From the Acropolis to Kingaroy
Creating Civic Culture in Queensland

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Abstract
Lecturing can be a distillation and crystallisation of thoughts and theories. For nearly 30 years up until his death in 1969, Viennese émigré architect Karl Langer lectured in design, town planning and landscape architecture at both Queensland universities and initiated a dialogue about civic culture. Many of his papers, which have been preserved in the University of Queensland Fryer Library collection, attest to his firm belief in architecture’s civic aspirations, which were informed by his international experiences. ‘In Greece’ he, for instance, wrote: ‘there was no stratification of society and every free citizen had his democratic right. There, the Civic Centre on top of a hill, on the Acropolis, was sited in such a way that the politician arriving early in the morning could see the sun rise between the Parthenon and the Erechtheon’. Langer arrived in Queensland together with his Jewish wife Gertrude in 1939. Threatened by the rise of Nazism they adopted a ruse to visit Athens, from where they travelled to Australia. It was there that Langer witnessed the monumental Greek works, which he believed to be the height of civic culture. After settling in Australia, he designed a series of quite monumental buildings in Queensland for a wide variety of clients. In many of his buildings, Langer incorporated – rather literal – references to the formal language of Greek architecture in an attempt to introduce his civic ideal to Queensland. Three of his buildings are analysed here: Kingaroy Town Hall (1960-65), St John’s Lutheran Church (1960), and St Peter’s Lutheran School (1968). This paper investigates what Langer quoted and why, drawing on his lectures and travel sketches, and Ian Sinnamon’s theoretical insights. It complements and elaborates earlier studies of the way in which Langer’s work expresses civic aspirations derived from Greek culture and his desire to create a new monumentality in the ‘unfinished continent’.
Karl Langer - Shaping the Unfinished Continent

From his arrival in Australia in 1939 until his death in 1969 Dr Karl Langer was engaged in a dialogue about architectural design, landscape and the creation of a civic culture in the Australian context. Like many of his contemporaries, he was searching for a new monumentality – buildings that could represent the social and community life of citizens – and sought inspiration in ancient civilisations to create new centres for civic culture. In his lecture ‘Humanity and Monumentality In Architecture’, Langer related his quest for a new monumentality to concerns for human scale: ‘We want to live in houses and walk in a cityscape which have human scale, and not live in structures which look like machines and monuments of technology’.

Immediately on disembarking in Sydney, Langer was quoted in the press discussing his ideas about architecture and city design. Within a week, ‘the famous Viennese architect’ and his wife, the art historian Dr Gertrude Langer, were the subject of an article in the *Australian Women’s Weekly* in which they discussed their impressions of Sydney, ideas about city planning, and flats as housing for women and why they decided to immigrate to Australia. They are quoted as saying ‘Australia is our fate’.

Karl Langer was born in Vienna and commenced his architectural education at the State Trade School. Professionally ambitious and intellectually curious he continued his studies at the prestigious architectural school within the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts in 1923. From 1922 to 1936, Peter Behrens, an influential architect in the development of modern architecture in Germany, was the director of the Academy. Langer graduated in 1928, aged 25, and was engaged by Behrens to run his Vienna office. Langer thus joined an illustrious group of young architectural alumni who had worked in Behrens’ office, including Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius. While working for Behrens, Langer designed and was entirely responsible for ‘the massive tobacco factory at Linz, two large dwelling compounds, one Department-store and office house, cottages as well as many other designs’.

Concurrent with managing the studio, Langer undertook a doctorate in Art History at the University of Vienna and met fellow student Gertrude Fröschel. As Gertrude later explained: ‘We met, became friends and then we marry, and then both received our degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the same day! That is most remarkable?’ Langer left Behrens’ office in 1934 to start his own practice.
However, the rise to power of the National Socialists in Germany created an environment in which the Langers were personally at risk. Langer was a social democrat and eligible for military service, and Gertrude was Jewish. On the pretext of professional work in Greece, they left Austria and immigrated to Australia.

Prior to fleeing Austria, the Langers had travelled widely within Europe. It was, however, in Greece that Langer found inspiration for his design, upon witnessing first-hand the country's vernacular and ancient monuments, and the careful placing of buildings in the landscape. Numerous folios of his sketches held in the Fryer Library attest to his fascination with landscape and vernacular structures in their local context. Ian Sinnamon, eminent Langer scholar, former student and personal friend of Langer, quotes an interview with Gertrude reminiscing that Karl said simply ‘I love Greece’. The drawings from his travels in Greece in 1933 reveal he visited the Aegean islands of Naxos, Santorini, Paros and the great ancient sites including Olympia and Mycenae. Langer was a brilliant draftsman, who never travelled without his sketchbook. The beautiful sketches of houses, churches and hillside-villages that he made during this trip show his great sensibility to landscape and the siting of buildings in the landscape. It is appropriate that purportedly one of the last places he sketched on his journey to Australia was the temple of Poseidon perched on the headland of Cape Sounion – the ultimate poetic composition of landmark in the landscape.

Langer was unable to find work in Sydney, so he took a temporary job with architects H.M. Cook & W.J. Kerrison, settling in Brisbane in 1939. With the outbreak of the Second World War Langer was employed under wartime manpower regulations as a draftsman in the Queensland Railways and also began part-time lecturing at the University of Queensland (UQ). He studied the local environment – the landscape, the flora and the climate – and in 1944, published the seminal design guide Subtropical Housing. The Langers became influential, if not formidable figures, in the cultural life of Brisbane. Gertrude Langer initially taught art history and appreciation in her own home. From 1956 to 1984 she was chief art critic for the Courier-Mail and was considered Brisbane’s leading authority on art. Karl Langer lectured in town planning at both UQ and the Queensland Institute of Technology. He was an active member of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA), in 1952 he became the first President of the Royal Australian Planning Institute (Queensland Division), and he was a founder and the Chairman (1966-68) of the Queensland Association of Landscape Architects and a foundation member in 1963 of the National Trust of Queensland. The Langers were fixtures at the famous
Johnstone Gallery Sunday morning openings, Queensland Symphony Orchestra concerts and Queensland Art Gallery events. Karl Langer was President of the Queensland Art Gallery Society in 1961-62 and 1967, while Gertrude Langer was President in 1965-66 and 1974-75. In 1968 Karl Langer was appointed to the Australian Council for the Arts as Vice-Chairman of its music board.

Langer’s career in Australia developed along three separate but intertwined disciplines of architecture, landscape architecture and town planning. In 1944 the Brisbane City Council offered Langer the position of assistant town planner but there was a protest about the appointment of a foreigner and the matter became political. He was barred from taking up the appointment but commented wryly ‘it was all far from pleasant, but I got known that way all over Australia’. In 1945 his notoriety resulted in him being invited to design a plan for Mackay. The Mackay town plan, the most spectacular of his early commissions and a forerunner to Kingaroy, displays all Langer’s interest in the importance of the civic centre as a monument in the landscape, an aspect he so admired in ancient Greek architecture. The newspaper reported ‘Mackay Points Way to Model Dream City’ with a plan for six ‘neighbourhood’ areas grouped around a new civic centre that will include administrative offices, a separate concert hall, open-air theatre, library, museum health centre, and public square.

Although Mackay was the first city to have a town plan gazetted, it was never realised and was the subject of much political controversy. It, nonetheless, led to a number of town planning commissions for Langer, including for Ingham, Toowoomba, Yeppoon, Kingaroy and Mt Isa in Queensland, and for Darwin and Canberra. In 1947 he was invited by the Cumberland County Council to advise on future town planning possibilities for the enhancement of the city of Sydney. One of his recommendations was that the tram depot at Bennelong Point should be replaced by an Opera House. The Sunday Sun (Sydney) waxed fancifully about Langer as an exotic visionary: ‘Another part of his face-lifting plan is the scrapping of the tram sheds at Fort Macquarie and the erection of a magnificent opera house, with a seaside esplanade and gardens around it’.

Many scholars have pointed to a strong connection between Germany and Greece. Ian Sinnamon, for instance, suggests that German speaking nationals and many classically-trained Viennese architects regarded Greece as a kind of godmother to Viennese culture. Richard Neutra, another Viennese architect who left his homeland for a new start abroad, proclaimed, ‘Like all Nordic barbarians we want to go to sunny Hellas, or to the land where the lemons blooms and no ice trouble us’. In Australia Langer was to find his antipodean Greece.

By birth right Langer had a cultural inclination for things Hellenic, but the training he attained under Peter Behrens cannot be underestimated. Dubbed the first father of Modern architecture, Behrens’s, seminal AEG turbine factory (1908), ‘the first full-fledged modern building’, was heroic and undoubtedly the foremost Modern Greek temple. Langer, like many modernists was ‘entranced by the self-contained assurance of the Greek temple’ and he essayed numerous variations of it throughout his career to create ideas of civicness. In 1935 the English publication, Design for Today reviewed his work and recognised the thread of thoughtful quoting: ‘Karl Langer, the young and highly gifted architect, shows in his excellent work the influence of the East, without actually imitating the exotic pattern of the East, but translating its spirit into functionalist form’.

Kingaroy Civic Centre – A Temple for Citizens

While modern architecture had earlier been obliged to concentrate on the more immediate and mundane problems of housing and urbanism, its new task in the post-war period was the reorganisation of community life through the planning and design of civic centres. Mid-twentieth century Queensland’s regional towns sought to provide freely accessible, secular, civic infrastructure for their communities – spaces to meet and enjoy edifying recreational activities – with various appellations such as ‘civic centre’, ‘town hall’, ‘shire hall’ or, depending on funding model, ‘memorial hall’. At the heart of these places was always a spacious hall, a ‘central meeting place for the ...
QUOTATION: What does history have in store for architecture today?

people’, 24 ‘where all citizens could gather and feel they were in their own home’. 25 Some municipalities, like Jericho and Alpha, 26 were satisfied with modest weatherboard structures, but others promoted Australia-wide design competitions. 27 Townships dreaming ‘of a higher plane’, such as Kingaroy, sought a lavishness of extra facilities to compliment the hall, from public libraries and art galleries to supper rooms, bus terminals and kindergartens. 28

In early 1948 Langer was appointed to mastermind the town planning of Australia’s peanut capital, Kingaroy, northwest of Brisbane. Langer’s commission juxtaposed appropriate civic aspiration with a long-term vision for shaping the district’s future. A town square, created by closing off the road to vehicular traffic, and delineated by a collection of individually expressive civic buildings, was conceived to mark its heart and symbolic centre.

Figure 3. Sketch site plan of Kingaroy Civic Centre (Karl Langer Collection, Fryer Library UQFL 158, Drawing 1123a 04, Fryer Library, University of Queensland Library).

Langer’s ambition for this 4.37 acre civic centre was to ‘be comparable …with any in Australia’ 29 and create ‘not only … an admin[istrative] and cultural centre’ but also an ‘architectural centre of the township’. 30 In keeping with his Greek civic aspirations, he stated that the ‘symbol of [the] city centre should be the finest building’ and that its ‘square [is] as important as [the] buildings’. 31 Langer’s ‘striking’ civic centre notion was so convincing and evocative that by December 1950 he was asked to author the buildings in a staged commission. 32

Gathering the landmark buildings around his town square emulated many civic places he had experienced in Europe, most emphatically the Greek temple setting. 33 When Langer lectured on humanity and monumentality, he observed the manner in which the ‘Greeks used landscape as the background of their stages in their theatres’. 34 Within the Kingaroy town plan, the Civic Centre, on a relatively flat site, paraphrased the Greek examples, albeit bereft of a sloping topography. Deftly handling the flat landscape he created theatre by designing a ‘grand civic square’ 35 with room for 5,000 to 7,000 citizens, 36 enough space to allow a doubling of Kingaroy’s population.

The staged program was an ambitious plan of two u-shaped assemblages of buildings mirroring each other to define the ‘forecourt for his striking town hall’ – to the west a town hall, public library, council chambers, supper room, meeting rooms, art gallery, and administration offices; across the square a café, bus terminal, maternal and child welfare centre, kindergarten and ambulance station. 37 Oddly for a project of such grand ambition, the first priority when building work commenced in 1957 was a
modest conveniences block, originally to be included within the bus terminal, with ‘the town hall declared as [the] next’ priority.  

The project required Langer’s considerable skill and training in all fields: architecture, town planning and landscape architecture. So proud of the architect’s vision for Kingaroy was the Shire Council that it promoted the civic centre in its jubilee booklet. To ‘give the people of its rural community some of the conveniences of the metropolitan area’ the civic centre was to be part of a greater building initiative for Kingaroy including an Olympic swimming pool and a sewerage scheme. 

Council first asked Langer to prepare sketch plans for the town hall in December 1953. In 1955, the Melbourne publication Cross Section printed Langer’s scheme to a readership hungry for modern design. Progress stagnated until he presented his drawings in 1960, which were enthusiastically reported, declaring ‘the architect … has presented the shire council with a most attractive and modern design … which may be put to many uses and at the same time be a decided structural acquisition to the town’. 

By March, the Council had adopted Langer’s proposed design of a ‘wide concrete civic square’ functioning as a forecourt to his striking Town Hall ‘flanked by lawns’. To underline ‘the importance and dignity of the whole building’, Langer imbued the structure with the accoutrements of a classical Greek temple, fronted by a colonnaded gable, broken with ‘five high concrete columns’, and the foyer elevated to eye height above the square’s floor. ‘A set of wide large steps … underlining the importance and dignity of the whole building’ led up to the entry and complete the classical reference. Characteristic of Langer’s designs, rhythmically patterned brickwork breaks the monotony of the building’s vertical entry wall. To enhance the hall’s acoustics and as a formal reference to the colonnade, the side walls of the hall are staggered in a sawtooth plan, culminating visually with a ‘temple’ in the round - the ‘double doors on either [side] leading out into landscaped gardens’. 

Ambitious for a town of 4,000, the hall was designed with a capacity of 1025 citizens, and included the future provision of a rear gallery accommodating a further 200. Langer was acutely aware of the play of sunlight with his choice of colour and pattern with a compelling ‘concern for the strength and solidity that also typifies Greek Buildings in their strong Mediterranean sunlight’. 

![Figure 4. Perspective Kingaroy Civic Centre (Karl Langer Collection, Fryer Library UQFL 158, Drawing 1123a 02, Fryer Library, University of Queensland Library).]
St John’s Lutheran Church Bundaberg – Quoting a Big Bible
By the 1950s, in Australia as elsewhere, the influence of churches and their position within the social fabric of communities was on the wane. Architects were part of a dialogue to create a new architecture that would invigorate community cores, attract new citizens and increase their dwindling flock.50 Langer capitalised on the powerful opportunity that architecture, landscape and town planning could play in a new ecclesiastical architecture.

His ‘appreciation of the qualities and potential of the site’ was ‘learned from Greece’.51 The settings of the vast flat landscapes under the endless empyreal blue of regional Queensland were, for Langer, a rich source for a continuing dialogue between the language of ancient Greece and the landscape of his adopted country. Langer enthusiastically seized the design opportunities he saw in Bundaberg’s open landscape and recognised ample scope to harness ‘the magical interlocking of human-scaled elements – land, sea, sky and architecture – which is the real essence of … sacred landscape’ of ancient Greece.52 He sought to make ‘buildings against sky, land against water, texture against texture – [and] he explored the visual phenomena avidly’.53

Despite there being little scope of creating a grand civic setting, Langer worked with an assemblage of existing buildings, to fashion a foreground for his church by designing a generous and detailed forecourt between church and street. An L-shaped colonnade formed from a set of double columns along the church front and its extension at an oblique angle to the street delineated the forecourt. This created a civic outdoor space for the parish community with a reflection pond at its heart.

Hailed in the local press as ‘of beautiful design, of superb architecture’,54 the ‘ultra modern’55 church completed in 1960 is a ‘striking and imposing’56 rectangular brick temple-like box sheltered by a large gable tiled roof, much ‘in keeping with the civic dignity of the city’.57 A tall, slender square based spire ‘of Finnish design’58 sheeted in copper rises to almost 44 meters above ground topped by a copper cross of another 2.7 metres.59 It became a sentinel in the district and can be seen for kilometres around Bundaberg.60

Figure 5.St John’s Lutheran Church Bundaberg (Department of Environment and Heritage Protection: 2010).
St John’s exterior wall fabric is an essay in textured brick patterning and symbols masterfully exploited as shadows under the bold Queensland sunlight. The articulation between the interior and exterior that the Greeks sought in ‘creating a space of human scale in which ceremonies of entry and exit take place’ had here been carefully composed at each threshold. The entry is a simple, open, painted concrete portico, the remnant from Langer’s double columned loggia forecourt scheme. Throughout, layering of timber battens is crafted internally where human scale is brought in contact with the building fabric: vestibule, nave perimeter, sanctuary, pulpit and choir loft.

Although the Greek temple is less fully expressed in St John’s as a quotation of Hellenic perfection, as a vehicle for the literal and emphatic quotations of scripture Langer has achieved a most startling result. The front façade of St John’s is unique in church architecture, an idea attributed to Langer, fashioned as an open bible with two feet high letters quoting St John announcing God’s love for mankind (John 13:6) and calling us to love one another (1 John 4:11-12), which was ‘a favourite passage of Karl’s.’

St Peter’s Chapel – A Suburban Acropolis
With the design of St Peter’s Chapel, Langer was finally able to fully explore the concept that he so admired in Greek architecture – that of a civic landmark in the landscape. The topography of suburban Indooroopilly in Brisbane offered him the opportunity to command his acropolis. The terrain of the site allowed him to strategically place the chapel ‘on the edge of a hill at one end of a small plateau which is the heart of the school – in other words it guards and commands its acropolis’. Built in 1968 the Chapel was said to be Langer’s favourite building and the place of his funeral in 1969. ‘A man may strive for excellence for a lifetime, but there will always be one accomplishment which he feels rises above the rest’. Langer had an on-going professional relationship with St Peter’s Lutheran College from its foundation in 1945, ‘when the church called in Dr Langer to landscape and plan the future of its Harts Road college grounds’. For over 20 years he was responsible for master planning the site and designing a number of the college buildings including, a chaplain’s residence, a dormitory block, a dining hall block, a concrete footbridge, a science block and the entrance fence and gates.

The Chapel is a fan-shaped building with a curved stylised temple front and a freestanding monumental bell tower addressing a large paved forecourt that extends into a tree-lined plaza. Langer’s master plan has the forecourt and plaza connect the surrounding buildings in an ordered manner, creating a civic centre. The plaza runs generally from west to east along a hill. The very tall bell tower topped with a cross – like the sentinel of St John’s Bundaberg – provides the monumentality of a landmark that can be seen across the campus. Langer designed a landscape that included a round concrete reflecting pool in the paved forecourt and a tree-lined plaza which incorporated native planting, including hedges of lemon scented tea trees. This plan symbolically represents the ‘essence of Lutheran education - an axis with theology (the chapel) at one end and learning (the library) at the other’. The chapel, forecourt and plaza were designed to be the physical and spiritual centre of the school.
The main façade of the chapel faces west with a crisp, curved colonnade of a stylised temple front, raised above the ground plane by three steps with a tall portico running across the face of the building. The portico is clad with white marble – a reference to classical Greece – contrasting against the campus vernacular face brick of the building. The portico is composed of four slender square columns dividing the front into five equal bays. The north and south elevations of the building comprise a series of stepped blade walls with long windows positioned so they are shielded from the nave and their light is directed eastward onto the altar. The fan-shaped plan of the Chapel has the nave narrowing to the altar at the east with the floor also sloping towards the altar.

According to Ian Sinnamon, St Peter’s Chapel ‘shows … the quality of his [Langer’s] understanding of Greek architecture. In form it recalls (but does not try to replicate) the unequivocal presence and classic calm of a Greek temple’. Through the design of the Peter’s Chapel, Langer thus achieved his most successful piece of architecture that references his admiration for the language of classical Greek architecture placed in a landscape that creates his civic ideal. Thirty years after first arriving on the unfinished continent he had realised his Greek ideal in the Queensland landscape.

Conclusion

With his classical architectural education forged in the Viennese atelier of the early modernist Peter Behrens, Langer came to the Australia, ‘the Unfinished Continent’, from the horror of wartime Europe. He ‘thought he might be able to contribute something’ and contribute he did. He brought with him a love of the architecture and landscape of classical Greece, a passion to create a new, civic monumentality, and fluency with the modernist ideals of contemporary European Architecture.

Integrating the languages of architecture, town planning and landscape architecture, Langer developed a sophisticated hybrid of classical and modern principles of design in the Australian context. As a methodology, quoting the experiential aesthetic of his beloved classical Greece heightened Langer’s understanding of what he could make of the raw ground, bright sunlight and subtle textures of the Australian landscape.

His aspirations for the Kingaroy Civic Centre, St John’s Lutheran Church Bundaberg and St Peter’s College Chapel, all articulate his fluency in quoting Greek architecture, his sensibility for placing buildings in the setting of landscape to achieve heroic theatrical impact and his vision to create not only the buildings but authentic civic spaces.
Endnotes


3 ‘Saw a Film of Australian- Decided to Marry’, The Australian Women’s Weekly, 3 June 1939, 26.

4 Donald Watson and Judith McKay, A Directory of Queensland Architects to 1940, (Brisbane: University of Queensland Library, 1984), 123.


6 Dr Karl Langer Reference written by Peter Behrens 10 March 1934, Karl Langer Collection, Fryer Library UQFL 158, Box 37 Folder 2, Fryer Library, University of Queensland Library.

7 The Australian Women’s Weekly, 3 June 1939.

8 Karl Langer Collection UQFL 158, Box 87.

9 Donald Watson and Judith McKay, fn 3. record Langer as being employed in office in 1939-40.

10 Andrew Wilson, ‘Karl Langer’s subtropical housing’ in AANZ 2008 Annual Conference, Brisbane.


12 Both institutions were to award student prizes in his memory.

13 Architect Don Watson as a youngster was introduced to Karl Langer at a concert and encouraged in his ambition to become an architect.


15 Ian Sinnamon, ‘Landscape with Classical Figures- A German Influence on Queensland’s Architecture’, in Manfred Jurgensen, Alan Corkhill (eds), The German Presence in Queensland over the Last 150 Years, (Department of German, The University of Queensland 1988), 247.


17 HJ Summer, ‘Mackay Points to Model Dream City’, The Courier Mail, 9 November 1946, 2.

18 Sinnamon, Australian Dictionary of Biography, 55-56.


23 Design for Today, December 1935, 469.


27 In 1959 the ‘Civic Centre Committee’ of Surfers’ Paradise announced that it would ‘hold an Australia-wide competition for a building to include hall, meeting rooms, and exhibition space’ and three months later, the Redcliffe Council launched an Australia-wide competition for the design of its cultural centre. See: Cross-Section 79, May 1959 and Cross-Section 82, August 1959.


30 Karl Langer Collection UQFL 158, Box 5. Langer’s October 1948 report to Kingaroy Shire Council. The forward was later used in 1951 Kingaroy pamphlet.


In 1951 Kingaroy population was 4500 and entire shire was 9000 and houses were being built at a rate of 100 per year. In Rita E. Murray, *Pioneers of Taabinga Village and Kingaroy*, (Kingaroy, Qld, 1988). 285.

37 Hampson and Gosseye, 249.


39 *Kingaroy Capital of the South Burnett and Now in its Fiftieth Year of Local Government*, (Kingaroy), 19.

40 *Cross Section*, 28, February 1955.

41 'Kingaroy's Public Hall will be Commodious and Neat,' *The Kingaroy Herald and Nanango News*, March 24, 1960, 1.


43 Kingaroy's Public Hall will be Commodious and Neat,' *The Kingaroy Herald and Nanango News*, March 24, 1960, 1.

44 Details for the article were taken from Langer's letter to Manager of Burnett newspapers dated 18 March 1960 Langer Collection, UQFL 158 Fryer Library Box 6.

45 'Kingaroy's Public Hall will be Commodious and Neat,' *The Kingaroy Herald and Nanango News*, 1.

46 Letter from Karl Langer to manager of Burnett newspapers 18 March 1960, box 6.

47 'Kingaroy's Public Hall will be Commodious and Neat,' *The Kingaroy Herald and Nanango News*, P 1.


49 Sinnamon, 'An Educated Eye', 54.

50 Milo Dunphy, '2: A new approach to the public', *Architecture in Australia*, April-June 1956, 60.

51 Sinnamon, 'Landscape with Classical Figures', 250.

52 Sinnamon, 'An Educated Eye', 51.

53 Ian Sinnamon, 'To Live Amongst Trees'

54 'Congregation At Dedication Taxed Church Capacity, Bundaberg News Mail, 4 April 1960, 4-5


56 *St John’s Lutheran Church: Architectural Feature*, (Bundaberg, church published) 18, 20.

57 'Many Congratulations', *Bundaberg News Mail*, 4 April 1960, 4-5.

58 Publication from the St John’s Lutheran Church Bundaberg Church: Architectural Feature St John's Lutheran Church, 18.

59 Publication from the St John’s Lutheran Church Bundaberg Church, 18.

60 The Centenary Celebrations of 1977 publication proudly proclaim ‘Its distinct features have each year attracted a great number of tourists, so that the church is known throughout Australia and beyond’.


63 Sinnamon, 'To Live Amongst Trees',12.

64 Sinnamon, Landscape with Classical Figures, 250.

65 Langer was cremated at the east chapel Mount Thompson Crematorium a building he also designed

66 'A church that is a new concept', *Sunday Mail*, 16 June 1968, 30.

67 'A church that is a new concept', *Sunday Mail*, 16 June 1968, 30.

68 Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register: 602816 St Peter’s Lutheran College Indooroopilly Accessed 21 February 2107.

69 Entry in the Queensland Heritage Register: 602816 St Peter’s Lutheran College Indooroopilly Accessed 21 February 2107.

70 Sinnamon, 'An Educated Eye', 55-56.

71 'Still building on his dream', *Sunday Mail*,9 June 1968, 10.