France they voted three to one against conscription." Hughes had these results buried within the published state by state figures and gazetted a special regulation making it an offence to disclose details of the soldiers' vote. The Labor opposition forced the figures to be made public five months later.<sup>77</sup>

The *Mercury* editorial following the Nationalist Party's landslide federal election victory of May 1917 provided a good account of the conservative view of sectional interests in Tasmania during the war. Under the heading "The Triumph of Loyalty" Simmonds gloated that the electors "are loyal at heart both to Australia herself as organised on existent political lines, and to her membership of the proud and mighty Empire under the Union Jack." Simmonds congratulated female voters on their patriotic resolve confirmed by the election result and the positive Tasmanian conscription vote of last October. He considered the 'Irish' vote went to Labor due to "sentimental regard for the cause of Home Rule [and because of] ecclesiastical direction of the type which told us that the War is merely 'a trade War' implying that the difference between the Germans and the British is not worth fighting for." In discussing the German vote, significant in South Australia and Brisbane, Simmonds wrote, "some Germans are true to Australia, but, on the other hand, some few Australians, like Mr. Dicker, may prefer Germany." Finally, addressing the I.W.W. and the broader socialist movement, the editor accused some "Official Labor men" of displaying "the cloven hoof of avowed disloyalty to Australia's connection with the Empire."<sup>78</sup> Despite such rhetoric, the 1917 Tasmanian conscription campaign, in



contrast to the national debate, was more restrained than the first time around, although the *Daily Post* was more emphatically anti-conscriptionist than ever.

The conflicts within Tasmanian society were thrown into sharp relief by the Governor-General's Conference on Recruiting held on 17 April 1918 following the failure of the governments second conscription plebiscite. Although the conference was divided into two 'sides' it should be understood that "official Labor support for the war was sufficiently strong in 1918 for every parliamentary Labor leader in Australia to attend ... only the Industrial Council of Queensland and the Tasmanian Trades and Labor Council among union organisations declined."<sup>79</sup> The conference was addressed by Prime Minister Hughes explaining the critical and uncertain war situation in Europe and calling for a united effort to encourage more men to enlist. In responding to the Prime Minister, Tasmanian Labor leader, J. A. Lyons MHA, called upon "the other side" to put an end to the "abuse and vilification" of the Labor movement within the press; to give a pledge that conscription will be dropped; to put an end to economic conscription (some firms refused to employ single men eligible for enlistment); to withdraw unnecessary War Precautions Regulations particularly those dealing with Sinn Fein as there is "no Sinn Fein to suppress here"; and the opportunity for Dicker to again take his place on the Public Works Committee.<sup>80</sup> Lyons pointed out that wages in Tasmania had remained the same during the war while the cost of living had risen greatly and, with particular reference to the price of meat, called for price fixing to eliminate profiteering. He also called upon the federal government to cover the cost of insurance for members of the forces and, upon their return, "to find employment for them, or to make them a decent allowance until they get it." In return for assurances that these requirements will be met Lyons gave an undertaking to "try to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the organisations I represent" and suggested that such concessions would "bring about a better feeling and lead to better results in the matter of recruiting." The Tasmanian Premier, Walter Lee, responded with an undertaking to request his colleagues to consider the removal of the ban on Dicker and called on all parties to "put forth all our strength in the cause of recruiting [and to] give effect to the spirit of the Conference [and] bury the hatchet."<sup>81</sup>

## COMMUNITY VALUES

At the outbreak of war, the *Mercury*, that previously complacent and conservatively dull newspaper became full of interest and excitement. According to regular and uncritical reports the Germans 'outraged' women, shot priests, used white flags to trick approaching soldiers and forced women and children to walk in front of them as human shields.<sup>82</sup> Soon letters were being published as follows: "The time has come when we must say to every German, no matter what his position, 'we cannot trust you'."<sup>83</sup> and "as to the Kaiser being a liar and murderer ... everyone not tainted with German blood should agree."<sup>84</sup> Letter writers debated Germany's capacity to invade Australia, the merits, or otherwise, of sending white feathers, the lack of effort being put into recruitment - "no parades, no energy" - and the White Australia Policy and its converse: "I believe Australians are imperialistic, and fully capable of governing a coloured population in order to develop their Commonwealth."<sup>85</sup> The most popular debate was conducted under the heading "The Great Perhaps" and concerned the question of life after death. On the other hand, the *Daily Post* seemed to commence its war reporting with a sigh rather than the enthusiastic bluster of the *Mercury* and published a letter on 13 August from Clifford Hall quoting Karl Marx and arguing against the war of "capitalist Trusts". Nevertheless, the editor, E. Dwyer Grey, wrote on 5 January: "We intend to second any efforts made to make Australia realise that Australia must exert the last ounce of any strength she can bring to bear on a situation which involves her own existence as a nation." Published letters typically concerned issues of working conditions or the closing of the pictures on Sunday but there were a few for and against the idea of conscription with "W. C. R." writing on 25 January 1915, "A man would be mad to advocate conscription and neglect the abolition of private property."


On 26 April 1915, the landing in the Dardanelles was announced, but there was no mention of Australian involvement. The next few days carried stories about gas in Flanders and the Dardanelles progress and then, on the 30 April, came the headlines: "AUSTRALIANS IN ACTION" and "ALLIES ADVANCE IN GALLIPOLI". From then on the war became a deadly serious matter. Neither propaganda nor censorship could disguise the shocking reality of the casualty lists that were soon to be published; the "Roll of Honour" section became the most closely read of columns in all the subsequent newspapers of the war. On 8 May, alongside extensive casualty lists, the *Mercury* printed Ashmead-Bartlett's description of the "Australian Heroes" landing at Gallipoli and on 10 May came the news of the sinking of the *Lusitania*: "GERMANY'S LATEST CRIME" and "SUNK WITHOUT WARNING".

The *Daily Post*, surprisingly, did not give the Dardanelles campaign much priority. Anti-German letters became more common but never matched the numbers received and published by the *Mercury*. For example, on 11 May, 'Patriot' asked "why does not every loyal citizen throughout the Empire refuse to trade or deal for the future with Germans, whether naturalised or not?" The next day 'Boycott' gave the chilling reply: "In view of the noble example which Tasmania years ago set the civilised world - to which 'Patriot' alludes - is it not too much to hope that she will now become the pioneer of a great movement to thoroughly and effectively ostracise this ruthless horde of 'kultured' barbarians, until such time as they are purged of their vileness". Two days later A. C. Piesse detected in the *Mercury* editorial of the previous day a "humanitarian feeling, which, I think, we cannot afford to encourage just now ... the Germans are human jackals, whose mental character has been only 'veneered' by a higher civilisation [we must] treat all Germans as social lepers."

The *Daily Post* editorial of 18 May focused on birth-rates as well as war in deciding "racial supremacy" and the next day 'Pro Patria' wrote to the *Mercury* that by the end of the war all Germans should be repatriated in order "to eliminate any chance of a German strain being implanted in the coming race." The same issue carried the more reasoned voice of 'A Tasmanian Woman' questioning whether families of German descent with men in the A.I.F. are "to be ostracised and boycotted and hounded down at the behest of arm-chair patriots ... who incite their countrymen to follow the German example." Three days later 'Hobart' suggested that local German men, women and children be sent to Egypt and from there used as hostages on board the liners to and from London and "German residents not naturalised or married to Australians should be given a week to leave the country." On the 20 May, the *Daily Post* editorial page carried an article in which the Minister for Defence, Senator Pearce, explained that: "We have interned more alien subjects than England has in proportion to population. Those who for certain reasons it is not advisable to intern are being subjected to surveillance by the military, or the police. If people hear expressions of disloyalty or anything of a suspicious nature they should at once communicate with the commanding officer of their State. Any complaints of this description will be investigated immediately." On the 24 May, the well-known Hobart firm of *Dehle, Heritage and Co.* wrote to both daily papers denying they were a German firm. The *Mercury* printed their letter next to an article headed: "Excitement in Newcastle - Attack on German Shop." The same page carried an article explaining that it would cost too much to intern all the Germans in Australia. Three days later the *Mercury* editorial found it "quite natural that ... people should have feelings at least of suspicion, and even of active hostility regarding the many Germans who live in this country."

As well as unleashing the above vitriolic reaction, news of the Dardanelles invasion gave a great boost to recruitment and national pride. A. H. Sibley wrote to the *Mercury* on 11 May quoting Ashmead-Bartlett's report of the reactions of critically wounded Australians: "They were happy because they knew they had been tried for the first time and had not been found wanting". Mr Sibley suggested that the report should be "framed and hung in every State-school in the country". The Glenorchy Council also "felt very proud of her sons who had proved beyond all possible doubt that they were worthy descendants of the grand old race."<sup>86</sup> 'Glebe' wrote to the *Mercury* on 22 May, "Sir,- There are many big, vigorous single chaps around town ... cannot something be done to shame them into doing their country's work? The young married man is wanted just now of all times. He and his wife have to do their duty in another way." On 27 May, C. Hay suggested the raising of a "regiment of men, like him, aged 45-55 who have reared their families and are hardy enough to fight alongside the young." On 29 May a short-sighted man publicly complained that his glasses had never inconvenienced him and, as he is otherwise fit, he should be able to enlist and that same day a woman wrote to the paper condemning the sending of white feathers.

It should be clear from the above account of public reaction to Australia's "baptism of fire" that many Tasmanians considered the Great War to be a racial struggle for world dominance. In keeping with this racial viewpoint is the general reaction of relief and pride in the achievements of the A.I.F. since, particularly in Tasmania, many of the soldiers representing the new nation were only two or three generations removed from their convict ancestors who were commonly thought of as a criminal class and the dregs of the British race. (In a letter to the *Mercury* of 16 March 1915 'Grower' condemned "whoever may be responsible [for] the 'broad arrow' by way of decoration for the cases containing [apples for] the troops in Europe. Why not add the 'shackle' and thus make sure the past may remain unburied?") An appreciation of the racial assumptions informing popular thought during the war also sheds some light on attitudes concerning Australians of Irish origin such as the following linked pair of debatable assertions: "There is in the hearts of many RC's an undying hatred of England and the English, which is bred of pure ignorance."<sup>87</sup> The *Mercury* gave strong support to attacks on Archbishop Mannix during the second conscription debate and published many editorials critical of the Irish, such as: "Priests and Rebellion" and "Treason and Religion".<sup>88</sup> The only significant alternative view of the war was voiced by members of the socialist movement setting the conflict within a Marxist framework. Men such as W. C. Hughes and John Earle symbolised the conflicting personal and political loyalties that the war brought about for supporters of the Labor movement. In this context it may be worth remembering that the first



celebration of Anzac Day was suggested at a public meeting in Brisbane in early 1916 and recommended to other state governments by the Ryan Labor Government of Queensland, a government later characterised by W. C. Hughes as disloyal. While it is possible that Anzac Day came about as an attempt to overshadow Empire Day and to build a more independent sense of nationalism within the community it was certainly not a day designed to discourage the Australian war effort. The point I wish to make here is that while the socialist press, union movement and politicians may not have been as deeply committed to the war as their conservative colleagues - some socialists had urged a negotiated peace - most of them did continue to actively support it's successful prosecution.

# CHAPTER THREE

## RECORD OF ALIENS (1914-1919)

### INTELLIGENCE SECTION

The Military Intelligence Section attached to the General Staff of each Military District co-ordinated the surveillance required for the enforcement of the *WPA* and the complementary *Trading with the Enemy Act*<sup>89</sup> and other matters concerning Australian wartime security. The country was divided into six military districts<sup>90</sup> with District Headquarters in each capital city under the authority of a central Military Headquarters located in Melbourne (still the seat of Commonwealth Government). The Military Intelligence Sections were responsible for carrying out the following duties:<sup>91</sup>

- Collecting information for military purposes in Australia and its dependencies.
- Compiling and recording all information for immediate use.
- Indexing and cataloguing maps, plans, and photographs.
- Cataloguing and supervising the District Military Library.

The Military Intelligence officers co-operated closely with civil authorities, the staff of the Deputy Chief Censor, the District Naval Officer (DNO) and, most importantly, the police. The 6th Military District Headquarters were located at Anglesea Barracks in Hobart.

The District Orders of 19 October 1914 for the 6th Military District of the Commonwealth Military Forces recorded the appointment of a 34 year old Tasmanian-born solicitor, Captain E. L. Piesse, to the position of Officer Commanding the Intelligence Section of the General Staff for Australia (3 August 1914). Major Piesse, an expert on proportional representation, held his position throughout the war and eventually became the Director of Pacific Branch, Prime Ministers Department, for four years to 1923 before returning to his law practice.<sup>92</sup> The District Orders also recorded the appointment of Captain L. F. Giblin to the position of Intelligence Officer but also shows his ceasing of duty just eight days later (15 August 1914). *Walch's Almanac* for 1915 shows Giblin to have been seconded to the Intelligence Corps on 29 March 1909 and Lieutenant E. M. Miller's provisional appointment of 3 July 1913. *Walch's Almanac* for 1916 lists Captain Giblin and Lieutenant Miller as "Officers Seconded With The Intelligence Section General Staff" from 1 October 1914. Censorship has ensured there is no information available regarding the intelligence service of either of these men during the war but, upon enquiry, a researcher at the

Australian War Memorial confirmed that they were the only Intelligence Officers on record for the 6th Military District throughout the war. Lyndhurst Falkiner Giblin, D.S.O., M.C. (1862-1951) was a Tasmanian-born adventurer, economist and academic of international standing. Known for his sharp intellect and unorthodox dress sense, Giblin was an Honorary Fellow of King's College Cambridge, a Labor politician and a war hero.<sup>93</sup> Edmund Morris Miller CBE (1881-1964) was a psychologist, bibliographer and an academic. He was "a strong British imperialist"<sup>94</sup> and vice-chancellor of the University of Tasmania from 1933-1945 (the central library of that institution is named after him). Miller lectured at the university for the duration. He also delivered lectures on the war from time to time around the State.<sup>95</sup> Giblin represented the electorate of Franklin in the House of Assembly from 1913-16, and then accompanied the 40th Battalion to Europe where he was three times wounded, returning to Tasmania in late 1919.

Giblin's first duty following his re appointment to Military Intelligence in October 1914 was to investigate Port Davey in the rugged South West of the state. Troopships were ready to leave Hobart for King George's Sound to become part of the 38 ship fleet transporting the 1st Division A.I.F. to Armageddon. The *Emden* was on the loose and reports had come in from around the state of flying objects that were thought to be enemy aircraft. The secluded harbour of Port Davey was the obvious hiding place for an enemy raider and so had to be searched. Giblin set out on the 50 mile trek along an overgrown track with four men, a pack horse, four homing pigeons and food for a fortnight. Two pigeons were released six days later and two more the following day giving the all clear.<sup>96</sup> Giblin's trek to Port Davey, based upon the remote possibility of covert enemy action originating from that place and fuelled by official suspicions and community anxieties, may appear to have been a wasted effort. However, the expedition is a suitable metaphor with which to begin this account of the work of the Intelligence Section in Tasmania because the act of investigation alleviated immediate community concerns and cleared the way for the movement of Tasmanian volunteers to the battlefields of Europe.

Given the lack of available information, one must assume that Captain Giblin passed responsibility for the operation of the 6th Military District Intelligence Section over to Lieutenant Miller from July 1916 until his return to Tasmania.<sup>97</sup> Miller was well suited to the position, he spoke German and was a librarian. Furthermore, I suspect that once standard operating procedures had been established there would have been little work for him to do; Tasmania was a small state with a small German population and few industries of importance for the war effort. Day to day tasks were probably

handled by military clerks with direct access to the State Commandant, Colonel W. J. Clark, for those matters requiring urgent attention.

The first act of war in Tasmania was the seizure of the German vessel *Oberhausen* loading timber for shipment to Durban, South Africa. Ten armed Naval Reserves under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Russell Young raced to Port Huon in two cars on 5 August 1914. On the way orders were given in Franklin for a detachment of the local citizens forces to be called out and 22 men under the command of Lieutenant E. Linnell commandeered three private cars to get them to the wharf. The captain submitted quietly to the inevitable and the next morning the 4 322 ton vessel steamed to Hobart to be held under guard for three days under the provisions of the *Hague Convention* awaiting advice on what the Germans were doing with their captured shipping. Later in August an engineer was assigned to dismantle some of the *Oberhausen's* machinery to prevent her escape.<sup>98</sup> On the 11 August another Naval Guard created some excitement when they marched through Launceston with fixed bayonets and surrounded the Commercial Travellers' Association building in order to arrest Karl Haverland but when he produced papers proving him exempt from German military service, he was allowed to proceed about his business.<sup>99</sup> On 2 October Premier John Earle received a circular marked 'SECRET' from Prime Minister Andrew Fisher inviting him to "instruct your Police Department ... to use every effort to discover the working of spying wireless telegraph stations." The Premier was informed that a car could provide the necessary power and a mast easily erected at night in isolated areas near the coast.<sup>100</sup>

## 1914

The officers and crew of the *Oberhausen* were interned at Claremont on 10 October 1914. Of the 34 men, eleven officers, one cook and one steward were released on parole from 5 November 1914. Six of the men were German Naval Reservists. One man was an Austrian Reservist and placed on parole as an invalid, he left Tasmania for Melbourne on 13 November. Nine of the sailors were tattooed; the images included anchors and life buoys, a woman tied to a tree, a sailors grave, flowers, flags and soldiers. One man's chest exhibited a German eagle surmounting the world with flags. In mid-January Premier John Earle wrote to Colonel W. J. Clark that he had been informed that sailors from the *Oberhausen* were "employed fruit picking near the Glenorchy waterworks ... if one half of the reports concerning the atrocities committed by the Germans during this war are true, I think we should be very careful in permitting any German subjects near our water supply."<sup>101</sup> A few days later the Military Commandant replied "that all prisoners of war would be better



located far from the city" and suggested Tasman Peninsular with just one or two constables to guard them "as all are well behaved." Colonel Clark further recommended they be put to work clearing land for use as rifle ranges.<sup>102</sup> On 29 January the *Mercury* published a letter from a Claremont soldier complaining about lack of leave: "at present, there is practically no difference between the German prisoners here and the men who guard them." Those men on parole were again interned on 1 March 1915 and were probably transferred to the Quarantine Station on Bruny Island at about that time, at any rate, the prisoners were clearing land at Barnes Bay by 29 April. On that date Premier Earle approved a work payment of 2/- per day as demanded by the interned men.<sup>103</sup> On the 13 May the Premier was informed by Major Hunt: "Adverting to our conversation re finding someone amongst the German prisoners capable of supervising the work of clearing, I have received a report from the O.C. Guard who states that he can find no man willing to undertake the duty."<sup>104</sup> On the 27 May two men, Schubert, the ships butcher and Andresen, a sailor, refused to work more than three hours per day and were both placed in the cells for three days. On the 8 July the O.C. Guard, Captain Alan Cruickshank wrote to the Premier asking when the Bill for the Germans pay will go before Parliament as "I am having considerable difficulty in getting them to go out to work - if you could let me have something definite in writing it would smooth things over."<sup>105</sup> On 6 September 1915 the German prisoners left Bruny for the Holdsworthy Concentration Camp in NSW except for 6 men, including the Captain, who were fortunate enough to be interned at the Berrima Camp. A ships cook named Francis was reclassified as a Czech and was released on parole from 12 April 1917. Another ship's cook died on 4 January 1919 and one of the sailors died of pneumonic influenza on 4 July 1919. The remaining 30 officers and crew of the *SS Oberhausen* were repatriated at the end of the war. One sailor left on the *HMS Willochra* (27 May 1919), three officers left on *HMS Kursk* (29 May), twenty men left on the *Tras os Montes* (9 July) and the six Berrima internees left on the *Ypiranga* (13 August). From the middle of October until the end of 1914, twelve more German sailors were taken off seven ships and interned at Claremont, one was paroled and went to Melbourne, but the others were transferred to Bruny Island and then the Holdsworthy Camp. One died of influenza in July 1919, nine were repatriated on the *Tras os Montes* and one left on the *Rio Negro* (20 August 1919).

Altogether, 96 dated files were established during 1914 and nine of them involved permits for travel to and from the state. All registered aliens were required to notify the authorities of their travel plans and permission to travel was rarely refused. The following items are offered to give some idea of how people were brought to official attention in the early days of the war apart from the process of alien registration as

required by the WPA (many of the straight-forward registration files were not dated). Leonhard Beuermann from Kiel was arrested on 11 August 1914, released on parole and later interned on Bruny Island (22 April 1915). His occupation is given as tailor and it was recorded that he was tattooed on both forearms. Beuermann was transferred to Holdsworthy in September and was held in captivity for the duration of the war. While on Bruny he managed to marry a 'Tasmanian girl' and father a child. One German subject was not so fortunate and was killed by a falling tree (28 August 1914) while working on the Marrawah Tramworks along with other German nationals who were later interned. Two German men became naturalised and another enlisted under a false name but was found out, and discharged for making a false attestation. In 1914 three people, including Gustav Weindorfer of Cradle Mountain, were accused of operating secret wireless stations following the Premier's warning of 2 October (above); the wireless sets proved to be a telephone and two clothes' lines. Two Jewish men were watched for being involved in suspicious meetings which turned out to be solo whist card evenings. A German born naturalised citizen was accused of flying German flags but upon inspection they proved to be faded Union Jacks. Three people were investigated for having an interest in maps and plans during 1914; one was a builder, another was an Overseer for the Public Works Department and the third was a tourist on a motorcycle who was harassed at various points around Tasmania and later filed a complaint concerning his treatment by the authorities. In part, the report on him reads: "*So far as police statements are to be believed*, nothing suspicious was found against Hankey"(my emphasis), however, the report concludes that the circumstances warranted the actions taken against him. Oscar Kalbfell of Jordan Hill Road, Hobart was "a natural born British subject of German parents. From 11/11/14 this man was constantly under suspicion, chiefly on account of statements, anonymous and otherwise, concerning alleged mysterious lights, signalling, etc. at his house, and alleged disloyal language." The report ends with the admission that the police could find no evidence against him. G. H. Voss was supposed to invite people to his Bismarck home (the town later renamed Collinsvale) to admire a portrait of the Kaiser. His file states: "This is incorrect. The picture was presented to the residents of Bismarck in recognition of kindness and hospitality extended to crews of German ships ... the picture was deposited in the General Staff Office, 6th Military District for safe keeping, where it still remains." Finally, there is this interesting vignette: The police reported that two Germans named Kaiser "entertained several A.I.F. men and questioned them about troops, troopships, dates of departure, and destinations." The two men were questioned before their departure for Sydney and produced a letter of recommendation from the Premier of NSW. The Commandant, 2nd M.D. was advised and they left for Sydney on 26 October 1914.

1915

Fourteen men were arrested during April 1915. The arrested men were made up of two sailors, six army and three naval reservists, an electrical engineer and a farm labourer, all Germans, and one Austrian army reservist. Twelve of them, not counting August Gehrke (see below) and a 50 year old man who was released on parole, were interned on Bruny Island "in accordance with instructions laid down for interning all Germans between the ages of 18 and 50 years on parole."<sup>106</sup> and transferred to Holdsworthy in September where another man, married to an English woman, was also released on parole. Two men were repatriated on the *Frankfurt* (18 September 1919), six on the *Tras os Montes* and Wilhelm Hennig, reported as being a "very undesirable character", left on the *HMS Willochra*. Two of the interned men were especially keen to gain parole and avoid repatriation. Karl Muller, a Prussian army reservist but without obligation in case of war, had married Amy Edwards in Fremantle WA during 1907 and they had one child. He was 41 years old when arrested on 4 April 1915. On 31 October Mrs. Muller asked for his release and the Commandant said he would consent provided Muller had guaranteed employment. No guaranteed work could be found and Muller was repatriated on the *Valencia* (10 October 1919). Ludwig Leitner, a 24 year old Bavarian army reservist, had been in Tasmania about a year and was employed by Gustave Schramm of Ringarooma. He was arrested on 2 September 1914 and released on parole but was arrested again on 9 April 1915 and sent to Bruny Island. On 12 November 1918 Schamm asked for Leitner's release promising to employ him. The request was refused and Schamm applied again one month later without success.<sup>107</sup> Two more applications were received for Leitner's release, one from Senator Guy and one from J. B. Hayes, the Tasmanian Minister for Lands and Works, but again without success: "Consequent on Leitner's case coming before the Aliens Board, 2nd M.D., the Minister approved his compulsory repatriation" and Leitner left on the *Rio Negro*. Mt Lyell Company employee, Johannes Ochmigen, a twenty-five year old electrical engineer who had left Germany six years previously, also suffered unsympathetic treatment. In early February 1915 he requested a fellow miner, Gottfrey Huber, who was returning to Switzerland, to carry a letter for him to be posted there. On 7 February Huber arrived in Melbourne, was interviewed by the authorities, and the letter, "the contents of which were harmless", was taken from him. Huber pleaded ignorance and was allowed to sail for Switzerland two days later. On 15 April 1915 Ochmigen was interned at Bruny and his file recorded: "attempted to evade censorship by giving letter to a Swiss." He was repatriated to Germany on 9 July 1919. There was a happier outcome for German naval reservist, August Gehrke, a 40 year old resident of Irish Town, who was arrested on 12 April 1915 and held at the Clare-

mont Camp. On 17 April the Premier received a telegram from R. W. Casboul of Smithton as follows: "Re August Gherka arrested well and favourably known proved good settler residents indignant at arrest plead kindly consideration."<sup>108</sup> Following a report to the Attorney General from the Minister of Police, Gehrke or Gherka was released on parole on 27 April 1915 and his file records that "on 19/8/17 the police reported that nothing was known against Gehrke to warrant his internment."

After April another ten men were interned, three of them at their own request owing to destitution. Of the latter, two were naturalised and one of these, a 41 year old man, was repatriated at his own request on the *HMS Kursk* at the end of the war. The unnaturalised man, John Launsky, was a 53 year old Austrian fisherman, married with four children and "addicted to drink". After two months internment Launsky was released at his own request and hawked fish from Hobart to Collinsvale and New Norfolk and "was never regarded with suspicion". The seven compulsory internment cases were all Germans. Alfred Klose was released after three weeks internment as he was a naturalised 23 year old who wished to remain in Australia. In 1919 he was reported to be in the Liverpool Camp but there is no record of his repatriation. Peter Thomsen was a sailor taken from his ship in Hobart and another sailor, Friedrich Behrends, was arrested the day after he had arrived in Strahan and signed on at Mt Lyell posing as a Norwegian. He was "exposed by a Swede who came over from Melbourne with him." Behrends then went to the Queenstown police and stated that he was a German naval reservist and "desired to be interned on Bruni." (Behrends had earlier attempted to return to Germany via Chile but unable to find passage from South America he had returned to Australia). Almost two months before, on 3 June, two other employees of the Mt Lyell Company, both aged 23, were interned from Queenstown. One of these men, Martin Longo, known as 'the Kaiser', drew attention to himself on 19 May and the following report appeared in the *Mercury* of 20 May: "A display of feeling over the sinking of the *Lusitania* has made itself manifest in the North Mt. Lyell mine during the last couple of days. One of the workmen expressed his opinion that it was a pity other boats were not similarly treated, and his fellow employees immediately turned on him, threatening to throw him down the shaft if he continued working with them. He sought the protection of the manager, and an inquiry was instituted, with the result that he was dismissed, with some good advice as to his attitude in a British country where he was earning British money." Another report in the *Mercury* on 1 June recorded Longo's arrest and internment at the "Bruni Concentration Camp". On 17 June, Werner Gustav Vied, a 38 year old lecturer and journalist, was arrested after being observed taking photographs and consulting maps in the Huon. His room was searched and a tele-

scope, some maps, a knuckle-duster and three sets of sailing vessel plans were found. He was interned two days later. All of the interned men except two of the destitution cases were repatriated at the end of the war and it made no difference that one of them had been promised employment. Perhaps the most interesting internment file from this period concerns Fritz Noetling, a 58 year old Medical Practitioner living in New Norfolk. He was born in Germany, became a naturalised Australian citizen, and was acting German proconsul in 1914. Dr. Noetling was one of the commissioners of fisheries until the government removed him from his post.<sup>109</sup> Noetling was a member of the Field Naturalists Club and the Royal Society of Tasmania. He was a respected scientist known for his significant research on aboriginal artefacts and percussion tools and his contribution to hydrology particularly in Southern Tasmanian waters. He was interned on 26 November 1915 for making disloyal statements and for sending information to Germany by mail (see appendix 2). Noetling was later denaturalised at his own request and repatriated to Germany.<sup>110</sup>

Of three men placed on parole, one was naturalised and a doctor brought to notice by the censor, another was a 54 year old German farmer whose Tasmanian wife was later fined five pounds for making disloyal statements, and the third was a young veteran of the German navy married to a local woman and employed as a biscuit maker. In total 133 dated files were either activated or opened during 1915. Eleven were notification of escapes from mainland internment camps, one concerned a broken parole and one resulted from a groundless accusation about a German spy and wireless station on King Island. Thirty-one files concerned permission to travel including a permit for Rev. A. F. R. Fehlberg, Lutheran Pastor at Collinsvale from 1914-15, to proceed to his new pastorate at Doncaster, Melbourne with his wife and five children. Another travel file involved prior notice from Headquarters that Howard F. Weirum, a traveller for an American concern, was believed to be "engaged in German interests ... to ascertain the extent of the manufacturers in a position to produce ammunition and the basic material for same." Weirum arrived in Queens-town in late 1915 and was kept under "strict police observation" while experimenting with sulphur fumes. "Sometime prior to June 1917" he departed for Melbourne. In September 1915 the WPA was amended to require local authorities to gain the written consent of either the Minister of Defence or the federal Attorney-General before a prosecution could be launched against any person for disloyal language, treason or sedition. At the same time it was recommended that cases should not be reported to Melbourne Headquarters unless of a serious nature.<sup>111</sup> Of the 28 accusations reported to the local authorities during this time, 18 were without foundation, including an anonymous letter asking "to be rescued from Von Tirpitz's

house". Of ten authenticated reports, all involved the utterance of disloyal statements. Action taken by the authorities resulted in one man's dismissal from his local government position in Zeehan, the threat of dismissal for another, an apology from a third, threat of internment should he repeat the offence to a fourth, a fifth man threatened to injure a recruiting sergeant and then left the state, a sixth was kept under observation and a seventh was fined 3 pounds.<sup>112</sup> Statutory declarations regarding the utterances of another three men, including the Strahan Council Clerk, were sent to Melbourne with recommendations for prosecution but Headquarters advised that no action should be taken.<sup>113</sup> Three of the men reported were naturalised Germans and at least another three had made statements deemed likely to discourage enlistment.

## 1916

Eighty-nine dated files were activated during the six months to 30 June 1916. Fifteen files concerned permission to travel including permits for two men who travelled from the 2nd MD on 8 February and promptly disappeared. Another man who arrived from Sydney at the end of the month was kept under surveillance as he was suspected by the 2nd MD of trying to leave the Commonwealth (he returned to Sydney in early June). An Australian was fined five pounds for making disloyal utterances and a naturalised subject of Austrian origin was searched on suspicion of having firearms in his possession. Four guns were found "which Jenny stated were used for sporting purposes" along with maps and charts of waters around New Zealand and views of many Australian states. All of this material was confiscated but no further action was taken. Eric Xaver arrived on the West Coast from Melbourne in March and was arrested and taken to Claremont by mistake. It seems that he may have been imprisoned for up to two months before his release and return to Melbourne. Paul Weisz, a stamp dealer, was a regular visitor to Tasmania and although he was kept under close observation and his correspondence censored, nothing disloyal was discovered. Fifteen more unfounded allegations were made during this period, two concerned Germans meeting at certain houses and resulted in much fruitless surveillance activity. In late February the first of 13 requests for exemption from the new WPA regulation 49, pertaining to the holding of shares by persons of enemy origin were received. Only the application of F. Jentesch was refused; probably because he had visited Germany four years earlier and was known to have been displeased when his son joined the A.I.F. Robert and William Kelb of Scottsdale tried to enlist in February but since their father was a German "a certificate of loyalty was not produced by the members of the local recruiting committee [and] the enlistment was not approved." It made no difference that their mother was a 'colonial'. However, in the following month, the enlistment of Thomas Haas was

supported by the same "Committee of Five".<sup>114</sup> In February the British born M. Bluck, the owner of land near Fort Alexandra, obtained a certificate from the General Staff Officer stating that he was satisfied with respect to Bluck's nationality. Bluck was wise to protect himself, throughout the war many files were established and many accusations made primarily due to suspicions being aroused by foreign sounding names.<sup>115</sup> Such suspicions resulted in 18 year old Basil Miller being demobilised from Home Service duty at Fort Alexandra when, brought under notice by his landlady, it was revealed that his real name was Oscar and that his father had changed the family name from Muller to Miller. Proceeding from names to rank, the federal government appointed Christian Bjelke Petersen (brother of author Marie Bjelke Petersen) Director of Physical Training for the armed forces with the honorary rank of Lieutenant Colonel in 1911. Petersen resigned his post during 1914 and in May 1916, Lieutenant Colonel Heritage of Launceston complained that Petersen was using a rank to which he was not entitled and also claimed "that the proprietor of Hadley's Hotel, Hobart, stated that he did not care to have Petersen at his hotel on account of his pro-German leanings". Petersen was instructed to desist using his claimed rank either officially or privately.<sup>116</sup>

Seven German men and two women were placed on parole during the half-year as were a Hungarian Hawker and a Bulgarian Miner. The police recommended one of the Germans, Carl Haberland, for internment "but this was not approved as Haberland could not be said to be destitute." At the end of the war Haberland made provision for his wife and child and undertook voluntary repatriation to Germany on the *Rugia* (14 October 1919). The four men who were interned during this period included a young Austrian labourer, Louis Pannagl, who wished to become naturalised but was interned instead due to destitution. Pannagl was not repatriated but a 19 year old German boy, Walter Grimm, who jumped parole in Victoria and was arrested at Linda, on the West Coast, was eventually sent back to Germany although he wanted to stay and had the promise of work in Queenstown. The other two men interned at this time, about ten months after they had written to the Hobart papers to inform the public that their business was not a German concern (see page 27), were Alfred Dehle, the 48 year old head of Dehle, Heritage and Co., and his 45 year old brother, Gustav Dehle. The reports leading to the arrest and internment of these naturalised and successful Hobart merchants provide a rare insight into the thinking of the authorities.<sup>117</sup>

Although he had been denaturalised when he left Bremen for England in 1885, at one time Alfred Dehle had been German Consul in Tasmania. He had arrived in Australia in 1887 and was naturalised three years later. Dehle returned to Germany to

marry in 1905 (see file in appendix 2). On 11 September 1915, the Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. C. Lord, wrote a memorandum that he had heard a rumour from Captain J. H. Butters of the Hydro-Electric Department concerning Alfred Dehle. It was alleged that Dehle had prominently displayed a picture of the Kaiser decorated with floral wreaths at a social function at his house "to the consequent annoyance of persons who saw it". According to the Police Commissioner, if there was any truth in the rumour then Dehle was a "disaffected and disloyal person". It was believed a certain Mr A. J. Love could throw some light on the incident. Detective Sergeant Summers was instructed to investigate the matter and he reported on 26 October (in clear copperplate handwriting) that there was not sufficient evidence to accuse Alfred Dehle or his wife of doing or saying anything disloyal although they "both have relations fighting with the Kaiser's army so naturally their sympathy is on that side". The social event referred to was the birthday of Dehles' youngest child that happens to fall on the same day as the Kaiser's and nobody attending was upset by what they saw. Photographs of the Kaiser, his family, Bismarck and other German officials were hung on the Dehle's dining-room wall. Dehle used to regularly visit the *Daily Post* and the *Mercury* offices to read the daily war news but he probably became aware of his surveillance as now "he very rarely leaves his home at night". Detective Sergeant Summers interviewed Mr Love but he "only knew something his wife had told him she heard from a second person that that person heard from another person."<sup>118</sup> The day after receiving Summers' carefully written report, the Police Commissioner wrote to Military Headquarters as follows: "This family has been under Police observation since the outbreak of war and reports have been from time to time furnished to D.H.Q. Rumours concerning them are in constant circulation, but so far nothing has been traced to them which would justify action under the War Precautions Act." Four months later in response to a Defence Memo of 14 February 1916 concerning "the possibility of activity on the part of German agents", District Commandant, Colonel W. J. Clark, wrote to the Secretary of the Department of Defence in Melbourne to recommend the internment of the Dehle brothers because: "while there is no tangible evidence of their having acted in a disloyal manner, the general census of opinion is that they are at heart disloyal."<sup>119</sup> Colonel Clark pointed out that up until now he had considered that "these men would have no opportunity of doing harm", however, his General Staff Officer and the Commissioner of Police were in agreement with him that "at liberty they would prove a menace to the cause of the Empire should the slightest opportunity arise by which they could aid Germany." On 3 March 1916, Alfred Christian Dehle and Gustav Adolf Dehle were arrested and transferred to the Holdsworth Concentration Camp. The brothers were released on parole (22 December 1918) and were required to report twice weekly to their nearest police station. "On 7/5/19



Headquarters, Melbourne stated that it was useless to submit his name [A. C. Dehle] for denaturalisation, and unless he is denaturalised he cannot be deported."

During the last six months of 1916 another five people were interned. Seven statutory declarations were collected by the police to show that Sandy Bay residents, Albert and Carl Schwann, were disloyal and pro-German. As well as the accusations of disloyal utterances made against them by the public, the censor forwarded an extract of a letter from Albert to his wife "in which he refers to having drunk the health of the Emperor Karl". Although the Schwann brothers (aged 46 and 41) were "British subjects of German parentage", they were interned on 15 July 1916 and not released until 27 August 1919. Herman Annowsky and his son Herman Annowsky Jnr. (aged 60 and 22) were interned on 16 September at their own request due to destitution. Herman senior was married to a Tasmanian woman and had worked on the wharves until his permit was revoked in April 1915 and he was required to obtain a permit each time he was called to work. "On 19/3/18 he asked for release from internment, and was promised that the application would be recommended if some responsible person would guarantee employment. During his internment his wife frequently wrote him, making use of disloyal utterances." Added to the file by hand is the statement: "Repatriated to Germany per *Ypiranga* at own request." Also interned at his own request on grounds of destitution was sailmaker Paul Schramm of Sandy Bay on 20 November. Schramm (36) was naturalised and had a Tasmanian wife and six children. He was also released on 27 August 1919 but not before his family experienced the mistaken instruction for them all to proceed to Sydney in order to be repatriated to Germany.

Twenty people were placed on parole during this period: five Germans, a Frenchman who had served in the German army, a Dane born in Germany, and thirteen Turks. Nine of the Turkish people were hawkers; of the remaining four, one was a green-grocer, one was a farmer, another was a farm labourer and one did not have an occupation listed. The Turkish files were invariably marked "loyalty unquestioned" or "no suspicious circumstances are attached to this man", in addition, the police recommended that an unnaturalised Syrian hawker should not be placed on parole.<sup>120</sup>

Altogether 96 files were activated in the second half of 1916 of which nineteen were travel related. The fact that about a quarter of the files were concerned with the investigation of unfounded accusations of disloyalty by members of the public reflects the social tension that surrounded the first conscription plebiscite. On 30 August 1916 the Prime Minister officially announced that a conscription plebiscite would be held in late October. The files show an immediate response in terms of an

increase in the frequency of unfounded accusations investigated from 31 August on and they feature remarks such as the following: "the informer was believed to have been actuated by reasons of petty spite" and "little reliance could be placed on the word of the informer" and "this girl was reported to have made disloyal remarks but she was considered, after inquiry, to be young and irresponsible". Abuse of alcohol was readily accepted as a mitigating circumstance, for example, "Foley holds Socialistic views, and talks a good deal. He is addicted to drink." And so no action was taken on his alleged remarks prejudicial to recruiting. Mahoney and Richards, both of Railton, were alleged to have made disloyal remarks concerning "the conscription question" on 15 October, statutory declarations were obtained from the police but the men were intoxicated and it was decided that "it was not advisable to take any action". W. G. Fitzpatrick, hotel-keeper of Deloraine was accused of disloyal remarks but the police considered "that he was, on the occasion quoted, irritated over the early closing of hotels." At least four times during this period statutory declarations were sent off to Melbourne recommending prosecution and Headquarters replied that in their opinion there was no case to answer. One of these cases concerned the language of a man when interviewed by a recruiting committee as to his son's enlistment and another concerned the remarks of clergyman W. J. Way in an address at Dover. On 24 October Bellerive signwriter, Benjamin Needham, was reported as being a member of the I.W.W., but his file states: "This is incorrect. Needham is of advanced Labor and Socialistic type and speaks a good deal on the Domain. Stood for Parliament (State) as Labor representative, May, 1919, but was defeated".<sup>121</sup> And four days later, Lilydale pacifist F. A. Mahnken came under notice "through his bitterness and outspokenness against conscription."

Public complaints resulted in effective official action in at least three cases. A 'clairvoyant' known as the 'Professor' or 'Reverend' was hounded out of Tasmania by the police after giving readings that the 40th Battalion would be torpedoed or mined and never reach England. The report states he "is now living in Australia, probably Victoria." Percy Smith, Secretary of the Federated Builders Laborers' (sic) of Australia was fined ten pounds for using "disloyal utterances to the employee of the Commonwealth Bank, Hobart". Henry Krause, a native born man of German descent, was trading in Launceston under the name of 'Stafford'. He was told to assume his real name at once. Another case seems to indicate a police obsession: C. W. Davenport was a 42 year old Austrian man resident in Tasmania for four years and married to an Englishwoman. "The police were convinced that he was a German and stated that he spoke with the accent of that language. His correspondence was censored without result." His offer of military service was refused and he was "kept under surveillance without result."

In late September, during the heat of the conscription debate, the Prime Minister threw away his best opportunity to win the campaign by prematurely having the Governor-General issue a Proclamation on 29 September 1916 calling upon "persons liable to serve in the Citizen Forces to enlist and serve as prescribed". The Proclamation was effective from 2 October.<sup>122</sup> This preview of things to come if a 'yes' vote prevailed made many people more attentive to the anti-conscription case being put with increasing vigour around the country. The effect of this Proclamation is evident in the files under examination: "On 16/10/16 Nicholls, when passed as medically fit refused to take the oath required by law on the attestation form for Citizen Forces. When interviewed he said that he was totally opposed to all military service and did not believe in force of any kind." Leslie Molesworth Nicholls was a Seventh Day Adventist living at Collinsvale. Four more young men from Collinsvale, all members of the Fehiberg family, refused to take the oath that day and a week later a man named Zanotti and another Fehiberg also refused to take the oath on religious grounds. The files give no indication that the matter was taken any further and there are no imputations of disloyalty, although one would have thought the authorities may have had their doubts given that the Fehiberg family was of German descent.<sup>123</sup>

Fehiberg?

## 1917

The only person interned during this year was a single, 60 year old East Prussian man named Martin Grenda. After being placed on parole earlier in the war Grenda left Scottsdale, where his brother also lived, and disappeared. In October 1916, regulations were introduced under the WPA requiring all aliens to register themselves and over the next twelve months three men were prosecuted for failing to register and one of them, 'Ivan Wolski', turned out to be Grenda. He was consequently interned on 9 October and repatriated on the 20 August 1919. Eight of the twelve men placed on parole during 1917 were unnaturalised German residents and six of them were reported to be of good character, including two fishermen who were required to move inland for the duration of the war, but the other two were sailors, and disinclined to follow instructions. One was ordered to remain 25 miles inland and, upon coming to Hobart without permission, the General Staff Officer informed him "that unless he obeyed the terms of the order his case would be further considered."<sup>124</sup> The other man was named Herman Vahldick alias Herman Fahlberg alias H. Newman. He first came under notice "on 7/9/14 ... when he applied for naturalisation, which was refused as the application was made during the war." Placed on parole on 9 May 1917, he disappeared two years later and on being located

in Melbourne he was detained and repatriated. Another three men on parole were naturalised residents born in Germany. The Strahan Marine Board vouched for the loyalty of their dredge employee, Wilhelm Blessing, and he was not interfered with, but the same cannot be said for the other two. 'Frank' Dorloff had been a resident of Australia for 36 years and was naturalised in 1903. Dorloff and his two sons were fishermen and had a small farm on South Bruny from where he was allowed to report to the Warden rather than travel to a police station. On 20 October 1917 Dorloff was ordered to take up 'his abode' 25 miles inland within seven days. "Warden Pybus and Councillor Kellaway, interviewed the District Commandant, asking that the order be revoked [and] offered to go bond for Dorloff." Dorloff also offered his farm as security for the good behaviour of himself and his sons. The bonds were accepted but the family were restricted to fishing locally and so leased their fishing boat out until all restrictions on them were lifted on 23 December 1918. The third man, Bruno Supplitt, arrived in Tasmania from Victoria in mid-1916 and was issued with a permit by the D.N.O. to work on a fishing boat. This permit was withdrawn five months later as Supplitt was of military age, a naval reservist and had been naturalised during the war (18 August 1914). In January he was placed on parole and in mid-1917, "the District Commandant recommended Supplitt's internment, in conformity with an opinion forwarded by the D.N.O., but a reply was received that there was no evidence to justify such step." At a later date Supplitt left his place of employment without notifying the police and attempted to enlist but was refused because he had been recommended for internment. "On 7/8/18 Supplitt was found at Tyenna living under the name of Ben Sutcliffe. A further recommendation was made ... that he be interned but such a course was not approved." Prosecution for changing his name was also not approved and he was placed back on parole. The other man on parole was a Turkish hawkers and naturally his file was marked: "No suspicious circumstances attach to this man."

One hundred and fourteen files (with dates) were opened during 1917. Nine of the files concerned permission to travel and six people had their property searched, including Gustav Weindorfer (see appendix 2). Nineteen files recorded accusations against people for alleged disloyal language. The following are examples of the latter reports: "I would as soon be under German rule as the British" (David Dicker MHA, 30 January - see appendix 2);<sup>125</sup> "rather than go to the war under the Nubeena recruiting committee he would sooner the Germans came here" (18 February); "only fools enlisted in the A.I.F." (4 March); "disloyal language concerning the Union Jack and the King's uniform" (9 March); "Stamford is erratic and preaches [on the Domain] on Sundays. He was called before the District Commandant and cautioned as to future utterances" (9 April); two women described Dr. Heinrich Von

See of Derby as "a dangerous man" (21 May);<sup>126</sup> and "every man who enlisted for the war was a damned fool" (2 June). On 25 August 1917, James Turner, a man described as a tramp, was reported to have made disloyal statements in a hotel in Carnarvon (Port Arthur), however the police advised against prosecution stating "he is an old man and cannot be taken seriously." The time and place of this report is interesting since the District Commander ordered four properties to be searched in that area that day, including the hotel of Henry Frerk. Frerk, a naturalised Australian of German birth, was accused of disloyalty by C. Hay on 27 April 1915 (this is probably the same C. Hay that wrote the super patriotic letter to the *Mercury* quoted on page 21). The report was found to be groundless but anonymous accusations about signals being made to sea and other suspicious activities continued to be pressed against Henry and Hans Frerk and John<sup>127</sup> and Henry Danker until an Intelligence Agent was sent to the Peninsula on 23 July. One month later the properties of these men were searched with uniformly negative results. Groundless accusations were also made against a Port Cygnet schoolteacher, Miss Eaton, reported to have used disloyal utterances to the schoolchildren under her charge (30 August), and a businessman named Cook. His report states that the rumours of disloyal utterances "may be put down to jealousy of trade" (19 November). A similar complaint received on the 4 December stated that Andrew Gall of Collinsvale was granted a contract by the Public Works Department and that he had made use of disloyal utterances. Two days later William Able of Deloraine and Licensee of the Railway Refreshment Rooms was reported to have said "F.... the British Empire" (sic). It was determined that Abel's lease was to expire at the end of the year and he was prosecuted under the *Police Offences Act*. On 7 November the Prime Minister announced that a second conscription plebiscite was to be held on 20 December 1917 and three weeks later an investigation of Ridgeway storekeeper and Roman Catholic, John Travers Tagg, revealed "that he was in poor circumstances but paid his way. Was of good character. An anti-Conscriptionist. Was not known to be of enemy descent. A prominent worker in connection with the R. C. Church." The following day a man named Slater was reported to have said "all who go to the poll and vote 'yes' are murderers. The Crown Solicitor, to whom the matter was referred, advised that no offence was disclosed." And in December, J. J. Kenneally of Moonah "made use of remarks likely to effect recruiting, by referring to 'spread-eagling' ... during a referendum meeting at Oakwood". The remarks were referred to the Crown Solicitor's office and Melbourne Headquarters by the police but "it was not desired to institute proceedings." It was the same situation with Charles Neuman, a naturalised German-born Australian and Captain of the Brigantine *Wollomai*. The local authorities pushed for prosecution but Headquarters demurred. "In October 1917, reports were received from the Police and the D.N.O. as to this man's actions

in carrying a crew of aliens and engaging wharf laborers of an extreme Labor type. The facts were reported to Headquarters but no action was taken. On 11/12/17 the D.N.O. reported that in the light of recent enemy action in Australian waters it was not desirable that Neuman be permitted to command the *Wollomai*. Headquarters replied "there was nothing against Neuman's loyalty". "On 6/5/18 the Recruiting Committee forwarded a complaint re Neuman, but they were informed that the facts had already been forwarded to Headquarters."<sup>128</sup>

The attitude of the police towards aliens seems to have hardened during 1917, for example, they were requested to keep Ernest Muller, a 59 year old orchardist and naturalised citizen of German birth described as "uneducated, industrious and harmless", under observation. "A month later the police reported that nothing was known against him, but they were of the opinion that he should be interned - a course that was not followed as no evidence for such action was forthcoming." William Oscar Schroll, a Danish sailor and fisherman, also appears to have annoyed the police. Six foot tall and well built with fair hair and a fair moustache and about 30 years old, Schroll, had a quiet manner and spoke with a foreign accent. The file records that he was "versed in socialistic literature of older stamp, and in social economics. Educated above the average." Schroll arrived in Hobart from Victoria 'about' 3 April, and registered as an alien at the Hobart Police Station the following day. He must have been compelled to register because when the Police Commissioner<sup>129</sup> learned that Schroll was previously aware of the *Aliens Registration Regulations* he recommended proceedings that resulted in Schroll being fined five pounds plus costs. On 3 October Schroll was working on a fishing boat and was reported by the police to be "associating with I.W.W. and other suspects in Hobart". This report was forwarded to Melbourne Headquarters and, on 29 October, Schroll was instructed to move 25 miles inland "and not to leave that residence without permission of a Senior Police Officer." At this stage the Hobart vice-consul for Denmark interested himself in the case and made personal representations to the District Commandant concerning the treatment of Danish subjects but to no avail. Schroll first went hawking fish, then worked at the Royal George Mine in Avoca before returning to Hobart without permission in February 1918. He then gained a position with the Hydro-Electric Department at Waddamana. He was warned against breaking the inland regulations again and the police were asked to keep him under observation. In mid-March he left Waddamana without permission and as he could not be traced his description was circulated in the Police Gazettes of 12th and 26th of April and the 24th of May. There is an unusual sense of urgency in the brief instructions given by the Gazettes. "Arrest without warrant" is pencilled over the text of the first two editions and Schroll is linked with Edward Newman (see page 49) on 24 May. This edition also featured

additional instructions to "notify Newmans location and to arrest Schroll without warrant." On 30 May, Schroll was recommended for internment to Melbourne Headquarters but "it was deemed inadvisable to intern a Danish subject although prosecution was recommended". He remained at large and was later reported to be living in a room in Smith Street, Melbourne.

Another Melbourne resident, Henry George Schumer, provided the Tasmanian authorities with a great deal more satisfaction than Schroll. Schumer, an Australian born telegraph employee, was described, under the heading 'Peculiarities', as "Excitable". This description of Schumer's state of mind is not surprising, given his experience with the military authorities. The file reports Schumer to be "a young man and an excellent amateur photographer with extensive kit, and a keen student of languages, possessing books on almost every known tongue". He first came under notice in June when lost in the Hartz Mountains and since he had been taking photographs his property was searched and "a large quantity of photographic material, maps, negatives, etc. were discovered and deposited with the [General Staff Officer] 6th M.D. on 22/6/17. On 18/7/17 his correspondence was placed under censorship, and the photographic material was held. Schumer made several explanations to the Commandant and G.S.O., but his statements were regarded as being unsatisfactory and the *Aliens Restriction Order, 1915* was applied to him. He made several applications for the removal of this order and the return of his material, but these were refused. On 6/12/17 Schumer left for Melbourne and was ordered to report to [Intelligence Section, General Staff] 3rd M.D. on arrival, his goods being detained by this branch. At the same time 3rd M.D. were advised to watch his movements." And so the story proceeds with Schumer twisting and turning in a combination of outrage and frustration under the cold eye of military intelligence. At the end of 1918 he was released from the *Aliens Restriction Order*<sup>130</sup> and his belongings were returned.

## 1918

Only two men were interned during 1918 but their files seem to reflect the desire of some officials to be rid of all 'Germans' and anybody else who they considered to be disloyal to the Empire. Charles Herman Bahr was born in Germany but had lived in Australia for the previous 32 years and was naturalised in 1906. The 53 year old man was a waterside labourer before the war and was described as follows: "Gait slow. Speaks with foreign accent. Physically sick. Mentally, somewhat dull." In 1917 he was seen in the vicinity of the wharves and "could give no excuse saving that business on account of his wife's small shop took him there. He was ordered

on 20/10/17 to change his abode 25 miles from the coast". Suspected of sometimes coming to Hobart without permission he was found there on the 24 April 1918 and explained that his previous visit had been a three week stay in the hospital due to back trouble. Five days later he was recommended for internment and "was arrested & forwarded to 2nd M.D. 17/5/18. His wife applied for a destitution allowance, but was refused as she kept a shop. Bahr is believed to be of German sympathies, but no evidence to that end was collected against him. Bahr was recommended for denaturalisation 30/12/18" but he was finally released in late August 1919. The second man interned came to attention as the result of arguments about the war carried on in a Devonport hotel on 30 May and 4 June 1918. Michael Kiely, a Roman Catholic farmer from Victoria, was travelling on the N.W. Coast with one Robert McCosker "for health reasons". His aliens file records that the two men "kept to themselves, but when the war was being discussed Kiely entered into the argument very heatedly, and during these discussions made use of such disloyal language that he was ejected from the hotel. He stated that he was a Sinn Feiner, a member of the I.W.W. and made disparaging remarks about the British flag." Three Statutory Declarations (from a draper, a tinsmith and a jeweller) referring to these incidents were sent to Headquarters, "with the result that Kiely was arrested and eventually sent to Sydney under escort" where he was held in the Detention Compound, Darlinghurst. A search of Kiely and McCosker's belongings had given "a negative result" and a public enquiry was held on 18 and 19 December before Police Magistrate Hall in Launceston.<sup>131</sup> Three days later Kiely was "returned to 2nd M.D. under escort, and the findings of the Magistrate were forwarded to Headquarters in due course. On 20/1/19 Kiely was released from detention and proceeded to Melbourne."

One hundred and two files were activated during 1918. Thirty-four of them were concerned with travel to and from Tasmania, including short reports on Mandus Zymulman, a Polish jeweller, and a Finnish couple named Joki, who were restricted from landing at Hobart ex *Riverina* on instructions from Headquarters. All three returned to Sydney the following day (11 October) on the same vessel. The file of Peter Clingeffer also relates to travel as Headquarters suggested that he be allowed to travel from Burnie to Melbourne without seeking the permission of District Headquarters. Following a police report that Clingeffer was of good character and had a son enlisted, "Headquarters, Melbourne were advised that Clingeffer had been given permission in terms of their suggestion. [However!] The police were asked to report confidentially when advantage was taken of the concession, but no report was ever received." Five men were fined, usually 10/-, for either failing to register as aliens or subsequently failing to notify the police of their change of address. A



young Swiss man living on King Island and working at the Sheelite Mine was placed on parole for the former offence and an Italian reservist, Francesco Torielli, working for the Mt. Lyell Company, was served with a deportation warrant on 3 October after being fined, as above, in May. "Later the police advised that he had left a wife on the verge of confinement and one child destitute ... and Torielli was returned." The warrant was held in abeyance and eventually cancelled. Edouard Neumann or Edward Newman, also known as 'German Ted', was described as a stout, erect man about 43 years of age who spoke "rather good English" and was a sailor and an alcoholic. Newman was born in Germany and had been naturalised on 31 August 1914. In December 1917 he was ordered to leave his employment on the ketch *Violet*, on the Channel trade, and move inland 25 miles "in conformity with general policy". He was subsequently reported to be in New Norfolk (not far enough away from the coast) but then he disappeared. Three entries were made in the *Police Gazette* (11 January, 24 May and 14 June 1918) in an effort to trace him and a recommendation was made to Headquarters that he be interned when found. On 30 October Newman was located by the police in the Bothwell district but Headquarters recommended no action should be taken and he was merely kept under observation. In mid-January 1919 Newman was allowed to return to the coast and in May was granted a permit to work on the ketch *Heather Belle*.

Seventeen files were concerned with reports of disloyal utterances or suspicious actions during 1918. A recruiting committee complained about a German born woman but "inquiries proved that the matter was merely a neighbour's squabble." In February hotel keeper George Planck, a former telegraph operator, was reported to be engaged in secret use of the telegraph at night. Upon investigation the police discovered he was using a 'sounder' for practising purposes. Another report stated that a man named Hurt "made disparaging remarks about the war loan and refused to allow advertising matter concerning it to be exhibited in his tea rooms. The police reported on the matter, but there was no ground for action" (19 March). In April, Paul Behr arrived in Launceston from Melbourne with luggage addressed to Paul 'Beeton' and was said to have used "very disloyal expressions" while under the influence of drink. Behr, a naturalised citizen of German birth, was formally the manager of the Trafalgar Mine in Tasmania. His luggage was searched to no effect and Headquarters was urged to prosecute him but declined the invitation. In late April, Cyril Shaw, resident of NSW, was reported to have used disloyal language at Bagdad but no witnesses could be found. "The censor was asked to scrutinise his correspondence" and Shaw was carefully observed. The police description of Shaw is unusually evocative, he was described as 5ft 11 in. tall with short curly hair and bald on each side of his head, "athletic build. Clean shaven. Has habit of saying

'hm, hm', when wishing to evade answering a direct question or when refraining from giving an opinion. Noticeable rolling of the letter R. Deep wrinkles from each side of nose to chin. Wears rimless pince-nez." However, after much effort nothing suspicious was discovered about him. At the end of May, Joseph Loschy, a naturalised Hungarian subject was refused permission to purchase land at Forcett because an anonymous letter had been received in March 1916 that alleged suspicious actions on his part. (The allegations had been investigated at the time and could not be sustained.) Ernest Meerman was a mechanic and a naturalised subject of German birth. In 1917 he was given permission to open a motor repair shop but was also kept under observation. "In July, 1918 a communication was received from a rival motor firm which alleged suspicious actions on the part of Meerman, but after further inquiries it was decided that the allegations were groundless." Tramway employees, Joseph Casey and his son Orlando, were alleged to have made disloyal remarks and were brought up before the Hobart Police Court in July when the case was adjourned because of the illness of the chief witness. The prosecution was finally abandoned in January 1919 "on account of the mental condition of the principal Crown witness." Shopkeepers, sawmillers, waterside workers, a Senator, a union organiser and a Master mariner were all accused but after investigation no action was deemed necessary. The latter person, Captain James Cameron of Sandy Bay, was reported to be "looting in the China seas" but was, in fact, on war duty in the Persian Gulf. The case of Richard Hayes is an example of a complaint made directly to Melbourne Headquarters: "On 2/11/18 Headquarters forwarded a file alleging insulting language on the part of Haas towards a returned soldier, as well as an illegal change of name. A police report ascertained that Hayes was well known to the people of Scottsdale under that name for 20 years, and his children were registered in the name of Hayes. He is a German by birth but came to Tasmania in infancy. The matter of insulting language occurred between neighbours, and the outcome was a civil action at law."

During 1918 many more reports were made concerning people of Irish descent than previously. "On 14/6/18 the Ulverstone Recruiting Committee alleged disloyal statements made by Dowling at a welcome to returned soldiers." Father Dowling, according to Robson, said Ireland was fighting for the same freedom Australia possessed and the Irish would not "spill one drop of blood for the country which oppressed them."<sup>132</sup> Headquarters, being advised of Dowling's remarks, instructed that a prosecution should follow. "On 31/10/18 the prosecution was withdrawn on an undertaking being given that Dowling would not so again offend during the war." And for contrast: "On 18/7/18 Jeffs was reported as injuring recruiting by speaking at meetings at Devonport and introducing matters of religion likely to appear disparaging to other sects than Protestant." This report is not surprising since the Reverend

H. H. Jeffs had previously publicly expressed his fear that after the war "the Romish Church would seek to take over the world", and was a founding member of the Tasmanian Loyalty League formed in July 1918.<sup>133</sup> Jeffs' file states: "The matter was dealt with personally by the District Commandant." Still on the sectarian issue, just after the ending of the war, the Devonport Branch of the Catholic Federation complained of letters to the press written by J. D. Millen<sup>134</sup> (elected to the Senate for the National Party the following year) alleging their disloyalty. Military Intelligence considered the matter a "religious controversy" and no action was taken. Throughout the year the censor provided extracts of letters written to Ireland by a priest, a nun and three others referring to topics such as: "the power of Dr Mannix [and] the loyalty of Catholics"; military service; "conscription and Ireland"; the war loan; and the 'Irish question'. The nun wrote in December that she "is very sorry for the Germans." None of the resulting investigations discovered disloyal or seditious actions or intentions on the part of the letter writers.

Anxiety and suspicion seem to fuel the imagination. In October 1918 the Italian Consulate brought Pietre Gueck, of the West Coast town of Linda, to the notice of Headquarters as receiving Italian newspapers "and inquired whether it was possible that he was making use of information in them for communication to the enemy through neutral countries." The censor had the newspapers diverted from Linda to Launceston for censorship. In September the censor had brought attention to the fact that Mrs Ethel Smith of Hobart had rented a private letter box at the General Post Office. "Later he reported that Mrs Smith was acting as an agent for Tattersall". Files were opened on Harold Knapp and Lindsay Revill because they came to Hobart to work as reporters for the Labor newspaper, *The World*, but "no incorrect national feelings were displayed" by these men. The Secretary of the Australian Peace Alliance, T. J. Millep, visited Hobart in July in order to form a branch of the Alliance. The branch was formed "but took no active part in matters. It was never virile in this State and has apparently dropped out of existence." On 15 October 1917 the D.N.O. wrote to the Premier: "I have the honour to advise that the Naval Inspecting Chief Petty Officer visited Princes Wharf on Friday night last, at about midnight, and found it still unprotected."<sup>135</sup> Unfortunately for Norwegian sailor and Hastings mill worker, Oscar Stryman, security was improved and he was found sleeping off a drinking spree in the engine room of the *Macedon* seven months later and spent three weeks in jail as a result. Another Norwegian sailor, Frank Schott, served three months in jail for theft. He claimed to be naturalised but was found to be lying. "On his release from gaol he enlisted in the A.I.F. at Claremont, and embarked with the 3rd General Reinforcements." Which demonstrates how desperate the recruiting committees were becoming by this stage of the war. They accepted a dishonest

and short (5ft 3" or 4") unnaturalised Norwegian, whereas in mid-1917, Gerardus Gutting, a Dutch Nurseryman was discharged from the A.I.F. for failing to "obtain a naturalisation certificate." Of the two final files for 1918, one suggests the potential for the petty abuse of power that is inherent within the activities authorised by the WPA and the other obliquely questions the official emphasis placed on race as the main determinant of national loyalties. Miss Liseli Kunz, a native of Switzerland, lived in Kingston Road with her father and was described as "well educated, good linguist, good looking." Her file reports: "This girl was under observation for some time in 1918 with a negative result. She proceeded to Sydney under permit 26/10/18, and stated it was her ultimate intention to proceed to the United States." No doubt, she breathed a sigh of relief upon leaving the State. Lindisfarne resident, Campbell Wiss, was born in Heidelberg, Germany in 1863 and, according to his file, spoke with a strong foreign accent. This is not surprising as his file reveals that his Scottish grandfather and English grandmother lived in Germany where both he and his father were born. His mother was English and a "fluent German linguist" and Campbell Wiss grew up only speaking German. Wiss supported his statements with a statutory declaration "and was furnished with a letter that his statement that he was a British born subject had been accepted."

## 1919

There were only fifteen new files for this year. The following is a brief report on each of them in consecutive order. In either late 1918 or 1919 American musician Edward Theiss "was reported to be an Austrian reservist." In fact he had a son badly wounded in France with the USA army. Theiss is described as having "hands crippled with rheumatism. Walks with halting gait. Stoops." Richard Powell was the third reporter with *The World* to be investigated. He was alleged to have expressed sympathy for the I.W.W. and his correspondence was censored with no result. Powell died at the Hobart General Hospital of 'locomota ataxia' in early 1919. Melbourne boot manufacturer, Angus McDonnell was well known in Hobart as a socialist sympathiser and when in Tasmania on holiday he often spoke on the Hobart Domain. On Sunday, 19 January, he addressed an open air meeting of the Bass Divisional Council of the ALP at Cornwall Square in Launceston, and was reported to Headquarters as speaking in support of the I.W.W. The case was considered as one of sedition (Disloyal Utterances) and following instructions the files were forwarded to the 3rd Military District for further action.<sup>136</sup> On 22 January, three German born 'settlers' from the Channel region applied for consent to acquire shares in the Sunshine Standardised Fruit Company. All three were naturalised and all three were permitted to purchase shares. In mid-February, Mrs F. Stone of the approp-

riately named Cross Street, Battery Point, "was reported for alleged disparaging remarks concerning returned soldiers. The police were able to prove that no such expressions were uttered. The occurrence was in the form of a neighbour's common squabble." About this time Isaac Myers escaped from military custody in Melbourne. His wife stated when interviewed at Kettering that she knew nothing of "her husband's whereabouts, and had last heard of him being in a Sydney hospital with pneumatic influenza." Also in February, Corporal Garnet Rupert Gourley "was reported as being of I.W.W. tendencies and a mover of unrest amongst returned soldiers while at the Quarantine Station, Bruni Island." The report was found to have no credibility. "On 5/3/19 Censor, Launceston, reported that it was stated that Thorn [Private J.E., ex-A.I.F., 26th Battalion] was a member of the Sein Fein movement, having probably joined while on leave in Ireland. Further information was requested and Censor replied that from further inquiries he could not help feeling that Thorn was inventing the whole story." In early April three Russians were deported from Australia aboard the *Bokara* because of their participation in the 'Red Flag' protests in Brisbane against the continued application of the WPA. The reaction of returned soldiers to this leftist protest culminated in a violent attack on the South Brisbane Russian Hall on 24 March 1919. When the ship called at Hobart the three men were held at the Hobart Gaol until the time of departure. Fingerprints, photographs and descriptions of the three were sent to Melbourne to ensure there had been no substitutions. The men were described as follows; Marks, Abraham., 5ft 6", sallow complexion, clean shaven, plausible; Wilczovkoski, alias Peter Gaillet, Lutheran, 6ft, fair complexion, fair hair, wearing a moustache and pointed beard, well educated, heavy build, broad shouldered, very erect and; Zuzenko, Alexander Michael, a journalist, 6ft 1", round shouldered, sallow complexion, big scar back of head, dark brown hair and a short dark moustache.<sup>137</sup> Later in the year, Headquarters Melbourne made enquires concerning two men named Campbell who were known to have been active in the USA and Great Britain lecturing and agitating along Bolshevik lines. No trace of the men was found in Tasmania. Finally, Aubrain Tofine Sataruck, a Russian sailor on board the *Kyogle* was reported to be a Bolshevik by the police in June. He left for Melbourne in July.

## FILES WITHOUT DATES

Of the 118 undated files 33 are 'alias' files referring the file user to the official name of the person under investigation. Straightforward registration of aliens with no suspicious circumstances attached accounts for another 60 files. Two files were reports on mainland escapees, one was a successful request from a naturalised person of Danish birth for permission to either buy or sell land at New Town, another file

recorded an application to the District Naval Officer from Charles Goer for permission to learn wireless telegraphy from a Mr Holloway at the Wireless Station on Flinders Island. Two files traced persons with foreign names who were found to have left Tasmania some years before. Another file was an inquiry from Headquarters concerning a man "who was supposed to have worked in the office of the Tasmanian Agent-General London". And another instructed the Hobart office to keep a lookout for a non-English speaking Russian sailor with big ears believed to have "strong I.W.W. and Bolshevik sympathies. The police were instructed to watch incoming vessels for Ivanoff, without result." Eight files recorded allegations of disloyalty that were found to have no factual basis. The remaining nine files were taken up by reports on the following people. A Danish wharf labourer from Strahan placed on parole. Nurse Helen Grutzner of the Launceston General Hospital who came under notice for writing to her brother in Germany telling him she had "offered her services as an A.I.F. nurse but was declined on account of her nationality." Sister Rose, a nun from Franklin Convent School, also came to notice for writing to her brother. The censor reported that she referred to Sinn Feinism in a letter to Ireland. Meta and Alvira Kruse, also from Franklin, had been born in Germany but were naturalised in 1901, "these sisters came to Tasmania in 1885 with their parents, the father is now dead. They were working on a Channel steamer as stewardesses and were discharged in accordance with restrictions on aliens on shipping." Both parents of native born second hand dealer, Henry Herpich of Hobart, were German. "Herpich was found in possession of articles of military uniform and was prosecuted" [Under *WPA Regulation 42A* making it illegal to sell articles of military uniform]. Deloraine man, Charles Hyde, was fined 10/- and 23/- costs under the *Police Offences Act* for using insulting language to a recruiting organiser. E. J. Price of Charles Street Launceston, was "once a follower of the Labor Party and an anti-Conscriptionist. Censor was asked to examine his correspondence until after the Reinforcement Referendum, without result. Price now denounces the rabid labor party in open air speeches in Launceston." Finally, the last two files concern Senator Guy of Melbourne who was "implicated in statements made by Miss Yita Goldstein re conscription of Industrial labor" (sic) and Miss Goldstein herself who was reported to be: "implicated in a statement circulated in Tasmania to the effect that it was the intention of the Government to conscript male and female labor for industrial purposes, in respect to the Reinforcement referendum, which, it was stated, was not for military but for industrial purposes."<sup>138</sup>

Vida?  
 or was it  
 Yita  
 the original?

# CHAPTER FOUR

## CONCLUSION

### FILE ANALYSIS

Altogether 86 men were interned in or from Tasmania during the war. Only three men had been interned after 1916: Grenda and Bahr for breaking their parole and Michael Kiely. Eight persons were released on parole and one man arrested by mistake was set free. Fifty men were taken from the Oberhausen and other ships and nine Germans and one Austrian who had arrived in Tasmania since 1911 were interned. All of these sailors and recent arrivals, including three army and two naval reservists, were repatriated. Not including Michael Kiely who was a Victorian interned in 1918 on suspicion of being disloyal (see page 48), the remaining 16 internees were Tasmanian residents imprisoned for the duration. Three were native born men of German descent (the Schwann brothers were interned for making disloyal statements and the other man at his own request on grounds of destitution) and one was an Austrian released in June 1918. This leaves 12 German immigrants interned, seven of whom were naturalised. Three of the latter were destitute and of the other four naturalised men two were former German Consuls: Fritz Noetling and Alfred Dehle; and the other two were the merchant, Gustav Dehle and poor old Charles Bahr. Thus of the 353 male residents of Tasmania shown by the 1911 census as being born in Germany, 12 or 3.4% of them were interned - three at their own request - and seven (2%) were repatriated to Germany. Of these seven banished from Australia, only Noetling and one of the destitute men were naturalised and they were repatriated at their own request, as was another destitute man. Of the remaining four: one was an army reservist; Grenda had jumped parole and used a false name; Ochmigen had attempted to evade the censor with a harmless letter to Switzerland; and Karl Muller could not produce a guarantee of employment to secure his release in order to remain with his wife and child (see page 35).

Of the eight men on parole who had been previously interned one was an Austrian and a long-term resident of Tasmania interned due to destitution and released at his own request after two months (Launsky, page 34), the rest of the men were German and only Gustav Garner was naturalised. Garner was arrested under the name 'Wolff' and released on parole four months later when his true identity became known. Two of the men left the state, two were army reservists, one was 50 years old and the other was married to an 'English woman'. August Gerhrke was a naval

reservist and the community disapproval of his internment is covered on page 36. The other man died in the New Town Infirmary almost two years after he was released on parole instead of being transferred to NSW.

Altogether, sixty men and two single German women and a Turkish married woman were placed on parole in Tasmania. Only six of these men were naturalised and since their occupations were listed as two fishermen, one sailor, one dredge worker and a barge hand, I expect that their parole was insisted upon by the District Naval Officer. The odd man out was Doctor Otto Gmelin who was reported by the D.N.O. to have some mildly suspicious correspondence in his possession. Two of the men on parole were repatriated, Carl Haberland at his own request and Herman Vahldick alias Fahlberg alias Newman for jumping parole and residing in Victoria under the name of Newman. Two of the men on parole were required by the DNO to live at least 25 miles inland for the duration of the war. Three men managed to have themselves released from parole: one produced his American naturalisation papers; another his Australian papers (however the DNO still refused Lopsinger's request to work on the wharves); and the third proved himself to be a Russian rather than German subject. Most of the people on parole were Germans but there were also two Americans, two Danes, an Austrian, one Bulgarian, a Hungarian and 13 Turks or Syrians. The people on parole were evenly distributed around Tasmania with the only concentration occurring on the West Coast where at least a dozen residents were required to report regularly to the police.

The *Record of Aliens* files recorded information on 294 'Germans' in Tasmania made up of the following: 50 native born Australians of German descent; 114 naturalised Australians born in Germany; 68 unnaturalised residents born in Germany; 50 German sailors; and 12 army or navy reservists. Four wives and one husband of German-born residents were also mentioned. There are 61 files, mostly undated, that are only concerned with the registration of persons of enemy or foreign birth plus five files concerning native born persons of German descent. These files record almost equal numbers of naturalised and unnaturalised residents and none of these people were army or naval reservists. Twenty-five files record naturalised German residents and another eleven files record unnaturalised Germans. The other nationalities registered were three Austrians (all naturalised), eight Greeks (one naturalised), three Norwegians, three Syrians (one naturalised), two Danes (one naturalised), two Russians, one Finn, a Dutchman, an Italian and a Maltese. Only five female residents were registered. (74 females appear in the *Record of Aliens* files or less than 10% of all persons mentioned.) Of the eleven unnaturalised German residents registered four were women, five were elderly men and two were



men to whom no suspicious circumstances were attached. Seventeen files record persons who failed to register themselves. Three were Germans who were known to have left for the mainland. Two more Germans arrived in Hobart from Sydney and promptly disappeared (8 February 1916). A man who at first claimed to be a Swede born in the USA and later claimed to be a Dane could not be traced after March 1917. Seven men were fined for failing to register, two were from Norway and the others came from Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, and Italy. A Greek and three more men from Norway were ordered to register but were not prosecuted.

Sixteen naturalised persons and four unnaturalised Germans sought exemption from *Regulation 49* of the WPA concerning the transfer of shares. Twelve submissions were made in 1916, another four in 1917 and three submissions were received from the Channel area to allow purchase of shares in the Sunshine Standardised Fruit Company in 1919. One file was not dated and only one request for exemption was not approved. Fifteen applications were received from Tasmania by the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department for exemption from the *Land Transfer Regulations*. Two requests for exemption were refused on the advice of the local authorities, in one case because the supplicant was not naturalised and in the other because the person had been anonymously accused of alleged suspicious activity two years earlier. Two of the share exemption requests and four of the land transfer requests were successfully made by the Australian wives of alien persons. At the end of April 1917 a naturalised Italian sought permission to take up a mining lease at Zeehan and a Chinese man made the same request at Derby in October the following year, both submissions were successful. Five people were reprimanded for taking photographs of restricted areas such as the wharves, the waterworks and a lighthouse during the war. One man was searched and greatly inconvenienced for taking photographs in the Hartz Mountains (see page 47). Five men of enemy birth or descent were reported to be in the possession of rifles or shotguns and one of them, Melchior Jenny, had his room searched and his guns confiscated.

The censor is referred to in thirty-three of the *Record of Aliens* files but this does not reflect the extent of the mail censorship imposed on Tasmania. All of the mail to and from interned persons was inspected and I expect the same was true for those persons on parole. As most of these files are of people with foreign names it seems reasonable to assume that all such letters were checked, especially if the mail had an overseas destination or origin. From time to time the censor was requested by Military Intelligence to inspect the mail of persons reported by the police or the public to be acting suspiciously or to have made disloyal utterances. Associates of suspected

disloyal persons were also likely to be brought to the attention of the censor. The censor was especially asked to examine the correspondence of E. J. Price of Launceston, "a follower of the Labor Party and an anti-conscriptionist ... until after the Reinforcement Referendum," and in late 1918 the censor made reports on six persons writing to Ireland. In January 1916 the letters of A.I.F. recruit, William Davids, to various Americans discussing the war "were intercepted and retained by the Censor." Four files record attempts to evade the inspection of mail by the censor. Two persons had mail taken from them before sailing overseas; by the police in one case and the Naval authorities in the other. Fritz Ernst, a German born West Coast schoolmaster, had left Tasmania for Switzerland in 1905 and was known to forward disloyal letters to Germany. The censor's greatest coup in Tasmania was the interception of Fritz Noetling's correspondence to his sister in Switzerland comprising "voluminous letters written in German, many newspaper cuttings with comments thereon, and tables of figures regarding troops, etc, addressed to General Mackelstein, of the German Army". Noetling was interned due to the nature of this correspondence and was eventually repatriated to Germany (see appendix 2). On a less glorious note the Launceston censor was alleged, in 1916, to frequently consort with "well known pro-Germans at Burnie" (File # 505) and in 1919 had his leg pulled by Pte. J. Thorn concerning that soldiers' supposed membership of the Sinn Fein movement.

The District Naval Officers of Australia seem to have been particularly conscientious in the performance of their duties. On the recommendation of the D.N.O. one Dane (William Schroll, see page 46), two unnaturalised German residents and five naturalised Germans: Frank Generich, Edward Newman (see page 49), Charles Bahr (see page 48), Frank Dorloff (see page 44) and Ernest Muller were instructed to remove themselves 25 miles inland for the duration. (Dorloff and Muller, an orchardist and family man living near Cygnet, were exempted from the order within a few days but were kept under police observation.) The sisters Meta and Alvira Kruse were born in Germany but came to Australia in 1885 and were naturalised in 1901. They were discharged from their position as stewardesses on a Channel steamer "in accordance with restrictions on aliens on shipping". The local D.N.O. also refused permission for naturalised Austrian resident and ship's carpenter, August Meyer, who had left his shipyard position, to work on a fishing boat. Finally, doubts were entertained as to the loyalty and origin of H. Boden working on the "Yatala" trading between Burnie and Melbourne and consequently the South Australian D.N.O. cancelled his permit. The file notes: "Boden is a married man with 4 children residing in Adelaide."

During the war the Tasmanian Intelligence Section received approximately 217 unsolicited reports from the public or the police concerning persons alleged to be disloyal. The accusations varied from pointing out suspicious activities, reporting disloyal statements or simply accusing people of having disloyal sympathies. All reports were investigated and nearly all were found to be without factual foundation or were not serious enough to invite prosecution under the *WPA*. The number of reports received each year break down as follows:

1914 - 22	
1915 - 39	(1)
1916 - 61	(11)
1917 - 45	(7)
1918 - 31	(3)
1919 - 4	

The figures in brackets refer to the twenty-one men and one woman who were reported to have made remarks "prejudicial to recruiting" (these figures are included in the first column). Also included in these figures are ten persons who were reported twice; L. J. Stevens, who was reported four times on account of his anti-conscription activity (see appendix 2); and Henry Frerk who was reported at least three times for alleged suspicious activity at Port Arthur. The homes of both these men were searched. The figures do not include 15 undated files.

The official outcomes of this tell-tale activity were as follows. The Schwann brothers of Sandy Bay were interned in 1916 and another man was threatened with internment should he repeat his statements. Two men lost their jobs and one man was threatened with same. Six men were interviewed by the military authorities as a result of their alleged offences and two of them promised not to do it again. A naturalised German-born school teacher was relieved of his custody of the Waratah drill hall keys. One Hungarian-born naturalised man was refused permission to buy land because an anonymous letter alleging suspicious actions on his part had been received by the authorities two years earlier. A young man was stood down from Home Service Duties for using a false name. A clairvoyant was run out of Tasmania. Nine men and one woman were fined by the courts for their use of disloyal or obscene language. The latter offence was often connected with the use of disloyal language but saved the police the trouble of gaining permission from Military Headquarters in Melbourne to prosecute. The fines ranged from 10/- to fifteen pounds with five pounds being the most common penalty imposed. Two men were placed under surveillance as a consequence of their alleged remarks prejudicial to recruiting and three cases were recommended to Melbourne Headquarters for prosecution and one

was referred to the Crown Solicitor however, apart from warning and eventually searching L. J. Stevens, no further action was taken in any of these cases.

Apart from the routine police enquiries into every allegation received from the public, the police imposed varying degrees of surveillance upon at least 28 Tasmanian residents during the war. Four people were subjected to systematic official observation in 1914, eight in 1915, six in 1916, seven in 1917, two in 1918 and one in 1919. Ten visitors were also kept under close observation, one in 1914, one in 1915, two in 1916, two in 1917 and four in 1918. The homes of six residents were searched as part of this surveillance activity: Stevens in Launceston in 1916, the Danker and Frerk brothers on Tasman Peninsula and Weindorfer at Cradle Mountain in 1917. No evidence of disloyalty was found. Of the visitors under surveillance only the property of journalist Werner Vied was searched. Vied was born in Berlin and lived in Tokyo. He arrived in Tasmania in early April 1915, was placed on parole, and two months later his room was searched as he was considered to be acting suspiciously in the Huon area: "frequently consulting a marked map, absenting himself for a couple of days, and taking photographs". Vied was found to be in possession of maps and a knuckle-duster and was immediately interned and eventually repatriated to Germany. Altogether fourteen men, six residents (as above) and eight visitors had their property searched in Tasmania during the war. Only Vied and Michael Kiely were arrested and the latter was released after a public enquiry before a magistrate. The searches occurred as follows: one in 1915, two in 1916, eight in 1917 and three in 1918.

Twenty-four of the *Record of Aliens* files concern the activities of alleged members of the socialist movement. Half of these files refer to residents of Tasmania (including three elected politicians and one hopeful) of whom only two persons faced legal action and were fined. Two of the files are undated; there are two files for each of the years 1914 and 1915; and six files were established in each of the following three years. The first two files were the result of unsubstantiated and anonymous letters warning that the named persons were socialist and disloyal. The next two files concerned Benjamin Needham (see page 42) and Percy Smith, Secretary of the Federated Builders Laborers' (sic) of Australia, who was fined ten pounds for making use of utterances prejudicial to recruitment in a case similar to that of David Dicker (see appendix 2) who was fined fifteen pounds the following year.<sup>139</sup> The other five socialist related files of 1917 concerned William Schroll (see pages 46); Miss Vida Goldstein and Senator Guy for statements "in respect of the Reinforcements referendum"; Gordon Bigwood for tying red ribbons above the Union Jack on two cars hired by the Labor party for the 1917 election; and Richard Thorn for once

being a supporter of the Labor party (he later became an activist for the Nationalist party and moved to Sydney). Reporters or sub-editors of the *World* newspaper occupied three of the 1918 files but nothing suspicious was discovered about those men. Another file was devoted to Michael Kiely (see above and page 48), another made vague references to something Senator David O'Keefe was supposed to have said in a speech on the Hobart Domain. Senator O'Keefe was a Labor politician, a strong anti-conscriptionist and a supporter of 'Home Rule' for Ireland so it is not surprising to find his name within the *Record of Aliens* files. The other file for 1918 consisted of a warning to watch for Peter Simonoff, the Soviet Consul in Australia. Simonoff was a resident of Queensland and was prohibited under Section 17 of the *Aliens Restriction Order* from addressing public meetings. A close watch was kept for him but he did not visit Tasmania. He did visit Melbourne where he was seized on the orders of Defence Minister Peace and taken to Sydney where he was jailed for six months.<sup>140</sup> Three of the files of 1919 concerned the deportation of the Queensland activists discussed on page 53 above. Another file recorded the fifth accusation received by Military Intelligence alleging the support of some person or other for the IWW. None of these accusations were substantiated. The remaining two files for 1919 warned the local authorities to watch for the Campbell brothers apparently travelling the world preaching 'Bolshevism' and to keep an eye on a Russian sailor the police considered to be a Bolshevik. The two undated files concern another Bolshevik sailor to watch out for and E. J. Price, once a "follower of the Labor party and an anti-conscriptionist" but who now "denounces the rabid Labor party in open air speeches in Launceston."

Twenty-one files record the attempted enlistment of Tasmanian residents in the A.I.F. including that of an American living in Queenstown who enlisted in April 1917 when the USA declared war on Germany. Eleven of these files concern men of German descent born in Australia including two men whose father's were born in Australia and were of German descent. The attempted enlistment's occurred as follows: one each in 1914 and 1915, seven in 1916, four in 1917, three in 1918 and five were not dated. Helen Grutzner a German born nurse working at the General Hospital, Launceston "offered her services as an A.I.F. nurse but was declined on account of her nationality." Another nine enlistment's were refused for the following reasons: an Austrian man was suspected of being a German; "failure to obtain a naturalisation certificate"; too old; "discharged, medically unfit"; "discharged for making a false attestation" (false name); three men failed to obtain a certificate of loyalty from their local recruiting committee and; concerning Gustav Weindorfer, "the Commandant in view of all the circumstances, did not approve of the application" (see appendix 2). Seven men from Collinsvale refused to "take the oath in connection with service in

the Citizen Forces" in October 1916. Six of these men, including four members of the Fehlberg family, were Seventh Day Adventists. The other man, Emil Fehlberg, whose religion was not recorded, stated that "if they wanted him for any service they would have to drag him to it, as he was married."

Seventeen alien residents of Tasmania applied to the Department of Home and Territories for naturalisation during the war. Five applications were received in 1914 but only one more application, by Joseph Leyendecker, was recorded until November 1917. Applications were received from eight Germans, three Danes, two Swedes and one subject from each of German-Poland, Russia, Switzerland and Finland. Generally, the local police prepared a report on each applicant and the 6th Military District then passed on it's recommendation to the Department of Home and Territories - although Leyendecker was told by the police that "he could not be naturalised for the duration of the war." It seems that no adverse reports were presented other than for Christian Geertsen, a Danish engineer living in Huonville, who was reported unknown in the district despite his claim to have been living in the Commonwealth for five years.

Fifty-five people came to notice because of their foreign or German surnames including Launceston magistrate and coroner, E. J. Whitfeld and Claremont Camp Chaplin, Johannes Heyer. Most of these reports occurred from 1916-18 and resulted in two men being instructed to use their real names when conducting their business. Minna Schafer was required to complete a "yellow inquiry form" from Melbourne Headquarters and the returned form included "a personal message in German to *Oscar*". The Kromer family obtained permission to change their name to 'Cromer'. Thirty-four files recorded the alias used by subjects of the alphabetically arranged files with reference to the subject's official name. Twenty-four files were notifications of escapees and twelve files provided descriptions of other persons to watch for including three men known to impersonate returned officers. None of these people were known to have come to Tasmania. One notification of recapture was received. Seventeen files recorded requests for further information on Tasmanian residents by Melbourne Headquarters but nothing suspicious was discovered. Another six inquiries from Headquarters concerned the internment source of certain prisoners but the men had not been sent from Tasmania.

One hundred and seventy-three files have some mention of travel to or from Tasmania. One hundred and six of these files record permission to travel only. Thirteen files record the movements of salesmen. The files show a ratio of four aliens leaving for every three aliens entering Tasmania during the war. More than

half the aliens entering Tasmania travelled from Victoria and only four arrived from overseas - USA, PNG, Greece and Java. Half the aliens leaving Tasmania for the mainland travelled to Victoria, a few less went to NSW, five to Queensland and three to WA. Thirteen aliens left for overseas - nine for New Zealand, two for the USA, and one each to South America and Switzerland. Five persons were refused permission to leave the country, one international and three interstate travellers were refused permission to land in Hobart, one German reservist left the state without a permit and Eric Xaver was arrested by mistake upon his arrival in Tasmania (see page 38). The total number of alien persons either entering or leaving Tasmania each year of the war was fairly consistent except for 1917 when the number of registered travellers declined to 40% of the average per annum level.

An analysis of the 435 Tasmanian places of residence mentioned in the *Record of Aliens* files reveals the following concentrations: 30% of the people mentioned lived in the Greater Hobart area; 10% lived in and around Launceston; 14% were residents of the (very broadly defined) NW Coast; 11.5% were from the West Coast; 7.4% lived in the North East (Lilydale made up 2% of this figure with nine residents mentioned); 8.5% were from the New Norfolk to National Park area with Collinsvale/Bismark residents making up the first 6% of this figure representing the relatively huge number of 26 persons. Other places mentioned were part of the Huon and Channel (7%), the Midlands (6%) and the East Coast (5%) regions.

## CONCLUSION

The *Record of Aliens* files document the registration and control of aliens and other potentially disloyal persons in Tasmania during the war and records the results of enforcement of the regulations of the WPA and other wartime security legislation. The question this paper attempts to address by means of an examination of the recently released *Record of Aliens* files is whether the documented activities should be understood as acceptable war precautions or condemned as official acts of persecution of intentionally marginalised individuals and movements within Australian society?

The method I have adopted to help answer this question is to set a full exposition and analysis of the contents of the files within the context of first, the internal and external national security arrangements during the war and second, the nature of the Tasmanian society in which the WPA was being enforced. This paper is not concerned with whether Australia's involvement in WW1 was right or wise or avoidable, nor is it necessary to take sides in the great debate concerning the introduction of conscription

for overseas military service. Many later historians and many soldiers and civilians who lived through those bleak fearful years eventually came to see the war and its sacrifices as a tremendous mistake, a war fought for no good purpose in a wickedly wasteful fashion. But that was not the consensus of opinion during the war. This paper attempts to answer its central question in terms of the conditions and ideas prevalent at the time because there lay the reasons why events occurred and people behaved in the way they did and not otherwise.

Until the war with Germany the British Empire had enjoyed a century of relative peace. The Crimean and South African campaigns were mere romantic skirmishes compared to the brutal battles of human attrition conducted on both major fronts during the Great War. There had been no warning of what was to come except, perhaps, for the bloody battlefields of the American Civil War (1861-5). Railways, machine guns, artillery and the sheer size of the armies confronting each other within a relatively small area made WW1 a horror filled and unique human experience. Such knowledge of the nature of the war did not unfold itself in Tasmania until sometime during 1917 as one third of the human cost of the war was paid in hell holes known as Bullecourt, Messines and Ypres (Passchendaele). During the war 38% of all Tasmanian men aged from eighteen to forty-five enlisted in the A.I.F. from a state that had a greater percentage of dependants than any other state of Australia. 12 907 Tasmanian men reached the theatres of war and 2 432 of them died. For comparison, about 12 000 Tasmanians enlisted for the Second World War and 1 066 died.<sup>141</sup> The letters columns of the newspapers give full expression to the anxieties of the homefront population, including the sense of guilt of those who were turned down or could not go to fight alongside their neighbours, their friends and their brothers. For the women it was worse, all they could do was wait and pray for their sons, sweethearts, brothers and husbands to come home safely. Perhaps the gloomy thoughts of repose help to explain the extraordinary level of fund-raising activity that was carried on during the war (see appendix 4). And who's fault was it that such calamity had befallen the world? Everybody, apart from some aliens, a few intellectuals and the most radical socialists, believed that the militaristic German nation started the war and the treatment of "poor little Belgium" confirmed the opinion. The enemy was demonised by means of official propaganda and the censorship of any information that tended to contradict the official view of the allies as the enlightened defenders of western civilisation against the unrestrained brutality and greed of the devious hun.

In Australia, everyone was an imperialist except for a few people of Irish descent and some socialists. Australia was seeking greater influence within the affairs of the



British Empire, not independence from that empire. Australians considered themselves to be a sparse British population living on a continent of great potential wealth. They felt like a rich white island in a yellow sea and their only security was the might of the Royal Navy. If the unthinkable should happen and Britain were to be defeated in the war, the cowering German Navy would inherit the freedom of the seas and the future conduct of Australian trade would be at the mercy of Germany. W. M. Hughes and many others argued that Germany considered Australia as a prize of war and considering Australia's indecent haste to ensure her own Pacific prizes at the cessation of hostilities it is not surprising that many thought that way. And then there was the growing power and ambition of Japan to the north. Virtually all Australians accepted the official war strategy that Germany had to be defeated in Europe as the most direct means of ensuring Australia's security for the future. The countries' war effort consisted of the supply to Britain of wheat, wool, metals, meat and most of all, men. It may be that the five divisions Australia was only just able to maintain in France were more important in terms of the nation's prestige within the empire than they were to eventual victory of the allied forces. (A.J.P. Taylor's excellent political and pictorial account of the First World War subsumes Anzacs into British soldiers and only mentions Australians, as such, twice.)<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, Australian troops chose to be there and they had the full support of their nation. "The Little Digger", W. M. Hughes, took his place - in the face of significant opposition - at the Paris Peace Conference on the strength of the contribution of the A.I.F. to the prosecution of the war and Australia also took her independent place as a founding member of the League of Nations. At one point when challenged by President Wilson by what right he pressed his uncompromising position at the Versailles conference Hughes responded by right of 60 000 Australian lives. X

Thus, the present prestige and the future security of the Australian nation during WW1 was closely tied to the delivery of voluntary troops to the other side of the world. As argued in the historiography attachment (appendix 5) W. M. Hughes managed to identify himself and his government with the subliminal desire of the new nation to test and prove the worth of its manhood in the furnace of war. The old-fashioned concept of honour was not so old-fashioned during WW1 and if Montesquieu was right that 'honour' is the defining principle of monarchy<sup>143</sup> then the sheer numbers of Australians that volunteered for service in the A.I.F. (there is no honour in conscription) proved the emotional commitment of the Australian nation to the Empire. If it is accepted that the essential aim of Australia's war strategy was to maximise the number of troops transported to Europe in order to help defend the Empire, then it should also be recognised that the primary role of the wartime internal security arrangements soon came to be the suppression of all obstacles to enlistment.

The text of the letters to the editor in the newspaper section of chapter two (pages 21-5) illustrate that the war quickly gained acceptance as a titanic racial struggle for world supremacy. As argued on page 12, the assumption of a racial war brings the front line into the community and so not just people born in Germany or German transients were considered the enemy but also people of German descent. The population had to be protected from the enemy within, especially if every able-bodied man was wanted for the front. As a result the WPA was as important for what it was seen to be doing as for what it did. Although the Tasmanian authorities discovered suspicious characters with knuckle-dusters and maps and disloyal civilians like Noetling (see appendix 2) and interned them; according to Scott, no real German spies or saboteurs were ever found in Australia.<sup>144</sup> In terms of its operation the WPA provided a safety valve for the build up of wartime pressures in Tasmania. As shown in the analysis section above, the Intelligence Section of the 6th Military District received over 200 reports from the public and the police of suspicious activity or disloyal statements by people living in Tasmania. All of these reports were investigated and very few indeed were found to be justified but it was never officially suggested that people should relax their scrutiny for enemies within their midst and, especially early in the war, fears concerning enemy wireless operators and waterfront saboteurs<sup>145</sup> were actively developed by the authorities. Without a widespread sense of insecurity and concern about the war it would have been impossible to maintain any significant recruitment level. And yet, once the sense of insecurity and fear is established within the community innocent people have to be protected from its consequences and most of these innocent people were Germans or persons of German descent.

The official treatment of Germans and people of German descent in Tasmania during the war amounts to the following. The *Record of Aliens* files recorded information on 294 'Germans' in Tasmania. Fifty of these were sailors trapped in Tasmania by the outbreak of war and nine were recent arrivals in the state. They were all interned and eventually repatriated although two of them including army reservist Ludwig Leitner, had jobs to go to and wanted to stay (see page 35). Thirty-six files simply recorded the registration of 'German' residents and 62 persons born in Germany were placed on parole. Eleven files record attempts to enlist and seven more record refusals to do so. Of the remaining 119 'German' files, one man was killed by a falling tree in 1914, a number of persons were placed under surveillance, two were refused permission to buy or sell land or shares, the D.N.O. required five to remove themselves inland and the Kruse sisters lost their jobs on a Channel steamer. Four naturalised residents and one unnaturalised visitor had their property searched. One man was mistakenly arrested and later released and two native born men and eight

German-born residents were interned against their will (four others were interned at their own request due to destitution and a government allowance was paid to their families - two were later repatriated at their own request). The two native born internees were the Schwann brothers, arrested on the basis of seven statutory declarations from residents of Sandy Bay accusing them of making disloyal statements. Three of the other eight were quite properly interned and later repatriated to Germany (an army reservist, Noetling and Grenda who had attempted to evade the authorities). The remaining five were the Dehle brothers, Charles Bahr (who broke his parole and was probably destitute), Ochmigen and Karl Muller. The latter two men were repatriated to Germany to their distress. Muller left a wife and child in Australia.

It is clear from the circumstances leading to their arrest (see pages 39-41) that the socially prominent Dehle brothers, like Pastor Gustav Fischer of Adelaide (see pages 12-13), were interned to relieve public anxiety and to keep other German residents in check. Their rights as Australian citizens were clearly violated. The same may be true of the Schwann brothers but at least they had the option of keeping their opinions to themselves within an understandably hostile environment. The Kruse sisters are likely to have suffered hardship as a result of their enforced unemployment and Karl Muller was returned to Germany because he could not find guaranteed work while being held in an internment camp. On the other hand, naval reservist August Gerhrke was released from detention at the request of the community where he lived and the vast majority of reports on Germans and suspected 'Germans' were investigated and then dismissed by the authorities. The public and the police, the latter especially from 1917 on, were much keener to prosecute alleged disloyal persons than either the 6th Military District Intelligence Section or Melbourne Headquarters. Captain Charles Neuman, master of the *Wollomai*, provides an example of the refusal of Headquarters to take action against a naturalised German-born man even though many (unsubstantiated) complaints were being received (see page 46). If the decision had been left to the D.N.O., Neuman would have been interned. The D.N.O., the police and the public were usually unconcerned whether or not a 'German' was naturalised but the Military and Government authorities generally took the citizenship of alleged disloyal Germans seriously.

Two non-Germans lost their jobs and ten people were fined for disloyal or obscene language as a result of public or police reports to Military Intelligence. Irish residents or people of Irish descent received a certain amount of official attention, especially from the censor, during 1918 but apart from a warning to one outspoken priest no action was taken. The fact that 24 files record persons connected with the socialist

movement is an indication of the growing concern of Military Intelligence about socialism in general and Bolsheviks in particular at the end of the war, however only 12 of the files concern Tasmanian residents and only two of these resulted in legal action. Nevertheless, the case of David Dicker (fined 15 pounds in early 1917) did receive a great deal of public attention and certainly reinforced the WPA concerning statements prejudicial to recruiting. While the attention directed towards Dicker as a convicted disloyal man must have been unpleasant, it did nothing to retard his political career. During 1918 two Victorian socialists attracted the wrath of the local authorities. The file of A. McDonnell was forwarded to the 3rd Military District with a recommendation that he be arrested on charges of sedition (see page 52) and three statutory declarations stated that Michael Kiely was a self-confessed Sinn Feiner and I.W.W. member and generally a disloyal person (see page 48). About three weeks after the declarations were signed Kiely was arrested and held in custody for the next seven months. He denied all the charges against him at a public hearing and was released one month later. On reading the statutory declarations it becomes obvious why Kiely, a native born Australian, attracted such unfavourable official attention. It was almost certainly his remarks concerning enlisted soldiers and not his supposed membership of seditious organisations that resulted in his imprisonment.<sup>146</sup>

The WPA, based closely upon Britain's *Defence of the Realm Act*, was designed to suppress any activity that would reduce the effectiveness of the national war effort. Anybody interfering with the war effort was by definition either an enemy or a disloyal person and the WPA was the mechanism by which such people or groups could be legally dealt with. The First World War was Australia's first experience of total war, many believed it to be a war for racial supremacy and national survival. In those circumstances winning was everything and compromise became equated with weakness and dishonour. The totalitarian nature of the Australian Government during the war cannot be ignored but that tendency may have been due to the nature of the war rather than the nature of the Government itself. Certainly, the WPA was known to be strictly a wartime measure and the fact that conscription for overseas service was twice put to the vote rather than simply imposed says much for the strength of the democratic ethos of the new nation. On the other hand, never again would the authorities have such complete control over the form and content of the information made available to the people of Australia as they did during the Great War. The accepted national military strategy was to deliver as many men as possible to the killing fields of Europe and any person or organisation that publicly opposed that strategy was making 'utterances prejudicial to recruiting' and was liable to prosecution. The level of commitment of the Tasmanian community to winning the war can be assessed by the number of men that enlisted, the support given to the

introduction of conscription in both plebiscites, the tone of the editorials and letters published in the Hobart daily papers and the fact that the Australian Peace Alliance was never able to establish a viable presence within the state. Naturally, the heavy emotional and economic burden that settled upon the people during 1917, combined with the fear of defeat occasioned by the awesome German offensive of 1918, caused many to have second thoughts, but generally people put their faith in the Government and the most emphatic "win the war" party dominated the polls.

So, to conclude, was the enforcement of the WPA in Tasmania an opportunity to persecute marginalised individuals and groups or was it a means to help ensure the security of the nation? In actively fostering anti-German hysteria in order to maximise the number of men driven to enlist, the Government focused attention on the possibility of "enemies within" and publicly invited reports to be made about anyone behaving suspiciously or making disloyal statements. Most of the non-routine actions of Military Intelligence were in response to community concerns whether expressed in statutory declarations or by rumour. At the same time the authorities were seen to be placing strict controls on the freedom of movement and financial dealings of enemy aliens. Improper and sometimes heartless internment and repatriation decisions were made as detailed above and some people were humiliated and their sense of personal privacy shattered by means of surveillance and property searches. However, it also has to be recognised that in most cases the Intelligence Section of the 6th Military District conducted its business with an admirable sense of restraint. An official Intelligence mechanism that dealt with, and was seen to deal with, the fearful or envious suspicions of a poorly informed public under intense emotional and financial pressure was more likely to have prevented acts of injustice than to have committed them.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

### THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT

FROM THE ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA  
PASSED DURING THE YEAR 1918.

# THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT 1914-1918,

BEING

THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT 1914 (No. 10 of 1914),

AS AMENDED BY

THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT 1915 (No. 2 of 1915),<sup>(a)</sup>

THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT (No. 2) 1915 (No. 39 of 1915),<sup>(b)</sup>

THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT 1916 (No. 3 of 1916),<sup>(c)</sup>

AND BY

THE WAR PRECAUTIONS ACT 1918 (No. 37 of 1918).<sup>(d)</sup>

An Act to enable the Governor-General to make Regulations and Orders for the safety of the Commonwealth during the present state of war.

[Assented to 29th October, 1914.<sup>(e)</sup>]

**B**E it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the *War Precautions Act 1914-1918*<sup>(f)</sup>, and shall be incorporated and read as one with the *Defence Act 1903-1912*.

2.—(1.) This Act shall continue in operation during the continuance of the present state of war and for a period of three months thereafter or until the thirty-first day of July One thousand nine hundred and nineteen, whichever period is the longer,<sup>(g)</sup> and no longer.

Short title and incorporation.  
Short title amended.  
No. 32 of 1918  
s. 2.

Duration of Act.  
Amended by  
No. 37, 1918,  
s. 2 (1).

(a) Assented to 30th April, 1915.

(b) Assented to 13th September, 1915.

(c) Assented to 30th May, 1916: deemed to have come into force at the date of the commencement of the *War Precautions Act 1914*, and all regulations purporting to have been made under that Act shall have effect accordingly as if made in pursuance of the powers conferred by the *War Precautions Act 1916*. See Act No. 3, 1916, s. 3.

(d) Assented to 25th December, 1918.

(e) This is the date of assent to the *War Precautions Act 1914*.

(f) The *War Precautions Act 1914-1918*, as amended by the *War Precautions Act 1918*, may be cited as the *War Precautions Act 1914-1918*. See Act No. 37, 1918, s. 1 (3).

(g) Sections 2, 3, and 4 of the *War Precautions Act 1918* read as follows:—

"2.—(1.) Section two of the Principal Act is amended by inserting in sub-section (1.) thereof after the words 'state of war' the words 'and for a period of three months thereafter or until the thirty-first day of July One thousand nine hundred and nineteen, whichever period is the longer,'.

(2.) The period during which the Principal Act continues in operation by virtue of sub-section (1.) of this section is in this Act referred to as 'the extended period during which the Principal Act remains in force'.

3. All regulations orders and proclamations lawfully made pursuant to the Principal Act shall, except in so far as they are amended or repealed, continue in operation during the extended period during which the Principal Act remains in force and no longer:

Provided that any regulation order or proclamation heretofore made, or any provision therein contained, operating by force of its terms for a longer period than the extended period during which the Principal Act remains in force shall remain in force, unless amended or repealed during the period provided in such regulation order proclamation or provision.

4. The terms 'enemy', 'alien enemies' and 'persons having enemy associations or connexions' used in the Principal Act in relation to any person, shall apply, during the operation of that Act, to any person to whom they would have applied during the continuance of the present war."

(2.) For the purposes of this Act, the present state of war means the period from the fourth day of August One thousand nine hundred and fourteen, at the hour of eleven o'clock post meridiem reckoned according to Greenwich standard time, until the issue of a proclamation by the Governor-General that the war between His Majesty the King and the German Emperor and between His Majesty the King and the Emperor of Austria King of Hungary has ceased.

Application  
of Act to  
regulations, &c.,  
made since  
commencement  
of state of war.

3. All regulations and orders made by the Governor-General since the commencement of the present state of war shall be deemed to have been made in pursuance of the powers conferred by this Act, and any contravention thereof or non-compliance therewith, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, shall be deemed to be an offence against this Act and shall be punishable accordingly.

Regulations.  
Substituted by  
No. 2, 1915, s. 2.  
Amended by  
No. 39, 1915, s. 2,  
and by No. 3,  
1916, s. 2.

4.—(1.) The Governor-General may make regulations<sup>(a)</sup>—

- (i.) for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, and
- (ii.) for conferring such powers and imposing such duties as he thinks fit, for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, upon the Minister and upon the Naval Board and the Military Board, and the members of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth, and other persons,

and in particular with a view—

- (a) to prevent persons communicating with the enemy or obtaining information for that purpose or for any purpose calculated to jeopardize the success of the operations of any of His Majesty's forces in Australia or elsewhere, or the forces of His Majesty's allies, or to assist the enemy; or
- (b) to prevent the transmission abroad, except through the post, of any letter, post-card, letter-card, written communication, or newspaper; or
- (c) to secure the safety of His Majesty's forces and ships and the safety of any means of communication or of any railways, ports, harbors, or public works; or
- (d) to prevent the spread of false reports or reports likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty or public alarm, or to interfere with the success of His Majesty's forces by land or sea, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers; or

(a) Section 4 of the *War Precautions Act* (No. 2) 1915 is as follows:—"All regulations made prior to the commencement of this Act, purporting to be regulations under the Principal Act, shall be deemed, as from the date of the making thereof, to have been of equal validity as if they had been enacted in the Principal Act. The *War Precautions Act* (No. 2) 1915 commenced on 13th September, 1915.



- (da) to confer on the Minister power, by warrant under his hand, to detain any person in military custody for such time as he thinks fit, if he is satisfied that such detention is desirable for securing the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth; or
- (e) to secure the navigation of vessels in accordance with directions given by or under the authority of the Naval Board; or
- (f) otherwise to prevent assistance being given to the enemy, or the successful prosecution of the war being endangered.

Added by No. 39,  
1915, s. 2.

(1A.) The Governor-General may make such regulations as he thinks desirable for the more effectual prosecution of the war, or the more effectual defence of the Commonwealth or of the realm, prescribing and regulating—

Added by  
No. 3, 1916,  
s. 2.

- (a) any action to be taken by or in regard to alien enemies, or persons having enemy associations or connexions, with reference to the possession and ownership of their property, the continuance or discontinuance of their trade or business and their civil rights and obligations; and
- (b) the conditions (including times, places, and prices) of the disposal or use of any property goods articles or things of any kind; and
- (c) the requisitioning of any goods articles or things of any kind.

(2.) Any such regulations or any orders made thereunder affecting the pilotage of vessels may supersede any enactment (whether of the Commonwealth or a State), order, by-law, regulation, or provision as to pilotage.

(3.) The Minister may—

- (a) require that there shall be placed at his disposal the whole or any part of the output of any factory or workshop in which arms, ammunition, or warlike stores or equipment, or any articles required for the production thereof are manufactured; and
- (aa) require that any person approved by the Minister shall have access to any such factory or workshop at such times as the Minister either generally or in any particular case directs; and

Added by  
No. 3, 1916,  
s. 2.

(b) take possession of and use for the purpose of His Majesty's naval or military service any such factory, workshop or any plant thereof; and the power to make regulations under this Act shall extend to the making of regulations in relation to the matters specified in this sub-section.

5.—(1.) The Governor-General may by order published in the *Gazette* make provision for any matters which appear necessary or

Orders in  
Council.

expedient with a view to the public safety and the defence of the Commonwealth, and in particular—

- (a) for prohibiting aliens, either generally or as regards specified places, and either absolutely or except under specified conditions and restrictions, from landing or embarking in the Commonwealth;
- (b) for deporting aliens from the Commonwealth;
- (c) for requiring aliens to reside and remain within certain places or districts;
- (d) for prohibiting aliens from residing or remaining in any areas specified in the order;
- (e) for requiring aliens residing in the Commonwealth to comply with such provisions as to registration, change of abode, travelling, trading or otherwise as are specified in the order;
- (f) for applying to naturalized persons, with or without modifications, all or any provisions of any order relating to aliens;
- (g) for requiring any person to disclose any information in his possession as to any matter specified in the order;
- (h) for preventing money or goods being sent out of Australia except under conditions approved by the Minister;
- (i) for appointing officers to carry the order into effect, and for conferring on such officers and on the Minister and on the Naval Board and the Military Board such powers as are necessary or expedient for the purposes of the order; and
- (j) for conferring on such persons as are specified in the order such powers with respect to the administration of oaths, arrest, detention, search of premises and persons, inspecting impounding or retention of books documents and papers, and otherwise, as are specified in the order, and for any other matters necessary or expedient for giving effect to the order.

Amended by  
No. 2, 1915,  
s. 3.

Amended by  
No. 2, 1915,  
s. 3.

Added by  
No. 2, 1915,  
s. 3.

(2.) Any provision of any order made under this section with respect to aliens may relate either to aliens in general or to any class or description of aliens.

Trial of offences.  
Substituted by  
No. 2, 1915,  
s. 4.

6.—(1.) Any person who contravenes, or fails to comply with, any provision of any regulation or order made in pursuance of this Act shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

(2.) An offence against this Act may be prosecuted either summarily or upon indictment, or if the regulations so provide by court martial, but an offender shall not be liable to be punished more than once in respect of the same offence.

(3.) The punishment for an offence against this Act shall be as follows :—

- (a) If the offence is prosecuted summarily—a fine not exceeding One hundred pounds or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or both;

- (b) If the offence is prosecuted upon indictment—a fine of any amount or imprisonment for any term, or both :

Provided that where it is proved that the offence is committed with the intention of assisting the enemy the person convicted of such an offence shall be liable to suffer death ;

- (c) If the offence is prosecuted by court-martial—the same punishment as if the offender had been a person subject to military law and had on active service committed an offence under section five of the Army Act :

Provided that where it is proved that the offence is committed with the intention of assisting the enemy the person convicted of such an offence by a court-martial shall be liable to suffer death.

(3A.) An offence against this Act shall not be prosecuted summarily without the written consent of the Attorney-General or the Minister for Defence, or a person authorized in writing by the Attorney-General or the Minister for Defence, and an offence against this Act shall not be prosecuted upon indictment except in the name of the Attorney-General.

Added by  
No. 39, 1915,  
s. 3.

(4.) For the purpose of the trial of a person summarily or upon indictment for an offence against this Act the offence shall be deemed to have been committed either at the place in which it actually was committed or (subject to the Constitution) at any place in which the person may be:

(5.) For the purpose of the trial by court-martial of a person for an offence under the regulations the person may be proceeded against and dealt with as if he were a person subject to military law and had on active service committed an offence under section five of the Army Act.

(6.) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this section, no person other than an alien enemy or a person subject to the Naval Discipline Act or to Military Law shall be tried by court-martial for an offence against this Act :

Provided that before the trial of any person to whom this sub-section applies and as soon as practicable after arrest the general nature of the charge shall be communicated to him in writing and notice in writing shall at the same time be given in the prescribed form of his rights under this sub-section.

(7.) In the event of any special military emergency arising out of the present war the Governor-General may by proclamation forthwith suspend the operation of sub-section (6.) of this section, either generally or as respects any area specified in the proclamation, without prejudice, however, to any proceedings under this section which may be then pending in any civil court:

Provided that while such proclamation is in force, any sentence passed by a court-martial against a person to whom sub-section (6.) of this section applies shall be referred to the Governor-General for confirmation, mitigation, or remission.

(8.) The regulations may authorize a civil court or court-martial, in addition to any other punishment, to order the forfeiture of any goods in respect of which an offence against this Act has been committed.

Aiding and  
abetting.

7. Whoever aids, abets, counsels, or procures, or is in any way directly or indirectly knowingly concerned in, the commission of any offence against this Act, shall be deemed to have committed that offence, and shall be punishable accordingly.

Power to order  
recognizances.

8.—(1.) When any person is convicted of an offence against this Act, the Court before which he is convicted may, either in addition to or in lieu of any punishment provided for the offence, require him to enter into recognizances with or without sureties to comply with the provisions of the regulations or order in relation to which the offence was committed.

(2.) If any person fails to comply with an order of the Court requiring him to enter into recognizances, the Court may order him to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding six months.

Onus of proof.  
Substituted by  
No. 2, 1915, s. 5.

9. If any question arises on any proceedings under any order made in pursuance of this Act, or with reference to anything done or proposed to be done under any such order, whether any person is an alien or not, or is an alien of a particular class or not, the onus of proving that that person is not an alien or, as the case may be, is not an alien of that class, shall lie upon that person.

Revocation or  
alteration of  
order.

10. The Governor-General may by order published in the *Gazette* revoke alter or add to any order made in pursuance of this Act as occasion requires.

Act not to  
derogate from  
other powers.

11. All powers given under this Act or under any instrument issued in pursuance of this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of any other powers exercisable apart from this Act.

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## APPENDIX 2

### RECORD OF ALIENS FILES:

Examples from the Commonwealth Record Series A401/1, 1914-1919,  
*Record of Aliens*, Intelligence Section. General Staff, 6th Military District.

Alfred Christian Dehle

David Dicker MHA

Fritz W. Noetling

L. J. Stevens

Gustav Weindorfer

# RECORD OF ALIENS.

Name **DEHLE, Alfred Christian**

No. of Sheet

Reference, H.Q.'s/  
Correspondence 19183 (W175/1/4014) of 29/2/16.

District Register **W3/29/145**

Native Place **Bremen**

Year of Birth **1868**

Whether  
Naturalized **Yes, Tasmania, 1890**

Religion

Occupation **Merchant**

Height **5ft 9½"**

Weight **186 lbs**

Complexion

Eyes **Blue**

Hair **Brown**

Marks in Detail

Peculiarities

Address **Lindisfarne**

Remarks

Whether  
Interned or on Parole **Interned**

Date of Arrest or Parole **3/3/16**

If Interned, date of **3/3/16**

Date of Transfer to 2nd M.D. **6/3/16**

If Interned, Dis-  
trict General  
Number **70**

*Parolled*

REMARKS:— This man was head of the firm of Dehle, Heritage & Co., merchants, Hobart. At one time he had been German Consul in Tasmania. He states that he was denaturalized in 1885 and left Bremen for England in 1885. In 1887 he arrived in Australia. In 1905 he was married in Germany. Their internment was recommended by the District Commandant 22/2/16 in connection with the possibility of activity on the part of German agents, and in the recommendation to Headquarters, Melbourne, the District Commandant remarked that "while there is no tangible evidence of their having acted in a disloyal manner, the general census of opinion is that they are at heart disloyal, and would, if the occasion arose, do everything in their power to aid Germany". On 22/12/18 Dehle was released from Concentration Camp, Holdsworthy, on parole, and duly reported at Barracks, 6th M.D. The police were asked to instruct him to report twice weekly at the nearest police station. On 7/5/19 Headquarters, Melbourne stated that it was useless to submit his name for denaturalization, and unless he is denaturalized he cannot be deported.

## RECORD OF ALIENS.

Name **DICKER, David Edward**

No. of Sheet

Reference, H.Q.'s/  
Correspondence Defence Telegram W827 of 30/1/17

District Register **S132/5**  
Native Place **Tasmania**  
Year of Birth  
Whether  
Naturalized

Religion  
Occupation **Farmer**  
Height  
Weight  
Complexion  
Eyes  
Hair  
Marks in Detail

Peculiarities

Address **Channel**  
Remarks

Whether  
Interned or on  
Parole  
Date of Arrest or  
Parole  
If Interned, date of  
Date of Transfer  
to 2nd M.D.  
If Interned, Dis-  
trict General  
Number

---

REMARKS:— Dicker is a member of the House of Assembly, a member of the Labor Party with leanings towards Extremism. A violent antagonist of military training, etc., and generally a disloyal person. He was admitted to the Boys' Home, Hobart on 14/6/90 and after 5 years was apprenticed to a man, supposed to be German, of Collins Vale. His father, born in Surrey, died in the New Town Invalid Depot, and was twice a patient in the lunatic asylum. On Dicker was fined £15 for making very disloyal statements in the dining room of a Hobart hotel. He is fairly able as a politician, and very outspoken in his statements and ideas, which are almost rabidly Socialistic.

**RECORD OF ALIENS.**

Name **N O E T L I N G. Fritz W.**

No. of Sheet **484**

Reference, H.Q.'s  
Correspondence

District Register **W 3. 29. 116 & W 95. 5. 37.**

Native Place **Germany.**

Year of Birth **1857**

Whether  
Naturalized **Yes.**

Religion

Occupation **Medical Practitioner.**

Height **5'9 1/2"**

Weight **15 stone**

Complexion

Eyes **Brown**

Hair **Grey**

Marks in Detail

Peculiarities

Address **New Norfolk, Tasmania.**

Remarks

Whether  
Interned or on  
Parole

Date of Arrest or  
Parole **26/11/15.**

If Interned, date of **26/11/15.**

Date of Transfer  
to 2nd M.D. **27/11/15.**

If Interned, Dis-  
trict General  
Number **72**

**REMARKS:—** Noetling was formerly German Consul at Hobart, and was interned on 26/11/15 for making disloyal statements, and communicating information to Germany by means of correspondence. The correspondence, which was intercepted by Censor, comprised voluminous letters written in German, many newspaper cuttings with comments thereon, and tables of figures regarding troops, etc, addressed to General Mackelstein, of the German Army. The letter which was intercepted was forwarded through Mrs. Ingelhorn, Zurich, Switzerland, who is a sister of Dr. Noetling. Noetling was recommended for revocation of naturalization on 26/4/18, but this was not approved by Headquarters. On 5/9/18 Headquarters forwarded a letter from Noetling applying for denaturalization and Headquarters was accordingly informed that there was no reason why it should not be granted. On 30/12/18 Noetling was again recommended for denaturalization. *Denaturalized 4/7/19. Repatriation approved 9/7/19. Repatriated by Russia 14/10/19.*



**RECORD OF ALIENS.**Name **STEVENS, L. J.**No. of Sheet **645**Reference, H.Q.'s } **70022 (D.403/1/7) of 24/9/17**  
Correspondence }District Register **W3/29/268**

Native Place

Year of Birth

Whether

Naturalized }

Religion

Occupation

Height

Weight

Complexion

Eyes

Hair

Marks in Detail

Peculiarities

Address **Launceston**

Remarks

Whether

Interned or on }  
Parole }Date of Arrest or }  
Parole }

If Interned, date of

Date of Transfer }  
to 2nd M.D. }If Interned, Dis- }  
trict General }  
Number }

REMARKS:— On 6/9/15 this man was warned by the police to refrain from his action at anti-recruiting meetings. As it was suspected to be in possession of material kept in contravention of the W.T. Regs. 1914-16, the District Commandant authorized the police to search his premises (23/10/16). Certain anti-conscription literature was found but no action was deemed to be necessary. On 28/5/17 Stevens made use of words alleged to be prejudicial to recruiting, but the police advised that they did not consider the case sufficiently strong for prosecution. On 7/9/17 further disloyal statements were made by Stevens, and the documents in connection therewith were forwarded to Headquarters, Melbourne, for instructions. District Headquarters were ultimately advised that the case was not strong enough to justify proceedings, and stating that any further case would no doubt be dealt with by the State authorities under the Unlawful Association's Act, 1916-17.

# RECORD OF ALIENS.

Name WEINDORFER, Gustav

No. of Sheet 712

Reference, H.Q.'s  
Correspondence

District Register W3/29/70

Native Place

Year of Birth

Whether Naturalized Yes, Sept., 1905

Religion

Occupation

Height

Weight

Complexion

Eyes

Hair

Marks in Detail

Peculiarities

Address Cradle Mountain

Remarks

Whether Interned or on Parole

Date of Arrest or Parole

If Interned, date of

Date of Transfer to 2nd M.D.

If Interned, District General Number

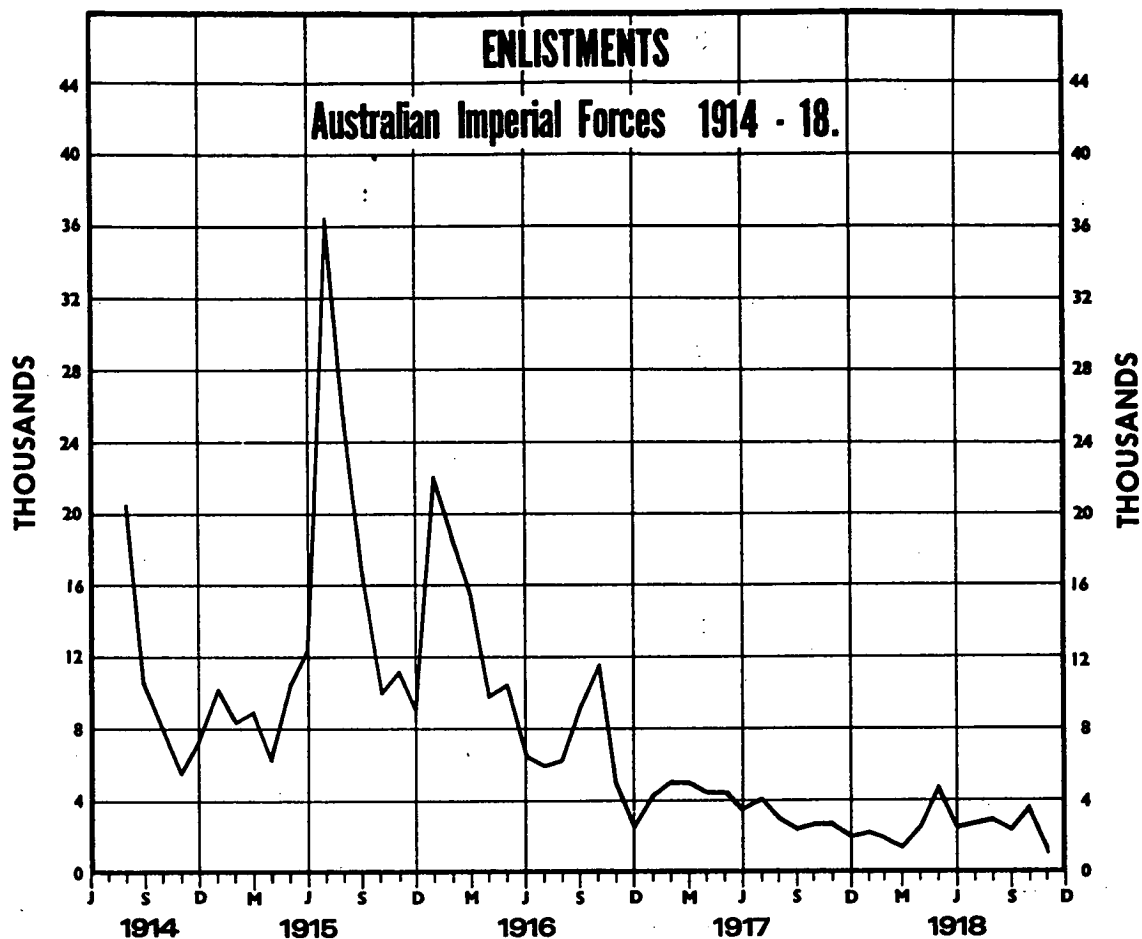
REMARKS.— An Austrian, at one time attached to the Austrian Consulate, believed to be in Sydney. A resident in the vicinity of Cradle Mountain, Tas. Weindorfer had been under observation since December, 1914, and was suspected to have had a wireless plant near his residence. At various times reports affecting his bona fides were received and in December, 1917, a search of his property was made, but nothing suspicious was revealed. His correspondence had also been rigidly censored, but without result. Reports concerning him were at one stage conflicting, he being accused of being a spy. Weindorfer has a hut on Cradle Mountain which provides accommodation in the season for tourists who visit the locality. He himself traps and shoots native game, and gives as a reason for his secluded life that he was studying botany. On 22/5/18 Weindorfer forwarded an application to enlist in the A.I.F. but ~~was not~~ the Commandant in view of all the circumstances, did not approve of the application.

## APPENDIX 3

Enlistments.

Conscription Plebiscites.

12th & 40th Battalions - Principal WW1 Engagements.



Audio-Visual Education Centre, WW1 Recruitment Slide Set, Education Department of Victoria, 1975.

### CONSCRIPTION PLEBISCITE RESULTS: \*

	1916	1917	1916	1917
	Bass		Darwin	
Yes	9914	7156	9575	6472
No	8212	7125	5932	6334
Inf.	323	236	348	338
TOTAL	18449	14517	15855	13144
	Denison		Franklin	
Yes	10544	8753	9294	6665
No	9076	8355	8823	7822
Inf.	537	267	376	236
TOTAL	20157	17375	18493	14723
	Wilmot		Tasmania	
Yes	9166	6333	48493	38881
No	5790	5435	37833	38502
Inf.	321	273	1905	1409
TOTAL	15277	12041	88231	78792

A.I.F. votes were included in the civilian totals in 1916. In 1917, 3502 voted Yes, 3431 No and 59 informal.

\*Robson, L.L., *A History of Tasmania, volume 2: Colony and State from 1856 to the 1980s*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991. p. 328

## PRINCIPAL WW1 ENGAGEMENTS OF THE 12TH AND 40TH BATTALIONS OF TASMANIA:

Gallipoli	April - December 1915	12th Battalion
Pozieres and Mouquet Farm	July 1916	12th Battalion
Bapaume Sector	March - April 1917	12th Battalion
Bullecourt	May 1917	12th Battalion
Battle of Messines	June 1917	40th Battalion
Battle of the Ridges	September 1917	12th Battalion
Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele)	October - November 1917	40th Battalion
Defence of Strazeele	May 1918	12th Battalion
Battle of Amiens	August 1918	40th & 12th Battalion
Capture of Clerg	September 1918	40th Battalion
Battle of Hindenberg Line	September 1918	40th Battalion

## APPENDIX 4

### A SURVEY OF THE ILLUSTRATED SECTION OF THE 'TASMANIAN MAIL' DURING THE GREAT WAR

At the beginning of the war the high quality images featured on the cover and within the pictorial section of the *Tasmanian Mail* were often full page portraits displaying the prosperity and dignity of leading Tasmanian political and business figures. Group portraits of eminent imperial or local committees were also prevalent. These images of solemn patriarchs reminiscent of the Victorian era were nicely representative of the State's membership of the 'greatest Empire the world has ever known'. Complementing these images of stolid local respectability were many photographs of "England's Invincible Navy" and Tasmanian troops in Egypt. Patriotic fund-raising events and celebrations occurred almost every week keeping the patriotic and socially ambitious women of Tasmania fully occupied throughout the war. Belgium Day, Empire Day, Australia Day, Wattle Day, Eight Hour Day, St. Patrick's Day, Anzac Day, Gratitude Day, Reinforcement Day and Red Cross Day were all heavily featured and well supported although the size of the attendant crowds appeared to diminish as the war wore on. Gradually, photographs of crowds and groups of ordinary Tasmanians began to replace the images of community leaders that had previously dominated the pages of the newspaper. This editorial decision may have been an astute response to the regular publication of increasingly long casualty lists.

On 6 May 1915, the *Tasmanian Mail* published a photograph of Lt-Col. L. F. Clarke, Commander of the 12th Battalion, who was killed in action at Gallipoli, and the following week photographs of the *Lusitania* were shown. The Empire Day parade that same month appeared to be a popular patriotic event and the resulting pictorial display was accompanied by a war artist's illustration of British Troops in action. From the 3 June a regular series commenced of photographs sent in by the families of soldiers killed or wounded in the war. The issue of 29 July featured an artist's dramatic impression of the Australian landing at Gallipoli and the next issue covered the Australia Day celebrations. Photographs of recruitment campaigns and 'Expeditionary Forces versus the League' football matches were regularly printed and on 9 September the Wattle Day layout featured women holding a sign reading: "We can't go to the Dardanelles but we'll fight the enemy within our gates." In the middle of October "The Man Who Stayed At Home", a J. C. Williamson play showing at the Theatre Royal, was featured showing a photograph of two members of the cast (a male and female) acting as two German spies at work with a concealed wireless.

Exactly one year before the first conscription plebiscite, 28 October 1915, the *Tasmanian Mail* printed "The King's Appeal" for recruits to "share in the fight" on a page headed, "A Grave Moment in the War", and featuring photographs of His Majesty King George and the recently martyred Nurse Edith Cavell set against a drawing of young Britannia leading an army of knights into battle. The editorial of 9 December lamented the King's statement that "the end is not in sight" because it caused many people to become pessimistic. The following week, a full page, full length portrait of Miss Cavell seated in her garden with two fine dogs at her feet was published under the heading "A Victim of German Barbarity".

During 1916 the *Tasmanian Mail* began to feature photographs of children and babies, but not to the exclusion of a portrait of Sir Douglas Haig, the new Commander in Chief or Lord Kitchener (recently drowned) or a variety of artificial limbs. The first Anzac Day commemorations were signified by two pages of photographs on 3 May and the London service was featured on 15 June. Two weeks before, the paper listed the names of all the men of the 40th Battalion and two weeks later photographs of the Irish Rebellion took pride of place. Towards the end of the year the paper was running a tally of Tasmanian enlistment's against the assigned monthly quotas, and every issue became dedicated to the cause of conscription. The last issue before the conscription plebiscite featured an editorial on the proposed legislation to allocate land to returned soldiers; photographs of the twelve I.W.W. members charged with treason in Sydney; a photograph of the Prime Minister in Hobart; and a lecture by Father O'Donnell arguing strongly for a 'yes' vote. By the end of the year photographs of babies and soldiers were appearing side by side on the same page. On the 18 January 1917 the paper gave the following reply to a readers question: "Mourning has never been so little worn as now, and sometimes not at all, for soldiers. The idea is that a glorious death is something to be proud of, not to mourn over."

By far the most favoured subjects for single and double page pictorial layouts were sporting, patriotic or annual show events. Regattas and race meetings were especially popular, but as the long bleak year of 1917 passed away the paper diminished in size and published fewer photographs. The editorial commenting on the third anniversary of the start of the war recorded "no end in sight". The only positive sign was the entry of the United States into the war. The mainland strikes that severely disrupted Tasmanian shipping occupied the paper throughout August. The weekly must have enjoyed a significant rural circulation as the most common editorial topic throughout the war was the current situation and the future expectations of the Tasmanian fruit growing industry. In early 1918 two warplanes were

subscribed in Tasmania for the use of the Imperial Government and the battle plane contributed by (the soon to be 'Sir') Henry Jones was pictured on 9 May 1918. War loan activities were featured regularly and especially when the 'War Loan Tank' was present. By 1918 the regular page of war photographs had become less sanitised and more inclined to show the mud, misery and hardship that had to be endured on the battlefields of Europe. This change of policy may have been due to the increasing presence of returned soldiers in Tasmania.

The peace celebrations drew a huge crowd in Hobart. True to form the *Tasmanian Mail* editorial led with a story on "Next Seasons Harvest" and followed with "Peace". Big crowds were pictured welcoming Anzac troops home throughout late 1918 and early 1919. Monuments were unveiled in small towns and avenues of trees planted on the domain in memory of the fallen. On 13 February an article entitled "Marrying Limbless Men" pointed out to women their duty to provide such men with the solace of children. With the end of the war, photographs of the scenic areas of Tasmania and the spreading urban landscape were regularly featured and, after the signing of the Versailles Treaty on 28 June 1919, the July issues were filled with photographs of thanksgiving services and peace celebrations. Photographs of the troops leaving for war were placed side by side with photographs of them returning (by ferry from the Quarantine Station on Bruny Island). The excitement and relief was not unqualified, however, as throughout 1919 the paper carried occasional stories on the world-wide spread of the Spanish Influenza and showed pictures of the medical preparations being made in Tasmania.<sup>147</sup>



## APPENDIX 5

### HISTORIOGRAPHY

A considerable literature has developed in recent years concerning Australian treatment of enemy aliens from 1914 - 1919 but there has been little reference to the Tasmanian experience with the notable exceptions of Marilyn Lakes' *A Divided Society: Tasmania During World War One*; M. E. Bardenhagens' localised response, *Lilydale: Conflict or Unity 1914 - 1918*; and Lloyd Robson's comprehensive *A History of Tasmania, Volume Two*. This attachment will briefly assess the contribution of these historians to our understanding of Tasmanian society during WW1 and suggest how the information contained within the *Record of Aliens* files may have influenced their thinking had the files been available to them. X

*A Divided Society*, published in 1975, was based on Marilyn Lakes' thesis submitted for the Master of Arts degree at the University of Tasmania. In reassessing her book a decade later Lake had this to say: "*A Divided Society* is a document of its time and in its rather narrow focus on political history - written with a scarcely concealed contempt for the forces of the right - it is very much a product of the radical nationalist tradition in Australian historiography."<sup>148</sup> Lake acknowledged the influence of her teacher and friend, Malcolm McRae, but while "pleasantly surprised" at rereading the book, Lake goes on to describe her work as "labourist" and "masculinist". This candid assessment is succinct and justified. Characterising the book as an "account of the political conflict between labour and conservatives and within the labour movement", Lake suggests that, given her time over, she would have paid more attention to the social structure informing the political events of the time, and actively explored the changing status of women that resulted from the pressures of war. In writing an appreciative review of *A Divided Society*, Lloyd Robson presents the theme of the book by reproducing Lakes' conclusion that "middle-class fears and obsessions helped to turn one of the most democratic and progressive countries into one of the most conservative." Among the many factors of social division presented in the book Robson focuses on the "incredibly vicious and hysterical attacks on people thought to be aliens" and the belligerently conservative political influence of returned soldiers and their organisations. "The whole book, in this sense, is infinitely depressing and a grim example of how close Australia may always be to admiring the authoritarian and Fascist mentality [and] the overwhelming impression one receives is that the Tasmanian people went beserk."<sup>149</sup> X

M. E. Bardenhagen questions the emphasis placed upon homefront hostility towards 'Germans' in her publication, *Lilydale: Conflict or Unity 1914 - 1918*. In this study of her local community (at one time known colloquially as 'German Town') Bardenhagen argues that while "some 'Germans' were treated badly and in some cases persecuted ... we cannot generalise for the whole state on the basis of such public examples."<sup>150</sup> According to Bardenhagen, Marilyn Lakes' contention that people with a German (or Austrian) heritage were invariably subjected to malicious treatment by the broader community arises from her concentration on the wartime experiences of the people of Collinsvale, the crew of the *Oberhausen* and high profile individuals such as Gustav Weindorfer. From this point of view, the weakness in Lakes' argument is her failure to appreciate the differing historical and social circumstances that shaped other 'German' areas such as Lilydale in North East Tasmania. Bardenhagen points out that the 13 identifiable 'German' families of Lilydale were an integrated minority within their community in comparison to the dominant social influence of the 20-24 'German' families of the much smaller community of Collinsvale. In addition, the Germans at Collinsvale were more recent arrivals in Tasmania, emigrating more than fifteen years after the German families that helped settle Lilydale in the mid-1850s.<sup>151</sup> Bardenhagen states that "the old established 'German' families were not persecuted in Tasmania [but] were perceived as part of the established community and were well respected."<sup>152</sup> She argues that the Lilydale "Germans" were generally as militaristic and patriotic as the rest of the community and were well represented in the number of young men enlisting in the AIF, however, the charts and figures showing local support for conscription do not support Bardenhagen's argument one way or the other because one cannot know whether or not the 'Germans' of the district simply abstained from voting. Bardenhagen also occasionally slips with a miscited quotation (footnote 168) or a misquoted citation: "Only 1.4% of Tasmania's population were interned, which in 1915 totalled 58 men" (page 60) should read: Only 1.4% of the total number of persons interned in Australia were interned from Tasmania<sup>153</sup> and few of these people were Tasmanian residents. Nevertheless, the 'Lilydale' thesis stands up well and more or less conforms with the analysis of the aliens files I have presented in chapter 4. Bardenhagen concludes her paper by denying the claim by Lake and Robson that bearing a German name naturally resulted in persecution and asserts that the Lilydale Germans' experience of the war contradicts the generalisations of *A Divided Society* regarding the harsh treatment of all things German in Tasmania.

As stated earlier, Marilyn Lakes' later criticism of her own work is appropriate. (I am concerned here with the 'Laborist' rather than the 'mascularist' emphasis of her self-criticism because while a feminist rewriting would be of much interest it

would result in a fundamentally different book.) The theme of Lakes' book is a useful contribution to the writing of Tasmanian history but her emphasis upon the radical Labor movement, understandable in the work of a young historian, is the most significant defect of *A Divided Society: Tasmania During World War I* as a general account of Tasmanian society during the war. Lake was consistently dismissive of the arguments and concerns informing the thinking of the conservative majority of the Tasmanian population. Whatever one feels about the rampant racism and jingoistic imperialism of the times (ideas that both 'sides' endorsed with varying degrees of emphasis) it is important for historians to develop some sense of the range of forces and ideas influencing the people and the times being presented. In emphasising the political struggle of those persons inspired by a marxist vision of an international working class brotherhood as opposed to hopelessly conservative war-mongering imperialists, Lake oversimplifies the divisions that occurred within the Labor Party (good guys and rats) and gives no tenable explanation of the demise of that party as a political force everywhere other than in Queensland. Rather, Lakes' emphasis is on the war-time 'hysteria' of the average voter and the consistently massive Nationalist Party vote is presented as an anti-Labor vote.<sup>154</sup> Such an account does not sit well with the demonstrated ability of the Australian population to both present and distinguish between the arguments for and against the introduction of conscription for overseas service (for example).

The Nationalist Party captured the support of the people because the average Australian accepted that an allied victory was essential for the ongoing security of the young nation. W. M. Hughes, through a combination of his well publicised imperial grandstanding in the UK and his perceived willingness to put the needs of empire before party loyalty, was able to convince the electorate that he was the man to ensure that Australia would do all in her power to ensure that victory. As a result, for the duration of the war, the Labor party became largely irrelevant except as a vehicle for putting the 'no' argument for the second conscription plebiscite. W. M. Hughes tapped into the new nations' subliminal desire to prove its worth. The "Little Digger" became closely identified with the whole-hearted support of "our boys over there" who were carrying the flag for the nation. To most Australians, respected partnership with Great Britain and the other dominions within the British Empire was all the independence they needed. The necessary respect would be earned on the battlefields of Europe and the Middle-East. In this context it made no difference that the Gallipoli campaign ended in defeat, it was enough that the Anzacs had proved themselves worthy 'sons of empire'. In 1916 the first Anzac Day solemnly celebrated the blood sacrifice that was soon being presented as the 'birth of a nation'. It was a comforting thought that helped bury the sordid memory of the true birth of the

nation 128 years earlier when a banished and hopeless convict rabble staggered onto the shore of Port Jackson.

By concentrating on events in Tasmania and in failing to provide a national and international context for those events, except for some attention to the Bolshevik revolution, Lake lost her sense of proportion and came to conclusions that are not justified by an examination of the period in question. To suggest that after 1916 "Pride of race was overcome by pride of class"<sup>155</sup> is unjustified, even on the basis of her own evidence. The socialist movement in Tasmania was active but small and the radical members of the movement were mainly confined to a few groups like the timber workers of Esperance, the west coast miners and the waterfront workers of Hobart. Before the war the Tasmanian electorate was only just willing to endorse the progressive platform of the Labor Party but the advent of the Great War cut across all the mundane concerns of peacetime development. Right or wrong, survival of a way of life rather than its progressive development became the focus of peoples thought and the ideologues of the radical left failed to note the change of public perception. As the Parliamentary Labor Party split apart under the pressure of divided wartime loyalties (class vs empire) and lost the political influence it had so recently attained, the radical socialist element turned to direct action as the only means of bringing their agenda to public attention. In this way the IWW idea of 'One Big Union' (OBU) gained many adherents but this was happening because the great majority of Australians had united in agreement that successful prosecution of the war must have the highest national priority and concerns about social justice could wait. The power that could be wielded by OBU was considered by some socialists to be a viable alternative to the parliamentary process that was perceived to be dominated by the capitalists and largely ineffective. Labor politicians were considered too readily compromised by their recently won positions in bourgeois society. At a time when the WPA was placing severe restrictions on the essential democratic values of freedom of speech and freedom of association and was being used to bring pressure to bear on a union movement disgruntled by low wages, high prices and constant social pressure to enlist, it was not much of an intellectual jump for committed socialists to embrace the idea of rule by OBU based on either a geographic or industrial model of democratic branch organisation. And this is the point where Marilyn Lake, with her commitment to the progressive ideal, goes wrong. In failing to distinguish between progressive policy and democratic governance both Lake and Robson (in his review) draw the wrong conclusions from the evidence placed before them. The WPA was repressive and was misused by W. M. Hughes for political advantage, but it was also strictly a wartime measure adopted by a democratically elected Labor Government due for repeal at the end of the war. On the other hand,

the adoption of the OBU as a means to power to rival government within Australia (accepting Lakes' argument that this push was considered as an alternative to political activity, its supporters considering the ballot box to be a "delusion and a snare")<sup>156</sup> was seen by the broader community as a repudiation of the democratic processes by which the country was governed. By concluding her book with the sentence: "Middle-class fear of change was to help make Australia, once one of the most democratic and progressive of countries, one of the most conservative."<sup>157</sup> Marilyn Lake failed to notice the division that had developed between progressive and democratic ideals during the war. One would accept that the war resulted in a more conservative country afterwards, particularly given the organised influence of the returned soldiers, but it is not valid to imply that the democratic process and progressive ideals are naturally synonymous. The conservative backlash was, in part, a rejection of what was perceived to be the undemocratic nature of the radical socialist movement. Returned soldiers certainly pulled socialist orators from their soapboxes but some unions were seen to hold the country to ransom on a number of occasions in the later years of the war. Lloyd Robsons' observation that "the whole book, in this sense, is infinitely depressing and a grim example of how close Australia may always be to admiring the authoritarian and Fascist mentality" is probably correct but the tendency is not restricted to the conservative side of politics.

In enthusiastically pursuing her useful and revealing theme of a divided society, Lake tended to over-estimate the importance of some sectors of the Tasmanian population (the unionised workers as compared to the much greater number of small farmers and farm labourers of Tasmania who are not mentioned) and misunderstood those moments of genuine conciliation such as the outcome of the Governor-Generals' conference on recruitment.<sup>158</sup> Lake is also too reliant on the *Daily Post* for an 'accurate' account of the period (as opposed to the "rantings" of the *Mercury*). The papers' unemployment figure of 13.1% for January 1915 is suspect,<sup>159</sup> for example, as is the estimate of 1000 German residents in Tasmania at the outbreak of the war, most of them naturalised and living at Bismarck. Bardenhagen and Robson accept this estimate, but the 1911 census (not published until after the war) gives a figure of 590 German-born residents of Tasmania and there is no reason to assume that the number was much different by 1914. If the *Daily Post* meant German-born then the estimate is too high and if 'Germans' referred to people of German heritage then the estimate is far too low and their given location too restricted.

Access to the *Record of Aliens* files is unlikely to have changed the thrust of Lakes' argument but it would have filled out her account of the treatment of people with a German heritage in Tasmania and informed her of the existence of the pacifists of

Collinsvale and their relaxed treatment by the authorities. The files would also have indicated less official obsession with the harassment of radical socialists than she might have thought was the case, at least until the armistice, while at the same time providing a few case studies to enliven her text. Knowledge of the detention in Hobart of the three Russian deportees would have allowed Lake to introduce the dramatic conflict between returned soldiers and socialists in Brisbane into her argument.

The file dedicated to Gustav Weindorfer indicating that his property was searched in December, 1917 (see appendix 2) would have provided additional support to Lakes' account of his unjust treatment during the war.<sup>160</sup> Weindorfer, no doubt, felt humiliated by this suspicion of him by the authorities of his adopted country and it seems he did not mention the search to anyone. (Weindorfer was married to an Australian woman until her death in 1916, he was naturalised and he was a Justice of the Peace). None of the books on Weindorfer mention the search (see bibliography) and his diary, held with his other papers as part of the Smith Family Papers at the State Archives Office, does not mention the incident. However the diary entry for Saturday, 1 December 1917, records that he left for Cradle Valley with "pagnell" and the next day left him alone at the house while Weindorfer spent the day transporting supplies. The next day "pagnell" left. This is the only name of the many names in Weindorfers diary that was not dignified with a capital letter and I suspect that this is all the record that remains of a most distastful incident in Weindorfers' life.<sup>161</sup> The Smith Papers also contain a number of letters from Weindorfer and his wife, Kate, posted to his family in Austria but intercepted and opened by the censor, sent to the dead letter office and eventually returned to the Weindorfers marked 'undeliverable'. According to his aliens file Weindorfer applied to enlist in the AIF on 22 August 1918. In a letter to George Bergman (15 July 1952) Weindorfers' friend Ronald Smith wrote: "He tried to enlist for the 1st world war, but was rejected on account of his Austrian birth. He told me he could not fight against the Austrians, but as the British were nowhere fighting against the Austrians he wanted to do his share in winning the war for us. He had no love of the Germans."<sup>162</sup>

Lloyd Robson (1931-1990) deals with WW1 in two chapters of his *A History of Tasmania, Volume 11* entitled: *The Great Madness* and *Irish Troubles, Spanish Lady*. Robson was well prepared to provide an account of the Tasmanian homefront during the war since he had already researched and published *The First A.I.F.: A Study of its Recruitment 1914-1918*; he had compiled *Australia and the Great War 1914-1918*, a collection of documents with an excellent short introduction; and, with J.N.I. Dawes, he had collected and produced *Citizen to Soldier: Australia before*

*the Great War - Recollections of Members of the First A.I.F.* Robson writes with clarity and humour. His use of irony is nicely restrained and he peppers the text with just the right doses of indignation. As one would expect from an eminent historian at the height of his powers, Robson sets out a comprehensive vision of the Tasmanian homefront during the war and seamlessly integrates relevant national and international events into his text. Robson shares M. Lakes' "Labourist" emphasis but his is a more considered and self-conscious position than was that of the young Marilyn Lake. In terms of content, perhaps the account of the 'Ready Affair' (pp. 330-331) could have stood a little more explanation including some indication of Hughes' desire to attend the first Imperial War Conference. Robson would have been greatly interested by the *Record of Aliens* files and would have woven some of the incidents recorded into the fabric of his narrative. He would have learned that Fritz Noetling (pp. 340-1) was not merely an innocent alien caught up in the 'madness' and that Gustav Weindorfer was treated more poorly than he had known.

X

## REFERENCE NOTES

### CHAPTER ONE

1. Walch's Almanac, (Hobart, 1914), pp. 172-3.
2. Heydon, P., *Quiet Decision: A Study of George Foster Pearce*, (Melbourne, 1965), p. 56. Apart from a short period before the war Senator Pearce (WA) was Australia's Minister for Defence from 1910-1921. (He held the position again in 1932-4).
3. Scott, E., *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18, Vol. XI: Australia During the War*, (Sydney, 1936), p. 11.
4. Dawes, J.N.I. and Robson, L.L., *Citizen to Soldier: Australia before the Great War - Recollections of Members of the First A.I.F.*, (Melbourne, 1977), pp. 50, 92, 151, 183.
5. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 & 871.
6. Many young men had grown up reading books such as *Deeds That Won The Empire: Historic Battle Scenes; Fights For The Flag*; and *How England Saved Europe: 1793-1815*; by the popular Australian author, Rev. W. H. Fitchett. The Australian release of the annual volume of the jingoistic English weekly *Chums* was eagerly awaited by the boys of Australia.
7. Andrews, E.M., *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations during World War I*, (London, 1993) pp. 17, 22 & 23. Gammage, B., *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War*, (Canberra, 1974), pp. 1-2.
8. W. M. Hughes replaced Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister on 27 October 1915. Mr Fisher became the Australian High Commissioner to London.
9. Broinowski, L., (ed.), *Tasmania's War Record 1914-1918*, (Hobart, 1921), Introduction, p. xv.
10. Bean, C.E.W., *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18, Vols. I & II: The Story of ANZAC*, (Sydney, 1936 & 1924).
11. Tasmania was represented within the 12th, 15th and the reinforcing 26th Battalians.
12. Robson, L.L., *The First A.I.F.: A Study of its Recruitment 1914-1918*, (Melbourne, 1970), pp. 202-3., Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 874., Gammage, *op. cit.*, p. 283., Broinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
13. Letter from Haig to The Secretary, War Office London (23/12/16, B/5362) in *A.I. Clark Papers* University of Tasmania Archive C.4/L.45.
14. The 1916 visit by Hughes to Britain, first of two wartime visits, was not just a "grandstanding" exercise, Hughes began negotiations that resulted in the purchase by Britain that same year of Australia's wool clip and wheat crop at good prices for the remainder of the war. Hughes also purchased a dispersed fleet of 15 tramp steamers to address the shortage of available shipping.
15. Conscription became law in Britain on 27 January 1916. New Zealand and Canada introduced conscription in November, 1916 and October, 1917 respectively. The United States of America eventually entered the war with a conscripted army on 6 April 1917.
16. Robson, L.L., *Australia and the Great War 1914-1918*, (Melbourne, 1969), pp. 14-15.
17. Main, J.M.(ed.), *Conscription: The Australian Debate, 1901-1970*, (Melbourne, 1970), p. 52.
18. *Ibid*, p.59.
19. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-392. The Nationalist Party also laid stress on the following: "Australian protection, Empire reciprocity, Control of the Southern Pacific, Racial unity, Repatriation, Financial and Industrial reorganisation, and Greater powers for the Federal Parliament."
20. Main, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
21. Robson, *Australia and the Great War*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 89-90. (Hughes' opening speech on second conscription campaign.)
23. *Ibid*, p. 23.
24. The ALP were not to achieve Federal Government until 1929.
25. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
26. Tampke, J. and Doxford, C., *Australia, Willkommen*, (Sydney, 1990), p. 180.



27. *Commonwealth Acts Vol. XIII*, 1914-15, No.10. The complementary *Trading with the Enemy Act* had become law on October 23rd, 1914.
28. Crowley, F.K., *Modern Australia in Documents Vol. 1, 1901-1939*, (Melbourne, 1973), p. 224.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Robson, *Australia and the Great War*, op. cit., p. 5.
31. Scott, op. cit., pp. 64-83. Italics are my emphasis.
32. *Police Gazette, Vol. LIII*, No. 2874, (Tasmania, August 21, 1914), p.198.
33. Fischer, G., *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront experience in Australia 1914-1920*, (Brisbane, 1989), p. 65. & especially Scott, op. cit., pp. 109-114. See Appendix for list of offences under the WPA. (Scott pp. 144-147.)
34. *Ibid*, passim.
35. Internment in Australia was restricted to males but most of these people had been sent from British Territories overseas although a few were the dependants of destitute aliens. In May 1918 the Burke establishment was transferred to a new camp in the area now occupied by the Canberra suburb of Fyshwick. The camp had been built to house 5000 prisoners of German origin from Africa and China who never arrived. For Daisy Schoeffel's Account of her and her Families Internment at Burke see: Fischer, G., "... at the hands of our own men and in our own country!" *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 30, No. 3, 1984. pp. 391-395.
36. Fischer, G., *Enemy Aliens*, pp. 231-3.
37. Tampke, J. and Doxford, C., op. cit., pp. 194-5.
38. Fischer, G., op. cit., passim.
39. Scott, op. cit., p. 667.
40. An English woman who conducted a nursing establishment in Belgium. She was shot on 12 October 1915 by the Germans for harbouring and assisting French and English soldiers to escape.
41. See Norman Lindsay's enlistment posters and magazine illustrations, for example in Turner, L., *Australia Since the Camera: The Great War*, (Melbourne, 1971) and the *Bulletin*. It seemed to make no difference that the Kaiser was the cousin of King George V who quickly changed his family name to Windsor.
42. McQueen, *A New Britannia*, (Melbourne, 1986), p. 26.
43. Fischer, op. cit., p. 103.
44. Scott, op. cit. p. 137.

## CHAPTER TWO

- 45 *1921 Census*. p. 9.
- 46 *1911 Commonwealth Census*. Tasmania had also experienced a net loss of population to the other states in 1881, 1891 and 1901. The net loss of 24 044 persons in 1911 was the greatest number to date.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 Giblin. L. F., *Taxable Capacity of the Australian States*. Hobart: Government Printer, 1924. 7pp. Extract in Copland, D. (ed.), *Giblin: The Scholar and the Man*, (Melbourne, 1960) , p. 82.
- 49 Haberle, M., *Mountain Reflections - as told to Mary Haberle*, (Devonport, 1993), passim. The accounts provided by this oral history collection concerning the early years of this century in the Kentish region of NW Tasmania are supported by my own understanding of family history within the Huon region. Boys were required to help out on the farm whereas in more urban populations it was more likely to be the girls that were kept home to help maintain the household.
- 50 *Walch's Almanac*, 1913. p. 183.
- 51 *Mercury*, passim.

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- <sup>52</sup> *Mercury*, "The Closing Year" 1 January 1915 - 1920. Most of the following account of Tasmania's wartime economy is derived from this annual series of articles.
- <sup>53</sup> For example, the private development of cheap hydro-electric power allowed the Company to profitably extract copper from previously unusable ore sources.
- <sup>54</sup> The problems of the industry were somewhat alleviated by a bumper harvest in 1916 that did get to Britain, greater penetration of interstate markets, the increased production of fruit pulp for jam making and the establishment of a local fruit evaporation (drying) industry.
- <sup>55</sup> *Mercury*, op. cit.; Robson, *A History of Tasmania, volume 2*, (Melbourne, 1991), pp. 294-300; Dunn, M., *Australia and the Empire*, (Sydney, 1984), pp. 90-93; Townsley, W.A., *Tasmania: From Colony to Statehood 1803-1945*, (Hobart, 1991), p. 268; and Fagan, P.R., *The Earle Labor Government, 1914-1916*. B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1975, p. 70.
- <sup>56</sup> Scott, op. cit., p. 670.
- <sup>57</sup> *Mercury*, op. cit., 1918.
- <sup>58</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, PD1/276. Vol. 43/3(S)/14.
- <sup>59</sup> Broinowski, L., (ed.), *Tasmania's War Record 1914-1918*, (Hobart, 1921), p. 2. & *Tasmania Remembers: 20th Anniversary of Anzac*, (Hobart, 1935), pp. 8-11.
- <sup>60</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, Tasmanian Recruitment Committee letter, PD1/276. Vol. 43/3(S)/14.
- <sup>61</sup> *Mercury*, op. cit., 1916.
- <sup>62</sup> *Mercury*, op. cit., 1917. 41 713 voters supported 6pm closing, 26 153 were for 10pm and 3 951 were for other hours. (Robson op. cit. p. 338) The Legislative Council annually introduced an Anti-Shouting Act which was annually rejected by the House of Assembly.
- <sup>63</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, PD1/265. Vol. 2/63/16.
- <sup>64</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, PD1/320. Vol. 86/12/18.
- <sup>65</sup> On 1 March 1917 the following telegram was received by Premier Lee from the Prime Minister: "All this end complete. Senator has handed his resignation to President. President will announce it after dinner adjournment and will officially notify Governor General who is notifying Governor of Tasmania of the fact. Earle is telegraphing his resignation to Governor of Tasmania. Governor General is notifying Governor of Tasmania that he has attested Mr Earle's signature and resignation which was written in his presence. Governor General now awaits Governor of Tasmania's ratification appointment Earle as new Senator. As this matter is very urgent hope this will be received not later than 9 p.m. to-day. Imperative notification should reach Governor General to-night." *Premiers Department Files*, PD1/309, Vol. 95/1/17.
- <sup>66</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, op.cit. There were also a significant number of deserters from the Imperial Forces at Claremont: 159 men were officially listed of whom 77 were Tasmanians. *Police Gazette*, 12 July 1918, pp. 139-40.
- <sup>67</sup> *Tasmania Remembers* op. cit., p. 11.
- <sup>68</sup> Haberle, M., op. cit., p. 248.
- <sup>69</sup> Robson, L.L., *A History of Tasmania, volume 2*, (Melbourne, 1991), p. 334.
- <sup>70</sup> *Walch's Almanac*, 1915. p. 13.
- <sup>71</sup> *Mercury*, 1 January 1916.

- <sup>72</sup> The *Lusitania* was later admitted to be carrying a consignment of ammunition which blew the passenger ship apart when it was struck by an enemy torpedo and was therefore a significant factor in the tragic deaths of 1500 people immediately termed the "*Lusitania* Outrage".
- <sup>73</sup> Dwyer Gray was state Treasurer from 1934 until his death in 1945 (apart from a six month stint as Premier in 1939). See Robson, L.L., *A History of Tasmania, volume 2: Colony and State from 1856 to the 1980s*, (Melbourne, 1991), pp. 353-4, & Green, F. C. (ed), *A Century of Responsible Government 1856-1956*, (Hobart, 1956), pp. 234-235.
- <sup>74</sup> *Mercury*, 16 March 1916, p. 7.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 17 - 28 October 1916.
- <sup>76</sup> *Daily Post*, editorial by M. McArthur, 13 October 1916.
- <sup>77</sup> Fewster, K., "The Operation of State Apparatuses in Times of Crisis: Censorship and Conscription, 1916." *War and Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1, May 1985. p. 49.
- <sup>78</sup> *Mercury*, editorial, 8 May 1917.
- <sup>79</sup> McQueen, H., *A New Britannia*, (Melbourne, 1986), p. 25.
- <sup>80</sup> The Tasmanian Parliament legislated to remove Mr Dicker from the Public Works Committee after the City Police Court found him guilty of uttering words likely to be prejudicial to recruiting.
- <sup>81</sup> *Daily Post*, 14 May 1918, p. 3. See report of 3 May on Labor and Liberal call for unity at a "Monster Meeting at the Town Hall To Aid Recruiting".
- <sup>82</sup> *Mercury*, 10 September 1914.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, Letter from Peter Simple, 16 January 1915.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, Letter from Archibald McDowall, 5 February 1915.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, Letter from 'Patriot', 20 February 1915.
- <sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 9 May 1915, p. 6. (A resolution of sympathy to the relatives of Australian casualties.)
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, Letter from 'Senex', 17 May 1917.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 29 October 1917 and 27 May 1918. For other example see editorials on the 21 May, 27 November, and 13 December 1917.

### CHAPTER THREE

- <sup>89</sup> The *Trading with the Enemy Act* had become law on 23 October 1914. Although enemy trading was already illegal under common law, this Act and two subsequent Acts strengthened the Government's hand by: "giving power to punish ..., to confiscate goods, to search premises and to inspect books or documents." Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8.
- <sup>90</sup> The military districts coincided geographically with the States and were numbered by commencing with Queensland and counting clockwise to the 5th Military District of WA and back to Tasmania as the 6th Military District.
- <sup>91</sup> Commonwealth Military Forces, 6th Military District., *District Orders, 1915*. No. 23, p. 2.
- <sup>92</sup> Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- <sup>93</sup> It is interesting to note that Giblin "wrote to his friends that they must work against conscription lest any man should be sent to the bogs of Passchendaele who had not wished to enlist." Copland, D. (ed.), *Giblin: The Scholar and the Man*, (Melbourne, 1960), p. 72.

- <sup>94</sup> Reynolds, J. and Giordano, M., *Countries of the Mind: The Biographical Journey of Edmund Morris Miller (1881-1964)*, (Hobart, 1985), p. 57. Michael Roe in his *Nine Australian Progressives* (Brisbane, 1984) questioned Miller's regret at 'having to' stay home and has suggested that Miller may have been following orders from Military Intelligence.
- <sup>95</sup> See the *Mercury*, 24 May 1915, for a published example.
- <sup>96</sup> Copland, D. (ed.), *Giblin: The Scholar and the Man*, (Melbourne, 1960), pp. 121-7.
- <sup>97</sup> Evidence of the methodical work of the two officers, probably Giblin, is the deletion from the Premiers Department Records of 1914-1919 of all references to, among others, 'Espionage and Spying', the 'Australian Intelligence Bureau' and 'Weindorfer (Espionage)' although these items are still listed in the Premiers Department Records index.
- <sup>98</sup> *Huon Times*, 8 August 1914, & a *Tasmanian Mail* article on 6 August 1914. A photograph of the *Oberhausen* was published by the latter paper on 13 August 1914, p. 24.
- <sup>99</sup> *Daily Post*, 11 August 1914, p. 6. & Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
- <sup>100</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, 2 October 1914.
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 43/3/15.
- <sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. 270 28/53/15.
- <sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 43/81/15.
- <sup>106</sup> File of Ludwig Leitner. *Record of Aliens*.
- <sup>107</sup> Schramm was a German born naturalised citizen and farmer. His wife was of British descent on both sides and her file records that "the family was highly spoken of in the district." Schramm owned a rifle and shotgun and offered to give them up on 18 October 1915.
- <sup>108</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, *op. cit.*, 66/6/15.
- <sup>109</sup> Robson *op. cit.*, pp. 340-41.
- <sup>110</sup> According to private correspondence from University of Tasmania archivist, R. L. Broughton, no record of his existence has been located in Germany after 1921 and no death record found.
- <sup>111</sup> Cain, F., *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*, (Sydney, 1983), p. 146.
- <sup>112</sup> Henry J. Collins was fined because he "made use of indecent language, which might be construed as disloyal utterances, at an address by the Rev. Father O'Donnell, at Irishtown." This meeting featured O'Donnell claiming the Tasmanian Colonising Association was disloyal because of the foreign names of some of the persons listed as potential settlers. See Robson *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 332 & 341. See also Glass, C.A., *T. J. O'Donnell 1877-1949*. B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1966.
- <sup>113</sup> One of these men, L. J. Stevens of Launceston had his house searched on 23 October 1916, three days before the first conscription plebiscite. Stevens came under official notice for his anti-recruiting activities a number of times and was warned off but not prosecuted.
- <sup>114</sup> For a good short account of a local recruitment committee see Bardenhagen, M.E., *Lilydale - Conflict or Unity 1914-1918*, (Launceston, 1993), p. 49.

- <sup>115</sup> For example, five members of the Kromer family, acting through solicitors, gained official permission to change their name to 'Cromer' in December 1917. An Australian born commercial traveller named Weidenhofer was reported to be using the name 'Weeden' for 'business reasons'.
- <sup>116</sup> During 1920 Peterson and his brother converted their Sydney gymnasium into one of Australia's first squash courts and gained the friendly patronage of the Prince of Wales. A formal photograph of the two brothers with the Prince shows Christian with the rank of 'Lieutenant Colonel'. See Alexander, A., *A Mortal Flame*, (Hobart, 1994), pp. 57, 90 & 91. Photograph #22.
- <sup>117</sup> Australian Archive, Canberra. *Alfred Dehle File*. Series A 456/3, Item W3/29/145.
- <sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>119</sup> On 7 March 1916 Premier Earle sent the following (encoded) telegram to Acting Prime Minister Pearce: "Strictly Confidential with reference to internment of A and G Dehle of Hobart am advised that strong influence being exercised secure release these men but after careful enquiry I am of opinion that internment fully warranted and delay in not taking such action earlier has been subject to adverse criticism." *Premiers Department Files*, Confidential Files (WW1) PD 15/1.
- <sup>120</sup> The lenient treatment of Turkish or Syrian hawkers makes one wonder whether the police had a 'special' relationship with these people who went door to door selling their wares throughout the state. They may have provided information to the authorities.
- <sup>121</sup> I expect Benjamin Needham is the brother of Abraham Needham, John Curtin's father-in-law.
- <sup>122</sup> Jauncey, L.C., *The Story of Conscription in Australia*, (Melbourne, 1968), p. 192.
- <sup>123</sup> Interestingly, Major Piesse, the head of Military Intelligence was raised in a Quaker family and attended a Quaker School. This may account for the rather gentle treatment of the pacifists of Collinsvale and the fact that no other conscientious objectors were represented in the files.
- <sup>124</sup> In mid-January 1919 the order against Kuhner, Generich and some others, mostly fishermen and sailors, requiring them to live at a distance from the coast, was cancelled. Many people with foreign names were also adversely effected by a WPA regulation banning aliens from the vicinity of wharves and shipping. The District Naval Officer of each military district was responsible for enforcing these regulations.
- <sup>125</sup> The case of David Dicker MHA is most interesting and illuminating of the times. Marilyn Lake's *A Divided Society*, (Melbourne, 1975), pp. 89-91, provides a good account. See also the *Tasmanian Mail* of 15 February 1917 (p. 23) for a transcript of the case for the prosecution. Typically, the transcript of Dicker's defence was not published. X
- <sup>126</sup> The censor reported that Von See, in a letter to his mother in Germany, wrote "I do not suppose I will be locked up. Doctors are too scarce."
- <sup>127</sup> J. D. Danker was known as the 'hermit of Point Puer'. Danker lived at Port Arthur for almost 50 years and used to recount to tourists the stories told to him by 'old lags' he had known. He was concerned to counter the 'horror tradition' that was growing up around the historic penitentiary. Bev Smith drew on his stories for *Shadow Over Tasmania* (Hobart, 1941) and dedicated the book to him. See also Danker's obituary in the *Mercury* of 18 September 1939.
- <sup>128</sup> On 11 October 1917 Burnie Harbour-Master, Athol Morrison, wrote to the State Treasurer that "the residents of Burnie strongly object to his [Neuman] being allowed to use our wharves in command of a British vessel. The *Wollomai's* owner has refused to discharge Neumann on the ground that it is the Governments place to do so if necessary. To my knowledge young men have remarked that they will not enlist while Germans are commanding British ships ... I have no power to remove Neumann from his command and I should be pleased to hear that I have power to prevent his landing at Burnie wharves". *Premiers Department Files*, PD15, Vol. 84/14/17.
- <sup>129</sup> The Police Commissioner was a member of the Australian Counter Espionage Bureau established by Prime Minister Hughes at the request of the Imperial Government under Major G. Steward (Official Secretary to the Governor-General) in January 1916. *Premiers Department Files*, Confidential Files (WW1) PD 15. Most Secret, 21 January 1916.

- <sup>130</sup> The *Aliens Restriction Order*, of 27 May 1915, "made it an offence for an uninterned enemy alien or for a naturalised subject of enemy origin to leave the Commonwealth without a permit. Action was taken to prevent their presence on ships, or wharves, or in the vicinity of military or naval buildings." Scott *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- <sup>131</sup> See the Daily Telegraph of 19 and 20 December for an account of the hearing.
- <sup>132</sup> Robson, L.L., *A History of Tasmania*, volume 2, (Melbourne, 1991), p. 358. See also p. 356 for Dowling's 1917 defence of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland.
- <sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 356-8.
- <sup>134</sup> *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 10, p. 504.
- <sup>135</sup> *Premiers Department Files*, PD 15, 84/14/17.
- <sup>136</sup> The Launceston Police Inspector made the following report on O'Donnell's statements: "This speaker in the course of his address said *I am an I.W.W.. I am a Bolshevik. I will tell you what I.W.W. means. It means independant workers of the world [sic], and that is what you all are or should be. There should only be one flag in the world and that is the red flag. Do you know what the red flag means, it is the brotherhood of blood. No matter whether you are a black man, a yellow man, or a white man, the same blood flows in your veins; if you cut your flesh red blood flows from it, no matter what colour you are. After considerably more talk A child born out of wedlock, because it has not had some fat parson to marry its parents should be just as legitimate as any other child because it is a child of nature and a child of love. He then after a while went on to say the capitalist has made his wealth out of labour and the factories which he has built up for himself belong to the men who have laboured and built them up for him and they should take them from them as they belong to the men who laboured to build them. Later on he said, Old books tell us that we must be purified and washed in blood. You must all be purified by being washed in blood. It may be the blood of the capitalist, I do not know, but it may be. I am going back to Melbourne as soon as I can because there is a strike coming on - the biggest strike that we have ever seen, and I want to get back before the strike starts because I don't intend to go back on a ship with a blackleg crew. What I have indicated is only a very small indication of the opinions expressed by this speaker" Angus O'Donnell File. Australian Commonwealth Archives - National Office. Series A 456/3. Item W95/4/73*
- <sup>137</sup> For an account of the events leading to the deportation of the Russians see Cain, F., *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*, (Sydney, 1983), pp. 161-7, & p. 177.
- <sup>138</sup> Miss Vida Goldstein, of the Woman's Peace Army, toured Tasmania in December 1917 speaking to enthusiastic crowds against conscription. Senator O'Keefe was the supporting speaker at many of these meetings. *Daily Post*, 12 December 1917.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

- <sup>139</sup> Robson, L.L., *A History of Tasmania*, Volume 2 (Melbourne, 1991), p. 330.
- <sup>140</sup> For an interesting account of Simonoff see Cain, F., *The Origins of Political Surveillance in Australia*, (Sydney, 1983), pp. 231-5.
- <sup>141</sup> Robson. *op. cit.*, p. 504.
- <sup>142</sup> Taylor, A.J.P., *The First World War: An Illustrated History*, (London, 1963). Also relevant to this point is the fact that allied losses on the first day of the 1917 Somme Offensive were greater than Australian losses for the entire war.
- <sup>143</sup> Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*. Translated and edited by A. Cohler, B. Miller & H. Stone. (Cambridge, 1989), p. 27.

<sup>144</sup>Scott, E., *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-18, Vol. XI: Australia During the War*, (Sydney, 1936), p. 144.

<sup>145</sup>*Premiers Department Files*, 2 October 1914 & 23 June 1915.

<sup>146</sup>Edgar Keen declared that he heard Kiely state that "Dr. Mannix was a gentleman [and] that Father O'Donnell was a bastard and a disgrace for going to the front." Samuel Beattie declared that Kiely said "he was a Socialist and a Revolutionest (sic) that he had no respect for The King, and that, as far as he was concerned it didn't matter whether we were under German or British Rule [and] he stated he had never done a day's work." George Scott declared that he had heard Kiely "say that he was a Sinn Feinner (sic) that he would not fight for his Country, that those who went to the front to fight were worse than a lot of Chinamen, that his Kiely flag was the red Flag in preference to the British Flag which he would not hold up. I told him that my two sons were killed fighting in France and I had a third still there Kiely said the two who were killed were a pair of cunts that they were fighting for the Aristocracy and not the worker." *Michael Kiely File*. Australian Archives, Canberra. Series A456/3. Item W95/4/53. According to the *Daily Telegraph* of 19 December Scott then punched Kiely on the nose "drawing claret".

#### APPENDICES

<sup>147</sup>According to Robson, *op. cit.*, p. 365. 171 Tasmanians died of influenza. (19% of the reported cases.)

<sup>148</sup>Lake, M., "A Divided Society Revisited." *Bulletin of the Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1986. pp. 32.

<sup>149</sup>Robson, L.L., "Review of *A Divided Society* by M. Lake." *Historical Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 67, October 1976. pp. 272-273.

<sup>150</sup>Bardenhagen, M.E., *Lilydale - Conflict or Unity 1914-1918*, (Launceston, 1993), pp. 2-3.

<sup>151</sup>*Ibid*, p.25.

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid*, p.24.

<sup>153</sup>Fischer, G., *Enemy Aliens* (Brisbane, 1989), p. 79.

<sup>154</sup>Lake, M., *A Divided Society: Tasmania During W. W. 1.*, (Melbourne, 1975), p. 98.

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid*, p. 192.

<sup>156</sup>*Ibid*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>157</sup>*Ibid*, p. 196.

<sup>158</sup>*Ibid*, p. 136. Lake fails to mention the 'monster' recruiting meeting held in Hobart a week after the close of the conference featuring members of both political parties presenting a united front on the platform. See pp. 150 & 152 of *A Divided Society* for other outcomes of the conference that contradict Lakes' earlier dismissal of its effectiveness.

<sup>159</sup>*Ibid*, p. 33. See Robson *op. cit.* p. 325.

<sup>160</sup>*Ibid*, pp. 53-5.

<sup>161</sup>Six weeks later Weindorfer abandoned his journal after five years of regular entries. It was three years before he again kept a diary.

<sup>162</sup>*Smith Family Papers*. Tasmanian State Archives.

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