

Count Felix von Luckner's 1938 'Propaganda' Visit to New Zealand and Its Consequences



WHEN COUNT FELIX VON LUCKNER REVISITED the South Pacific in 1938, the Samoan orator Othoa coined the phrase 'King of the Sea' to describe him at the official reception in his honour at Lepea, Samoa: 'There used to be in Germany many kingdoms and each had a king. You made the sea into your kingdom and were a king of the sea.'¹ The phrase 'king of the sea' was curiously apt. Von Luckner had the backing of the German authorities for this goodwill voyage of 1937–1939, which could in many ways be likened to a kind of ersatz 'royal tour', given the fact that Germany had lost its Kaiser and royalty in the revolution 20 years earlier. At many of his ports of call during this world tour on the windjammer *Seeteufel*, he had indeed received a royal welcome, none more so than in Samoa. In New Zealand, however, sceptical elements who regarded him as a Nazi propagandist, combined with some official disquiet at his visit, ensured a mixed welcome. Unbeknownst to New Zealanders, however, and even to the Count himself, a report by a member of his crew to the Nazi authorities alleging that von Luckner had not taken his propaganda duties seriously enough on this trip meant that once he returned to Germany, this 'king of the sea' would be deposed for the duration of the Third Reich.

Count Felix von Luckner achieved world fame in the 1920s and 1930s with his accounts of his exploits as commandant of the German raider *Seeadler* in World War I,² and had already achieved folk-hero status in New Zealand after his daring escape from internment on Motuihe Island in December 1917. Von Luckner's *Seeadler* had sunk 14 Allied merchant ships in the Atlantic and the Pacific before it ran aground on Mopelia Atoll, in the Society Islands, in August 1917, after which von Luckner and some of his crew ventured west in a small boat, eventually being captured at Fiji and brought to New Zealand for internment.³ Von Luckner's raids produced only one casualty — an apprentice aboard one of the Allied ships was wounded in cross-fire and later died, in spite of the best efforts of the *Seeadler*'s doctor to save him.⁴ Those who were taken captive by von Luckner unanimously spoke well of him.⁵ Indeed, when the French sailing ship *Cambronne* arrived in Rio de Janeiro on 31 March 1917 carrying 281 captives from 11 ships that had fallen victim to von Luckner's raiding activities, crews of all nationalities were full of praise for von Luckner and the treatment that they had received on the *Seeadler*.⁶ The Count's reputation as a gentleman endeared him to the New Zealand public, but it was his successful

escape from Motuihe Island and recapture a few days later by the New Zealand authorities on the Kermadecs which made him a folk hero in this country. After his return to Germany in 1919, von Luckner conducted many lecture tours recounting his adventures, not only in Germany but also in Sweden, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Canada and the United States (New York, Boston, Princeton, Chicago, and San Francisco, where he was awarded freedom of the city in 1927).⁷ He returned from the United States to Germany in 1933 at a time when the newly established Nazi regime was looking for opportunities to carry its message abroad.

The Nazi Propaganda Ministry was aware of von Luckner's tremendous potential as an overseas publicist for 'new Germany'. A memorandum from Propaganda Ministry Foreign Division officer Züchner to the head of the Propaganda Ministry, Dr Greiner, described von Luckner as 'the most popular European in America'.⁸ Reich Foreign Ministry files show that as early as 1933 there had been contact between von Luckner and Hitler regarding a proposal to use von Luckner and his ship to 'enlighten' foreign countries about the 'reconstruction of the German Reich' and to defend Germany against 'propaganda of lies' and 'boycott movements' overseas. A report suggesting that the Reich lend 20,000 Reichsmarks towards such a venture was forwarded on 20 September 1933 from the Foreign Ministry to the Propaganda Ministry.⁹ That money would be used to refurbish von Luckner's ship *Vaterland* so that it would make the required 'propagandistic' impression when accompanying von Luckner on his overseas lecture tours. The report specifically mentioned England, the United States and South America, but the proposed propaganda tour was to start with the Scandinavian countries. The ship was to be crewed with members of the Hitler Youth and their Nazi navy counterparts, the 'Marinestürmer', who were to exhibit 'iron discipline' and 'perfect appearance' to win over the hearts of overseas youth. On its return to Germany, the ship would then be used as a training vessel for Nazi youth.¹⁰ The Propaganda Ministry's reaction to the report was to set up a fund for this purpose, to which private business concerns could contribute, and to suggest that Hitler make the first contribution of 1000 Reichsmarks.¹¹ Later reports confirm Hitler's personal involvement in the venture.¹²

Von Luckner's two-year voyage around the world from May 1937 until June 1939 on board the yacht *Seeteufel*, together with Countess Ingeborg and a selected crew, was conceived along the same lines as the *Vaterland* enterprise. The primary function of the voyage as far as the Nazi authorities were concerned was to assist with 'German propaganda' and to 'elicit understanding for National Socialism'. The propagandist purpose was not supposed to be too blatant, though: the voyage was intended to give the appearance of being a 'private pleasure trip' on the part of the Count and Countess.¹³

As far as New Zealand was concerned, however, the propagandist nature of the voyage was evident from the beginning. The first reports of von Luckner's sailing for New Zealand were based on a Press Association message from Berlin dated 18 April 1937 which stated that he would, on this voyage, 'engage in propaganda for German ideals'.¹⁴ The *Dominion's* headline read: 'Count von Luckner sails — Nazi Propaganda Voyage — Visit to New Zealand and

Australia', which, together with a backgrounder two days later entitled 'Count von Luckner and the Seeadler', accounted for some lively readers' letters in that newspaper's correspondence columns in the ensuing weeks. One reader, 'N. H. B.', wrote: 'From all one hears, Count von Luckner, as a man, can be much admired, and while we might be prepared to receive him for his own sake he has no right whatsoever to impose on such friendly feelings as exist toward him and place us in the unpleasant position of having to refuse him the liberty of the country. If the purpose of the count's visit is as reported in the public Press, I call on the Government to take immediate steps to impose a ban on lectures disseminating Nazi doctrines.' The editor noted: 'The above letter was referred to the Acting-Prime Minister, Hon. P. Fraser, who said he had no comment to make.'¹⁵ 'N. H. B.' was supported three days later by 'British Internationalist', who remarked: 'It seems to me that the Count would be well advised to stay away from this country or else refrain entirely from lectures and propaganda.'¹⁶ Dr Reuel Lochore, a graduate of the University of Bonn, languages master at Scots College and a future New Zealand ambassador to Germany, commented in his reply to 'British Internationalist' that he himself had 'sought to persuade Count von Luckner to revisit this country', and contended that correspondents 'have no justification whatever for speaking of "Nazi propaganda"'. He went on to say that von Luckner 'is not a member of the National-Socialist Party, and has always done his work independently of the German Government'.¹⁷ This provoked the following statement from a further correspondent, Gerald Griffin: 'Even if he [Lochore] confesses to being nothing more than a publicity agent for Count von Luckner and his propaganda ship, he might give pause to think before inviting a welcome for an official or unofficial ambassador of German Fascism to these shores.'¹⁸ A returned serviceman, H. Stratford, of Norsewood, gave a spirited defence of von Luckner in a letter published the following day:

I may be pardoned if sentiment creeps into my defence of a very gallant gentleman — Count von Luckner. I am sure I can echo the thoughts of most of my fellow ex-servicemen when I say we can welcome this son of Germany, without fear or prejudice, because his war service to his flag was unexampled in courage or honour by any sailor or soldier of any force in all histories of war. . . . I can find no evidence that this great sailor is in any way connected with that political disease we know as Nazism. Let us welcome Count von Luckner as a German capable of telling us something of that great race that has enriched the world with its music and literature, and its superlative arts and crafts and mutual understanding may efface the power of bomb and battleship.¹⁹

This prompted a rejoinder from 'British Internationalist' that the statement that von Luckner was 'unexampled in courage and honour by any sailor or soldier of any force in all the histories of war' would be a point that 'I should imagine that some of our men would hardly be inclined to concede'.²⁰

The arrival of von Luckner in Auckland on 20 February 1937 was greeted with headlines that denied any propaganda motives and described him as 'An Ambassador of Peace'. He was quoted in the *New Zealand Herald* as saying:

To think that I would travel 16,000 miles from Germany to talk politics — why, it is ridiculous! . . . I am but a sailor, and I know nothing of politics. I respect Herr Hitler, as I do the German Government, but I take no part in it. If I am an ambassador, let me be one of peace. I have come to New Zealand in fulfilment of a promise I made to the countess when we were married ten years ago That was the best present I could think of giving her — a trip to the most wonderful country I know. Although I caused them much trouble during the war, the people here treated me as a good sport, for they are good sports themselves. I met and learned to admire the people, and gained the greatest respect for them.²¹

Von Luckner's confession of 'respect' for Hitler and the German government came at a bad time, as three weeks later Nazi troops marched into Austria. New Zealand newspapers announced the news with banner headlines: 'Austrian Chancellor Resigns — Yields to Force', 'Germany Seizes Control', 'Austria Swiftly Invaded — Germans Take Complete Control — Independence Swept Away', 'Vast Crowds — Hitler in Vienna — Triumphal Drive', 'Jews Suffer — Scenes in Vienna — Mob Invades Quarter', 'As Serious as in 1914 — Crisis in Europe'.²² Against this background, von Luckner's visit to the former internment camp on Motuihe Island, from which he had escaped in 1917, and his rediscovery of a cave on the island where he and other German internees had apparently stored supplies for a further escape attempt in 1918, seemed trivial.²³ It was not long before his views were sought on the situation in Austria. His claim that the German coup was 'a wise move, calculated to bring new life to a country that was not enjoying prosperity, and also to help maintain the peace of Europe' was dismissed by Professor A.B. Fitt of Auckland University College, who had himself studied in Germany, as 'nothing but Nazi propaganda'. He stated prophetically: 'There are many people in the world and they are not all Britishers, who see in the ruthless methods of totalitarian States (including Germany) little but the near arrival of "The Day" when once again the world will be thrown into the most bloody and degrading of wars.' Professor Fitt asked, with considerable insight: 'Does he assure us that what happened and still happens to the Jews in Germany will not happen to the Jews in Austria? That persecution of the German Jews will make unpleasant reading in history.'²⁴

The president of the Eden-Roskill Returned Soldiers' Club, L.A. Tozer, attempted to skirt around the controversy. Prior to von Luckner's arrival to address the club he told the audience that it was 'most unfortunate' that there had been 'international discord and tenseness in international relationships' since the invitation had been extended, but that von Luckner was 'no more accountable for those developments than the members of the audience'.²⁵ The New Zealand Federation of Labour, which was at the time meeting in Wellington, was not so conciliatory. The Federation's president (A. McLaglan) and secretary (F.D. Cornwell) challenged von Luckner to a public debate:

Some months before his arrival in New Zealand Count von Luckner announced that it is his mission to preach the values of Hitlerism to the whole world. Those virtues are already well known, and are not wanted in New Zealand, nor in any other civilised State. Count von Luckner has also said his mission is a mission of goodwill. Does he approve of the kind of 'goodwill' that has been displayed by the Nazis, first to the German

workers and subsequently to the peoples of Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia? Is this 'goodwill,' the goodwill that is being shown towards those members of the Jewish race unfortunate enough to fall into Nazi clutches? . . . We invite him to come out into the open and express his opinions at a public meeting convened for that purpose.²⁶

Von Luckner declined, but commented:

I have nothing to do with politics. In all my travels I have not spread any Nazi propaganda. Indeed, I have been strictly forbidden by my Government to export political views of my countrymen. But let me tell you this: In Germany today it is the labouring people who are the great power behind Hitler . . . I am not a member of the Nazi Party. I am an officer and can belong to no political party. I tell you frankly, at first many of us were not in favour of the Nazi movement, but today we have come to think otherwise. But I do not want to argue with these people. If Wellington does not want me, why, I will go elsewhere. I have come only to spread the gospel of good will. In wartime, for the service of my God, I sank the nitrate carriers whose cargoes would have been converted into munitions to kill thousands of people. I never deprived a mother of her son. I loved the New Zealand people because they were sportsmen when I was imprisoned here, and escaped, captured the *Moa*, and afterwards was caught again. There was no hatred between us . . . What have I done to deserve this? It hurts me.

The Federation of Labour responded by renewing its challenge:

To clear up any doubts we may have on that point, the Count immediately proceeds to talk propaganda. We have no objection to his doing so; in fact, we welcome it, and we repeat our invitation to him to do it at a public meeting where the other side of the case may be presented. Count von Luckner says that their Government (the Nazi Government) is their (the Nazis') own, and that they do not wish to export it to any other country. Does that hold good for Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and South American countries? . . . We regret that an invitation to publicly debate his ideas should have so hurt Count von Luckner, but it is only just to remind him that the Nazis have never considered the feelings of other people whose ideas differed from theirs. Even today the feelings of some people are being so outraged by the Nazis that they prefer suicide to the prospect of continued existence under Nazi domination.²⁷

The same edition of the *Evening Post* which carried this report (19 March 1938) also had a note in the entertainment section about von Luckner's first lecture in Wellington that evening, billing his addresses in Auckland as having been a 'wonderful success with returned soldiers and the public generally'. A report on the Wellington lecture the following day stated that von Luckner concluded by emphasizing that he was a 'citizen of the sea' and, as such, 'had no politics'. Further lectures were foreshadowed in Wellington, Lower Hutt, Masterton and Palmerston North.²⁸ An advertisement in the *Dominion* of 21 March referred to von Luckner as an 'Ambassador of Goodwill'.²⁹ One *Evening Post* correspondent who attended a lecture by von Luckner supported this view, writing that he saw 'little justification for political criticism' and was impressed with 'the spirit of good will borne to New Zealand by one of her former enemies'; the editor noted that several others had written 'in a similar strain'.³⁰

Von Luckner's New Zealand tour continued to be dogged with controversy. On 10 April he wanted to visit Ripapa Island in Lyttelton Harbour, where he

had been interned for 109 days in 1918 in a cabin adjoining Fort Jervois. However, he was not allowed to land on the island, as it was, unlike Motuihe Island, a military installation. Colonel P.H. Bell, officer commanding the Southern Military Command, said that he was following instructions from military headquarters. 'I am afraid the officer in charge who refused me permission has no soul,' was von Luckner's comment. 'I am very disappointed. I think the refusal was very foolish.'³¹ The note he left in the visitors' book of the launch *Awatea*, which took him to the island, was also indicative of his disgruntlement: 'by Joe what a pleasure to see that old weary Ripa Island again, but there certain fools wouldn't let me land for fear I didn't know it well enough!'³² Von Luckner appealed to the Minister of Defence, Frederick Jones, to reconsider, but to no avail. 'I told him that the rule prohibiting civilians from landing on Ripa Island had been in force for some time, and that the Government regretted that it was unable to relax that rule', Mr Jones explained in an interview, adding that von Luckner had accepted his explanation.³³

In making his decision, Jones was doubtless guided by two considerations. The first was pressure from the New Zealand Labour Party and the Labour movement; the second was security advice. On 11 April, the Matata Branch of the Labour Party passed the following resolution: 'The members of the Matata Branch, N.Z.L.P., request the Minister of Defence to uphold the action of the Officer Commanding, Southern Military command, in preventing Nazi Von Luckner from visiting any fortified area or island, despite this Fascist Count's boast in the capitalist press that his appeal to the Minister will result in the Officer's orders being waived. The members of the branch consider Nazi Von Luckner to be an agent for Nazism the dangerous enemy of democracy and world peace.'³⁴ The minister had already received a letter from John Tapson of Dunedin, warning that von Luckner must be kept under surveillance: 'I read with horror in this morning's "Times" of the visit of Herr Von Luckner the "German War Ace", with his raiding record in the Pacific and an escaped Prisoner of War after capture surely the Labor [sic] Government will not welcome him with open arms and allow him the "Freedom of New Zealand Coast" to do as he likes. If he is not kept well under watch I am sure you will find that there will be trouble brewing.'³⁵ The minister assured Tapson that von Luckner 'was not being accorded any special treatment by the Government' and added: 'You can rely upon it that steps are being taken to see that this visitor does not commit any act of transgression.'³⁶

In fact, the director of MI5 in London, Colonel Sir Vernon Kell, had approached Australian and New Zealand authorities almost a year earlier with a request that he be provided with a list of the *Seeteufel's* crew and passengers on von Luckner's arrival.³⁷ A week after von Luckner's departure for Sydney on 3 May 1938, the New Zealand Commissioner of Police, D.J. Cumming, sent Colonel Sir Vernon Kell a secret report on von Luckner's visit which indicates that von Luckner and his crew were kept under constant Special Branch surveillance during their time in New Zealand. Judging from this letter, the purpose of the surveillance was to attempt to ascertain the identity of the Nazi agent rumoured to be on board and to investigate to what extent von Luckner himself was an emissary of the Nazi government. The Commissioner of Police made the following observations:

Prior to his visiting New Zealand the Count was at Samoa, following which reliable information was received that two members of his crew were suspected of being members of the Gestapo, or that a member of the Gestapo was on board. The persons particularly referred to were Frederick Thiele, rating A.B. and Paul Kunert, rating Diesel Engineer. . . It was authoritatively [held] within the German Club at Auckland towards the close of the Count's visit by a person with whom he had become very intimate that the Count had been paid 15,000 marks by the German Minister of Propaganda, and a like amount by Herr Hitler towards the costs of his present trip. Two members of the crew, Gregor Reitchmaier, radio operator and Hans Osterreich, cameraman,³⁸ left the vessel at Auckland. The former has been granted permission to remain in New Zealand for two months, he is endeavouring to obtain authority to remain here permanently. Osterreich has also been granted permission to remain two months and to complete a motion picture film. He is to rejoin the Count at Sydney. Osterreich was very friendly with Thiele and usually accompanied him ashore.³⁹

A report dated 2 June 1938 by Detective E.A. Stevenson to Chief Detective Hall of Auckland Police Special Branch observes that 'Osterreich does not appear to be working' and that he has 'realised money, either by sale or loan, on a cine-camera'.⁴⁰ In the same month, officers of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch in Sydney interviewed Katinka Hutt, whom Countess Ingeborg von Luckner had engaged as her secretary and companion, and had learned from her that the Countess 'feared' Hans Osterreich, because the first thing the Countess had done on meeting Mrs Hutt in Sydney was to 'clutch her arm and ask, quickly, "What did Hans say about us? We must know what Hans said about us."' ⁴¹ Osterreich left Auckland by the *Wanganella* on 24 June to rejoin the *Seeteufel* in Queensland.⁴² Spurred on, no doubt, by information from Mrs Hutt and their Special Branch colleagues in New Zealand, and perhaps by such reports as that from the New Zealand correspondent of *The Workers' Weekly*, which questioned the legitimacy of Osterreich's photographic activities,⁴³ the Australian Commonwealth Investigation Branch turned its attention to Osterreich once he arrived in Queensland, reporting that during the six weeks the *Seeteufel* was at Cairns, he was the 'outstanding person of interest', and that '[e]xpense appeared no object' to him as he 'toured many miles on motor-bike and took thousands of feet of film'.⁴⁴

The New Zealand Special Branch and their Australian colleagues had come remarkably close to uncovering the truth. Unbeknownst to the crew and apparently even von Luckner himself, there was a Nazi agent — 'Stützpunktleiter' — on board the *Seeteufel*. It was not Paul Kunert or Friederick Thiele — it was Hans Osterreich. And Hans Osterreich's damning report on von Luckner to the Nazi authorities⁴⁵ was to have disastrous consequences for the Count on his return to Germany.

Osterreich's report arrived at a time when other matters concerning von Luckner had been brought to the attention of the Nazi authorities. Von Luckner had two agencies in Germany which looked after his interests: one in Hamburg, run by Richard Krüger, Annemarie Götsche and Walter Knaack (who was married to Inga-Maria, von Luckner's daughter from his first marriage);⁴⁶ the other in Berlin, administered by von Luckner's mother-in-law Margarete Engeström and his chief secretary, Thea Lindemann.⁴⁷ During von Luckner's long absence

overseas on the *Seeteufel*, a dispute, apparently partly caused by Walter Knaack's dowry claim, developed between the two offices, as to which had the authority over von Luckner's finances.⁴⁸ In December 1938 Margarete Engeström received von Luckner's full power-of-attorney to look after his interests in Germany until his return. When, acting in this capacity, she asked to see all relevant documents held by the Hamburg agency, Krüger took his protest to no less than Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS.⁴⁹ In his letter to Himmler he said he turned down Frau Engeström's request for three reasons: first, she was a foreigner; secondly, he had been told not to show government documents to third parties; and thirdly, he regarded her as 'politically unreliable' (instances were cited of anti-Nazi behaviour on her part).

The report by Oesterreich on von Luckner has to be seen against this background. Once it was received, a number of other allegations joined it, principally concerning von Luckner's links to Freemasonry (Freemasons being one of the many groups persecuted by the Nazis), his sympathy towards Jews, and allegations of child abuse, the latter being accusations of a type that are notoriously difficult to prove. The head of the Reich Chancellery, Dr Hans Heinrich Lammers, wrote to Himmler on 13 March 1939 informing him that Richard Krüger had made him aware of 'serious allegations' against von Luckner and asking to what extent they were justified, particularly as von Luckner had received funding from the Reich Chancellery for his world cruise.⁵⁰ Von Luckner, obviously alerted to these developments, wrote to Dr Lammers from Palermo on 22 April 1939 with the explanation that there had been a misunderstanding between himself and Krüger which he had resolved by the dissolution of Krüger's agency. 'Presumably as his revenge', von Luckner continued, 'Krüger, as has been reported to me, is said to have spread the most dishonourable rumours about me. If I were capable of committing a dishonourable crime I wouldn't wait for myself to be accused, I would accuse myself in a court of honour.' People in the Propaganda Ministry, he added, 'seem to have believed his rumours'.⁵¹ Dr Lammers took up von Luckner's suggestion — probably not meant altogether seriously — of setting up a court of honour. In a letter to von Luckner sent care of Frau Lindemann, Dr Lammers' private secretary replied on his behalf that the minister had been informed of the allegations and was of the opinion that von Luckner would do well to set up a 'formal procedure' to deal with these matters on his return.⁵² Finally, the matter landed on Hitler's desk, and on 5 July 1939 he ordered a special court of honour to hear the accusations, Lammers and Himmler to be responsible for carrying out this instruction.⁵³

So what were the accusations about the *Seeteufel* cruise which led to the enquiry? Some were factually wrong: SS-Gruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich, for example, quotes a party member by the name of Teufel as saying that the Count had taken a group of Jews from New York on a cruise to the Bermuda Islands. This had certainly not taken place during the *Seeteufel* cruise.⁵⁴ Hans Oesterreich's report, however, has the ring of truth about it. Oesterreich opened his remarks, which he furnished separately from his 'reports on film and propaganda activities', with the comment that his criticism of von Luckner was not based on his personal attitude towards von Luckner, but facts to which he

drew attention on behalf of the crew of the *Seeteufel*.⁵⁵ He wrote of a bad atmosphere on board, which he put down partly to resentment caused by the Countess's niggardly way of distributing the ship's supplies, and partly to confusion as to the trip's purpose — as the cruise progressed, it became more and more evident that this was not a 'propaganda trip' but a 'purely private cruise'; von Luckner had even ordered the propaganda material given by the Propaganda Ministry to be thrown overboard. Oesterreich enumerated many lost opportunities for propaganda speeches on the part of von Luckner: 'All the claims that he published in German newspapers about his propaganda for the new Germany are based on untruths.' In Samoa, for example, said Oesterreich, the Count referred to himself as 'Hitler's ambassador' and claimed to be related to or a close friend of Nazi politicians, but in his speeches he mentioned nothing about Germany, speaking only of his escapades on the *Seeadler*: 'During the entire cruise L. never once talked about the new Germany.' The Count's Freemason associations and his relations with Jews, factors which were given some prominence when it came to the decision to have him tried in a special court of honour, were brought out in Oesterreich's report. His fellow Germans' embarrassment at von Luckner's acceptance of an invitation by a Jewish businessman in Puerto Rico was given as much prominence as examples of his cruelty to birds and fish. Oesterreich claimed that von Luckner had his Freemason apron with him on the ship and apparently referred to his links to Freemasonry when invited to speak to Rotary clubs. Other specific allegations were made: von Luckner was said to have earned £523 in New Zealand from his New Zealand lecture tour but no one knew where the money went, although £100 was sent to his mother-in-law from Sydney; Mopelia Island was not visited on this trip, contrary to newspaper reports about his having rediscovered his 'treasure' there; on a number of occasions he threatened the sailors with reprisals from the Gestapo; and finally, Oesterreich said that during the night of 20–21 September 1938 when Oesterreich was standing at the helm, he and von Luckner exchanged words and he was knocked down by von Luckner. The resulting enquiry chaired by the German Consul in Surabaya granted Oesterreich an immediate discharge and he returned to Germany by steamer. Oesterreich's report ended with the request that von Luckner's credentials as officer, writer and sailor be examined should he return to Germany.

Oesterreich was not the first member of the crew to be granted a discharge. Gregory Riethmaier requested a discharge when the *Seeteufel* landed at Auckland, and is still living in Auckland; he was naturalized in 1955 and pursued a successful career as senior photographer for the National Publicity Studios.⁵⁶ Riethmaier is able to corroborate many of the details in Oesterreich's report:⁵⁷ von Luckner had many opportunities to disseminate pro-Hitler propaganda but never did; he had at least 100 propaganda books for each of the three languages German, English and Portuguese, but the crew were asked to throw them overboard near the Panama Canal,⁵⁸ no one on board regarded it as a propaganda trip; the Countess was 'very mean' and 'hated to part with provisions or anything else';⁵⁹ the Count did threaten to send Oesterreich to a concentration camp, but all members of the crew were treated in that way; he had threatened Riethmaier with physical violence, having at one stage stood over him 'with clenched fists,

threatening to hit [him]';⁶⁰ it was well known that he was a Freemason;⁶¹ they reached Mopelia on 11 December 1937 and saw the remains of the wreck of the *Seeadler*, but, partly because of unfavourable winds, made no attempt to land;⁶² Riethmaier had heard that as a boy von Luckner had been put in a home because of cruelty to animals, and had 'witnessed him torturing seagulls by tossing a line, baited at both ends, into the harbour and watching as both birds tried to rid themselves of the swallowed bait, each flapping helplessly at its end of the line'.⁶³ On Oesterreich himself, Riethmaier expressed astonishment at learning that Oesterreich was a Nazi 'Stützpunktleiter' and thought no one on board had suspected this; Oesterreich was a last-minute replacement for Krüger, and was officially the film cameraman, though Riethmaier regarded him as 'very inexperienced and not very productive' and knowing less about photography than he did; to that extent he had regarded him as an impostor of sorts.⁶⁴

Two items in Oesterreich's report which are confirmed by Riethmaier are of particular interest. The first is the threat of being reported to the Gestapo. Riethmaier wrote in his memoirs⁶⁵ that after the *Seeteufel* arrived in Auckland, the German Consul, Dr Walter Hellenthal, came up from Wellington, and the crew used this opportunity to air various complaints, the principal one being that their wages had not been lodged in Germany as had previously been agreed. The Consul considered that they had a strong case, but that the Reich would not condone their quitting the *Seeteufel* in Auckland because of the bad publicity that would result. After the meeting, Riethmaier talked to the Consul privately and asked whether he could sign off in Auckland if he managed to do this quietly, to which the Consul replied that he would do what he could to assist him, as it was his duty to do so.⁶⁶ Riethmaier composed a letter to von Luckner outlining his grievances and sent it care of the German Consulate in Wellington, as the Count and Countess were travelling in New Zealand on their lecture tour. In the letter, Riethmaier asked for his discharge and wrote, among other things: 'I should like to point out in the first place that (as you are no doubt aware) before I came aboard at Hamburg I desired to withdraw, but was forced to abandon my decision through your insolent threats (such as arrest by the Gestapo, reports to your influential friends, and cancellation of my transmitting licence). At that time I still believed in all these fairytales.'⁶⁷ On his return, two days before their scheduled departure from Auckland, von Luckner treated Riethmaier as if he had never received the letter; when pressed, however, he said he had received the letter, that he had spoken to the Consul and that the Consul had said he must stay on the *Seeteufel*. On hearing this, Riethmaier threatened to release his letter to the press. Von Luckner responded that if Riethmaier decided to stay in Auckland he would make it impossible for him ever to return to Germany.⁶⁸ As it turned out, however, von Luckner himself was to be the victim of the Gestapo on his return.

The second is the matter of the 'buried treasure' on Mopelia Island. The *New Zealand Herald* of 28 March 1938, in a news item under the headlines 'Treasure Trove — Von Luckner's Cache — Recovery from Island — Value about £10,000 — Property of Government' quoted von Luckner, at that time in Wanganui, as having 'admitted' to a *Herald* representative that he had, while on Mopelia Island, 'unearthed money, gold, uncut diamonds and pearls he had hidden there

21 years ago' together with his 'log-book, and a paper from the Emperor'. What he found there 'might be worth £10,000, perhaps a little more', the report continued, but von Luckner 'laughed' at the reporter's suggestion that possibly the booty might be valued at twice that sum: 'There was a lot of German paper money there, but now it has no value, because since the war our money has changed. When I took it from the place where I had hidden it, I found it had decayed'.

And yet, according to Oesterreich and Riethmaier, the *Seeteufel* did not land on Mopelia in 1938. How did this come about? A 1938 Berlin newspaper feature article may help to solve the mystery.⁶⁹ Under the headline 'Count Luckner as Treasure Seeker' the article, by von Luckner himself, describes among other things how the *Seeteufel* called at Coco Island (Costa Rica) in search of the treasure of the Incas. Von Luckner writes that he added his name to a list (etched in stone) of the treasure-seekers who had already called there, but found no treasure. Riethmaier confirms that they did land at Coco Island, and that von Luckner had said he was determined to find buried treasure there; but 'once we got there and saw the topography with its mountains, impenetrable jungle, also considering the number and size of the islands, he quickly lost all enthusiasm for treasure hunting and no longer mentioned it as long as we were there'.⁷⁰ It seems likely that a journalist mistook Coco Island for Mopelia Island and that von Luckner was only too pleased to embellish the story in his inimitable fashion.⁷¹ In any case, his comments were reported widely in New Zealand and overseas, and Mopelia Island still features on the lists of the world's treasure hunters because, according to *Conway's All the World's Fighting Ships 1906-1921*: 'Count Luckner said that he had buried the ship's cash-box with its valuable content of gold coins in the sand, and it has never been recovered.'⁷² Visitors to Mopelia report that the beach has been plundered over the years by countless treasure-seekers hunting for von Luckner's treasure — which never existed.⁷³ And as far as the log-book is concerned, it made its way first to Chile with Sub Lieutenant Kling, whom von Luckner had left on Mopelia in charge of the rest of the crew of the *Seeadler*. Kling and his men found their way from Mopelia to Easter Island and the Chilean port of Talcahuano, and eventually returned to Germany, where the log-book is now held at the Federal Military Archives in Freiburg.⁷⁴

The special court of honour, chaired by Dr Lehmann of the German Armed Forces High Command, met on 5 August 1939, to consider whether, among other things, von Luckner 'had on his world cruise between May 1937 and June 1939 not kept to the National Socialist attitude expected of him and treated this trip, undertaken primarily in the interests of propaganda, as a private pleasure cruise.' An interim report on this allegation presented to Dr Lehmann by the examining attorney on 21 August 1939 made the following points:

The selection of the crew was not a happy one and the understanding between the crew and the commander von Luckner was not good, at least in the last part of the trip. The reason for this may be due partly to von Luckner's poor leadership, partly to the presence of his wife, but partly also to the poor discipline of some of the crew and the unfortunate influence of individuals . . . The individual members of the crew would scarcely have

been in a position to deliver a final and reliable judgement on the success of Count von Luckner's mission. They may not have had an appreciation of the disguised nature of propaganda activity and the real difficulties involved with it.

The report added that a full investigation of the matter would be time-consuming and would necessitate interviewing persons resident overseas.⁷⁵ Ten days later, on 1 September 1939, World War II broke out, and interviewing people overseas became out of the question. In his final report dated 18 December 1939, Dr Lehmann commented as follows on the allegations regarding von Luckner's trip on the *Seeteufel*: 'The trip, for which he received a considerable contribution from the Reich, was supposed to elicit and support appreciation for the new Germany. For outside appearances it was supposed to be mounted as a private pleasure cruise. The most contradictory remarks have been put forward as to the way Count Luckner fulfilled this task. A final judgment of this question is at the moment not possible, as it presupposes extensive investigations overseas.'⁷⁶ Dr Lammers sent his final report on the matter to Himmler on 11 January 1940. In it he agreed with Lehmann's assertion that a proper determination of the effectiveness of von Luckner's world trip would at that stage be impossible because of the difficulty of carrying out overseas investigations. Lammers ruled out criminal court proceedings against von Luckner, but reached the conclusion that 'Count Luckner will for the indefinite future be asked under no circumstances to make public appearances, to lead the completely retired life of a private citizen, and to make sure that in the press and in other public spheres his person is no longer remembered in any way.' He asked for agreement on this matter from Propaganda Minister Goebbels, Himmler and the Party.⁷⁷

Ironically, if secret reports from Australasian agencies had been available to the Nazi authorities, their conclusions might have been different. For the Nazis he had not taken his propaganda duties seriously enough; for authorities in Australia and New Zealand the success of his propaganda activities was a real cause for concern. A memorandum dated 28 June 1938 from Inspector R.F.B. Wake to the Director of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch in Canberra concluded: 'Impartially, it can be said that as far as the German community of Queensland is concerned, Von Luckner won many to the Nazi cause.'⁷⁸ The *Standard* of 9 June 1938, under the headline 'Nazi Activity in N.Z. — Secret Group Operating in Wellington' stated in a similar vein: 'The recent visit to New Zealand of Count Felix von Luckner is understood to have given a fresh stimulus to Nazi activities . . . Whatever the purpose of the visit of the Count, it enabled a rallying of the Germans in this country to take place, and those in his party who were interested in the spread of Naziism [sic] were given wonderful opportunities for carrying on their activities.'

An 'Open Letter to Count von Luckner' signed by 17 academics from the University of Melbourne made reference to the Wellington group: 'As a representative of Hitler, your voyage has been permitted as it will do much to help the cause of Fascism. Evidence of a circumstantial nature viz. the recent setting up of a Nazi club in Wellington (N.Z.) indicates that your recent visit to New Zealand has already borne fruit.'⁷⁹

Be that as it may, the decision reached by Lammers on the evidence available meant a total ban by the Nazi authorities on public appearances by von Luckner, and even mentioning his name in the press was forbidden. His books were banned from bookshops and public libraries and no more were to be printed. No wonder that when the war was coming to an end and American troops were approaching his home town of Halle he did his best to hasten proceedings, managing at the same time to save Halle from destruction by accompanying his associate Major Huhold on a successful mission to persuade Lieutenant General Allen, commander of the 104th Infantry Division, to spare Halle.⁸⁰ After the war, and with it the end of the Third Reich, the Count was free once more to publish, and to make public appearances, and his rehabilitation seemed complete in 1953 when he was awarded the Federal Grand Cross of Merit ('Großes Bundesverdienstkreuz') by Federal President Theodor Heuss.⁸¹

When he left New Zealand on 3 May 1938, von Luckner addressed a crowd of well-wishers who had gathered in Auckland to farewell him and the *Seeteufel*. He thanked the people 'for their wonderful hospitality' and added: 'I will long to come back again; indeed, I must, for I am leaving my heart here'.⁸² Between 1946 and 1959 he did make a number of overseas trips, particularly to the United States, but never returned to the South Pacific.⁸³ Did he really come to New Zealand in 1938 on a propaganda mission, or did he simply use the Reich's support for a world cruise to make the visit possible — then abandon any serious attempts at propaganda once the trip was under way? Oesterreich's report, together with the fact, corroborated by Riethmaier, that he threw the propaganda books overboard, would tend to favour the latter view. Did he have some sympathy for Nazism, or did he simply, ever the opportunist, exploit the Nazi hierarchy to his own ends? That we shall never know. A trip to New Zealand was mooted in 1954, in which von Luckner was 'to take his car so as he can look up many friends scattered throughout the country',⁸⁴ but it did not eventuate. The Count never had an opportunity to explain to New Zealanders the true circumstances surrounding his 1938 visit, how he really felt about the Nazi cause, or the situation he faced on his return to Germany.

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NOTES

1 Welcome speech by the orator Othoa for the Samoan delegation at the reception for Count von Luckner, 14 January 1938, in Lepea, Samoa. (My translation.) Gregory Riethmaier collection, Auckland.

2 The German version of his memoirs, Graf Felix von Luckner, *Seeteufel: Abenteuer aus meinem Leben*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, was rendered into English by Lowell Thomas as *Count Luckner, the Sea Devil*, New York, 1928, and became a best-seller.

3 For more information on von Luckner's activities in New Zealand and the South Pacific 1917–1919, see James N. Bade, 'Count Felix von Luckner', in James N. Bade, ed., with the assistance of James Braund, *Out of the Shadow of War: The German Connection with New Zealand in the Twentieth Century*, Melbourne, 1998, pp.37–49.

4 'The Man Who Met Von Luckner: True Story Of An Encounter With The Seeadler', *World's News*, 25 June 1938, p.41.

5 Robin Bromby, *German Raiders of the South Seas*, Sydney and Auckland, 1985, p.172.

6 Telegram dated 1 April to Foreign Ministry, Berlin from Rio de Janeiro, received by German Naval Command on 7 April 1917, file RM5/2246, p.92, Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv Freiburg (henceforth referred to as the Federal Military Archives, Freiburg).

7 Felix Graf von Luckner, *Aus dem Leben des 'Seeteufels': Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, Wolfgang Seilkopf, ed., Halle (Saale), Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2000, pp.209–14.

8 Referent Hr. Züchner (Auslandsabteilung) to Min. Dir. Dr. Greiner, Berlin, 20 March 1936, Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda file R55 861, Bundesarchiv Berlin (henceforth referred to as Federal Archives, Berlin).

9 'Denkschrift über die Verwendung des Grafen Felix v. Luckner und seines S. Schiffes: "Vaterland" für die Aufklärung des gesamten Auslandes über den Neuaufbau des deutschen Reiches, über die Führer der deutschen Nation, über die gesamte Innen- Außen- Wirtschaftspolitik des deutschen Reiches, gegen Greuel- und Lügenpropaganda, insbesondere auch gegen die Boykottbewegungen u.s.w.', 16 October 1933, RK12111, Federal Archives, Berlin.

10 *ibid.*, pp.1–5.

11 Memorandum from Ministry of Propaganda to Hitler, 19 October 1933, RK12111, Federal Archives, Berlin. This fund is not to be confused with the 'Weltumseglungsverein', an association set up in the late 1920s to raise funds for von Luckner from industry and schools. Interview with Gregory Riethmaier, 10 June 1999.

12 Gregory Riethmaier has in his collection an unsourced newspaper article of 1936 concerned with von Luckner's trip to the United States ('Der "Seeteufel" spricht: Graf Luckner bei der N.S.-Kulturgemeinde München') which clearly states that this and other trips were made possible by Hitler.

13 1939 report by Reich War Attorney (Reichskriegsanwalt), R43II/162, Federal Archives, Berlin.

14 See reports in *New Zealand Herald* (NZH) and *Dominion*, 20 April 1937.

15 *Dominion*, 28 April 1937.

16 *Dominion*, 1 May 1937.

17 *Dominion*, 4 May 1937. On Reuel Lochore, cf. Michael McBryde, 'Political and Economic Links since World War II', in Bade, pp.240–1, and Michael King, 'The Strange Story of Reuel Anson Lochore', *Metro* (March 1991), pp.114–25.

18 *Dominion*, 6 May 1937.

19 *Dominion*, 7 May 1937.

20 *Dominion*, 13 May 1937.

21 NZH, 21 February 1937.

22 *Evening Post* (EP), 12 and 14 March 1938; NZH, 14 and 17 March 1938; EP, 17 March 1938.

23 See NZH, 15 March 1938. Another, unsourced, newspaper article on von Luckner's Motuihe visit entitled 'The Sea Devil Fraternises' is held in the Auckland Institute & Museum Reference File No. 849, Auckland Museum Library.

24 *Nelson Evening Mail* (NEM), 18 March 1938.

25 NZH, 17 March 1938.

26 *Dominion*, 19 March 1938.

27 EP, 19 March 1938.

28 EP, 21 March 1938.

29 *Dominion*, 21 March 1938.

30 EP, 21 March 1938.

31 NEM, 11 April 1938. Although the press reported that von Luckner had spent 119 days on the island, the inscription left on the wall of the cabin in which he and Lieutenant Kircheiß were interned clearly refers to 109 days. The inscription has been preserved and is now held by T.S. Cornwell Redcliffe, Christchurch. I would like to thank Commanding Officer Helen Hunt for allowing me to view the inscription.

32 Many thanks to Baden Norris, Curator, Lyttelton Museum, for accompanying me to Ripapa Island and enabling me to view the *Awatea* visitors' book and other material, and to Ian Hill, Canterbury Conservancy, Department of Conservation, for arranging the trip to Ripapa Island and for so generously providing me with information regarding Ripapa Island and von Luckner's internment there.

33 Press Association report in NEM, 12 April 1938. My thanks to Stephanie van Gaalen, Librarian, Nelson Provincial Museum, for her assistance in locating these reports.

34 Memorandum from Les D. Whyte, Hon. Secretary, New Zealand Labour Party Matata Branch, to Hon. F. Jones, M.P., Minister of Defence, 12 April 1938, D 242/7/31, von Luckner Collection, Lyttelton Museum. This document, and others from this collection subsequently quoted, kindly made available by Baden Norris, Curator, Lyttelton Museum.

35 John Tapson to Hon. F. Jones, Minister of Defence, 21 February 1938, D 242/7/31, von Luckner Collection, Lyttelton Museum.

36 Hon. F. Jones, Minister of Defence, to J. Tapson, 28 February 1938.

37 Colonel Sir Vernon Kell's request was received on 16 June 1937 by the Commonwealth Investigation Branch in Canberra. See Carl Rühén, *The Sea Devil: The Controversial Cruise of the Nazi Emissary von Luckner to Australia and New Zealand in 1938*, Kenthurst, 1988, p.22. Carl Rühén's account draws heavily on Australian Commonwealth Investigation Branch records held at Australian Archives, Canberra, but was written before the relevant documents held in the German Federal Archives became available; Rühén is unaware of the Nazi litigation against von Luckner and describes him as an 'ardent Nazi' (p.22). Cf. also John A. Moses, "'Deutschumpolitik'" in Australia from Kaiserreich to Third Reich: Problems of promoting Germany in Australia from Hirschfeld to von Luckner' in Ian Harmstorf and Peter Schwerdtfeger, eds, *The German Experience of Australia 1833-1938*, Adelaide, 1988, p.132.

38 Gregor Riethmaier and Hans Guenther Oesterreich. For a profile of Gregor(y) Riethmaier, see James N. Bade, 'Gregory Riethmaier', in Bade, pp.218-23.

39 Secret memorandum 38/78 dated 10 May 1938 from Commissioner of Police to Colonel Sir Vernon Kell of M15, New Zealand Police Special Branch records (NZPSB), Wellington.

40 Report 37/10/26 dated 2 June 1938 by Detective E. A. Stevenson to Chief Detective Hall of Auckland Police Special Branch, NZPSB, Wellington.

41 Rühén, pp.57f.

42 Report 37/10/31 dated 28 July 1938 by Detective E.A. Stevenson to Chief Detective Hall of Auckland Police Special Branch, NZPSB, Wellington.

43 See Rühén, p.57.

44 Secret report entitled 'Count Felix von Luckner' from R.F.B. Wake, Inspector, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Brisbane, to the Director, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Canberra, 23 September 1938, reproduced as Appendix V in J.A. Moses, 'German/Australian "Cultural Policy" and the Count von Luckner Visit to Queensland in 1938', Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill, eds, *The German Presence in Queensland Over The Last 150 Years*, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1988, p.109.

45 'Reise Bericht über die Weltreise 37/39 des M.S. "Seeteufel"', signed Hans Guenther Oesterreich, Berlin, 12 January 1939, R 43 II/1628, file pp.14-17, Federal Archives, Berlin. Like the New Zealand authorities, Gregory Riethmaier considered that Frederick Thiele or Otto Katschke were the most likely members of the crew to have been associated with the Gestapo, interview with Gregory Riethmaier, Auckland, 4 October 2000.

46 Von Luckner had married Petra Frieda Lucy Schultz on 3 February 1910. Memorandum by von Luckner to local Command, Hamburg, 20 February 1910, MSG 1/1392, Federal Military Archives, Freiburg.

47 Seilkopf, p.87.

48 See letter from Walter Knaack to von Luckner and Countess Ingeborg, 31 December 1937, and letters from Margarete Engeström to von Luckner and Countess Ingeborg of 10 October 1937 and 1 January 1938, reproduced in Seilkopf, pp. 120–6.

49 See correspondence from Margarete Engeström to von Luckner and Countess Ingeborg of 1 and 20 January 1938, in Seilkopf, pp.126–31, and letter of 24 February 1938 from Richard Krüger to Heinrich Himmler, Reichsführer der SS, R 43 II/1628, Federal Archives, Berlin, also reproduced in Seilkopf, pp.137–9.

50 Dr Lammers to Heinrich Himmler, 13 March 1939, RM. Nr. 540/39A, Federal Archives, Berlin. My translation.

51 Von Luckner to Dr Lammers, Palermo, 22 April 1939, RM. Nr. 2066/39 A, Federal Archives, Berlin. My translation.

52 Reichskabinettsrat von Stutterheim to Count Luckner, 30 April 1939, RM. Nr. 2066/39 A, Federal Archives, Berlin. My translation.

53 Memorandum, 5 July 1939, signed by Hitler and Lammers, R 43 II/1628, Federal Archives, Berlin.

54 SS-Gruppenführer Heydrich to SS-Obergruppenführer Walter Buch, 8 July 1938, R43 II/1628, Federal Archives, Berlin. Von Luckner had visited New York some years earlier, in the 1920s, and may have taken a group on a cruise on that occasion. Interview with Gregory Riethmaier, 10 April 2000.

55 Oesterreich, 'Reise Bericht über die Weltreise 37/39 des M.S. "Seeteufel".'

56 See note 38.

57 In interviews with the author on 18 January, 10 and 26 June 1999, and in his unpublished memoirs, 'A German Immigrant Remembers, Part I: On Count Luckner's *Seeteufel* to New Zealand', Auckland [1996]. I would like to thank Gregory Riethmaier for kindly making his memoirs and other material on von Luckner available to me for this study.

58 Interview with Riethmaier, 10 June 1999. Riethmaier retained one of these books, entitled *Alemania: Año Olímpico 1936*, Berlin, [1936]. In his memoirs (see note 57) he writes that he regarded von Luckner as 'non-political', p.53.

59 Riethmaier, 'A German Immigrant Remembers', p.61. Riethmaier quotes an entry in his diary: 'This woman, possessed by greed, is repugnant', p.63.

60 *ibid.*, p.84.

61 Interview with Riethmaier, 18 January 1999; cf. Riethmaier, 'A German Immigrant Remembers', pp.59, 74.

62 *ibid.*, p.79.

63 *ibid.*, pp.79f.

64 *ibid.*, p.70; letter to author, 29 September 2000.

65 *ibid.*, p.88.

66 Letter to author from Gregory Riethmaier, 29 September 2000.

67 A copy of this letter is held in the National Archives, ref. No. AAAR 493/66, J 1941/5//864.

68 Riethmaier, 'A German Immigrant Remembers', p.90.

69 *Berliner illustrierte Nachtausgabe*, 31 January 1938. My translation.

70 Riethmaier, 'A German Immigrant Remembers', p.65.

71 Cf. Philippe Mazellier, *Le Mémorial Polynésien*, Tome 5, 1914–1939, [Papeete] 1977, p.450.

72 *Conway's All the World's Fighting Ships 1906-1921* (Robert Gardiner, editorial director), London 1985, p.185.

73 Interview with maritime historian and diver Kevin Cyril Heyniger, 13 April 2000.

74 See the facsimile edition of the log book: *Graf Luckners 'Seedler': Das Kriegstagebuch einer berühmten Kaperfahrt*, Hans D. Schenk, ed., Hamburg 1999.

75 Secret report from examining Reich War Attorney (Untersuchungsführer, Reichskriegsanwalt) to Chair, Special Court of Enquiry, Dr Lehmann, 21 August 1939. RM Nr. 4125/39A, Federal Archives, Berlin. My translation.

76 Final report ('Abschlußbericht') by Dr Lehmann (Ministerialdirektor im Oberkommando der Wehrmacht), to Dr Lammers, Berlin, 18 December 1939, p.9, R43 II/1628, p.121, Federal Archives, Berlin. My translation.

77 Secret memorandum from Dr Lammers, Reich Minister and Head of Reich Chancellery, to Himmler, Head of the SS (Reichsführer SS), copy to Dr Lehmann, German Armed Forces High Command (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht), dated 11 January 1940, R43 II/1628, p.145, Federal

Archives, Berlin. My translation.

78 Secret memorandum from R.F.B. Wake, Inspector, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Brisbane, to the Director, Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Canberra, 28 June 1938, reproduced as Appendix III in Moses, p.106.

79 'An Open Letter to Count von Luckner', University of Melbourne, 6 July 1938, reproduced as Appendix IV in Moses, p.107.

80 See von Luckner, *Out of an Old Sea Chest*, trans. Edward Fitzgerald, London, 1958, pp.193–200, and cf. Wolfgang Knape, *Felix Graf Luckner: Der Seeteufel aus Sachsen*, Leipzig, 1999, pp.64f., and Seilkopf, pp.143–204.

81 See Seilkopf, p.217.

82 NZH, 4 May 1938.

83 See Seilkopf, pp.216f.

84 'The "Sea Devil" wants to visit N.Z. again', *Otago Daily Times*, 14 December 1954.