Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

German immigrants took up land in 1864 in the area of Queensland on the Logan River approximately twenty miles south of Brisbane now known as 'Bethania.' They were followed by others and the settlement spread. The area was identified as German for about 100 years. For the historian the questions are: how the Germans came to this area; how they maintained a more or less German identity for so long; and then why that German identity disappeared.

'Bethania' is an anglicization of the name taken by the Lutheran congregation, 'Bethanien,' the German form of the biblical 'Bethany.' In the 1868 Queensland Post Office Directory the name 'Betanien' was applied to the locality occupied by Germans and served by the Logan Reserve post office, but the name did not then come into general usage. 'Bethania' became an official place name from 1885 when the railway station and associated post office were given the name 'Bethania Junction.' The area occupied by the Germans and situated in a bend of the Logan River was referred to as the 'German Pocket,' a somewhat confusing term as there were various German Pockets in Queensland, including one farther down the Logan. For purposes of this thesis it is convenient to refer to the area at all times as 'Bethania.'

The area originally settled by the Germans is within the present Bethania, and all the rest of the present Bethania was later taken over by Germans from English and Irish settlers. Germans also acquired land from English and Irish settlers in and around Waterford and farther upstream, and across the river in Loganholme after the land of the cotton plantation was subdivided. The boundaries of these extensions of German occupation are not clearly defined, but the Germans referred to in this thesis are those who lived within the catchment areas of the Bethania Lutheran Church and the Waterford State School, which areas are almost the same. They are also almost the same as the areas served by the Waterford and Bethania (or Bethania Junction) post offices. Germans upstream at Logan Reserve which had its own Lutheran church, State School and post office are here regarded as a separate community and excluded. So are those who were at the more extensive settlements downstream on the Logan River at Philadelphia (now Eagleby) and Elkana (now Alberton) and beyond. The Germans in the later township of Beenleigh are also excluded. The Germans in Beenleigh, Eagleby and Alberton were physically separated from the Bethania Germans by Holmview which was settled by English settlers and never occupied by Germans. The Germans in all of this larger area on the Logan River including those at Bethania are here collectively referred to as the 'Logan Germans.'
Until the First World War 1914-18 the term 'German' was freely used in Queensland to refer to immigrants from Germany or the German states, whether naturalised or not, and to their descendants including those who were born British subjects. It is in this sense that the term is used in this thesis, to include all those of German birth or German descent who were members of the Bethania community.

My interest in the history of Bethania derives from an interest in family history. My great-grandfather, Andreas Holzheimer, was one of the first to take up a selection at Bethania in 1864. My grandfather and my father farmed part of the same property. I grew up in Bethania, spent my working life in other places, and in retirement returned as a resident. The residential block I occupied as I wrote this thesis was part of my great-grandfather's selection.

History studies at the University of New England, including acquaintance with works on local history, in particular those of Alan Atkinson on Camden and Norma Townsend on Nambucca, led me first to a history of the cotton industry in this area and then to a broader study of the German settlement. Studies of German immigrants in other communities, such as Denholm on the Darling Downs, Hearfield on Grafton, Sparks on Nundah, and Burkhardt and Mackey on the Clarence River, tended to focus on arrival and settlement, and were of German settlers in British communities. My interest was in a community which began in different circumstances, was more distinctly German, and ceased to be identifiable as German during my lifetime.

The thesis is concerned with those who actually comprised the community of Germans at or near Bethania over the years. It does not follow those or their descendants who moved away from the area. The Germans referred to do not include all who spent some time at Bethania, but a sufficient number for purposes of answering the questions above. Where examples have been required it has been easier for me to select from the history of my own family and of the earliest areas of German settlement.

The history of the Germans at Bethania began with the selection of land by immigrants who arrived on the Susanne Godeffroy and were introduced to the area by Pastor John Hausmann in February 1864. They are referred to in various published works, generally in references to their early settlement, and with various spellings of Susanne Godeffroy. Until now a general history of the community has not been attempted. Articles in Brisbane newspapers over the years referred to the community. There are references to the early settlement of Bethania in works on Germans in Australia, and also in some books which purport to be regional histories. Histories of
the Lutheran church in Australia refer to the migration and settlement of Germans in Bethania, and there are stories or histories prepared for anniversaries of the Bethania Lutheran congregation.

Newspaper articles in the earliest years describing aspects of the settlement were written by a local reporter from his own observations. In the fiftieth anniversary year 1914 two articles provided histories of the early settlement. And two articles in 1907 and 1931 gave descriptions of the community in those years also with reference to the early settlement.

Descriptions of the settlement appeared in two works in German. In an 1898 account of his visit to Queensland, E. Mühlino referred briefly to the Germans near Waterford, but with more on the personal history of Pastor Hausmann than on the settlement.1 Professor A. Lodewyckx in his work on Die Deutschen in Australien published in Germany in 1932 told of the arrival of thirty families from different parts of Germany on the 'Susanna Godeffroy' in early 1864. 2 According to the Lodewyckx account Pastor Hausmann proposed a settlement on the Logan, and through the mediation of Hausmann and the Consul Heussler land was opened up by the Government. The settlement they established was named 'Little Germany' by their English-speaking neighbours. In other works, J. Lyng in 1935 referred to thirty families settled by the Government on the Logan River at a place called 'New Germany,' 3 and Peter Overlack in a 1983 paper repeated in English the account of Lodewyckx.4

There were two general histories of the Lutheran Churches in Queensland. In 1909 Pastor J. Köhnke's brief twenty-five year history in the German language of the Combined German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod of Queensland was published. This book contained an account of the Bethania congregation written by Pastor F. O. Theile.5 Pastor Theile's own One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland appeared in 1938. Theile was the pastor of the Bethania Lutheran congregation from 1901 to 1923 and had contact with some of the earliest settlers. In Theile's account, from among the German immigrants brought to Queensland by the

1. E. Mühliong, Ein Führer durch Queensland, Nord-Australische Zeitung, Brisbane, 1898, pp.120-4.
'Susannah Godeffroy' in January 1864, a group of about twenty families came up the Logan River and settled on land that Pastor Haussmann and J. C. Heussler pointed out to them. The nucleus of this party was formed by eleven families that in Greiffenberg, in the Uckermark, had been members of the same congregation of the Lutheran Free Church of Prussia (Preussische Freikirche). The settlement grew and included about forty families by Christmas of 1864.6

References to Bethania in other church histories were generally close to the work of Theile. In a history of the Lutheran church in the whole of Australia, also published in the anniversary year of 1938, Th. Hebart referred to a small band of strict Lutherans, who hailed from the same movement from which the South Australian Lutherans came, and who settled in the Logan district.7 In an article in the Australian Lutheran Almanac 1940, A. Brauer referred to the arrival at Bethania of a party of twenty-two families from the 'Susannah Godeffroy,' mainly Old Lutherans.8 He made a similar reference in his 1956 history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia.9 In his story of Lutherans in Australia published in 1966, Everard Leske mentioned the seventeen strongly Lutheran families from Prussia's Uckermark district who emigrated as a group on the 'Susanne Godeffroy', arrived in January 1864 and formed the major part of the settlement established at Bethania.10

Brief histories prepared for the fiftieth anniversaries of the Lutheran congregation in 1914 and the church building in 1922, both handwritten in German, are held in the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide.11 Histories or stories mainly from oral sources were published for anniversaries in 1962, 1964 and 1972.12 They described the introduction to the area of the twelve or so Lutheran families from Greiffenburg in the Uckermark who arrived on the 'Susannah Godeffroy' or 'Susannah Godeffryc' and were assisted by Hausmann and Heussler to peg out the six-acre holdings granted by the

6. F. O. Theile, One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland, United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, Brihane, 1938, pp. 175-8.
8. A. Brauer, 'A Few Pages from the History of the Lutheran Church in Queensland,' in Australian Lutheran Almanac 1940.
government. Then, as was their purpose, these accounts went on to deal mainly with the congregation. The same family names appeared, Berndt, Ebert, Goll, Holzheimer, Kleinschmidt, Kuter, Lindow, Lotz, Rehfeldt, Schneider, Stollznow, Tesch, although some of these were not from the Uckermark, and some of them had no association or only a very short association with Bethania. The 1989 congregational history, *Bethania the Early Years*, a longer work with articles by several writers, expanded on previous accounts but remained close to the earliest settlement with emphasis on the Uckermark and the *Susanne Godeffroy*. It contained a complete passenger list of the *Susanne Godeffroy*, over 200 families and individuals, although only twenty or so families settled at Bethania.

All of the histories or stories referred to dealt with the early years, mainly from the church point of view. Only Theile covered later years, and then only in relation to the congregation. None of them sought to explain why the community continued as identifiably German for so long, and why after about a hundred years the area ceased to be identifiable as German.

The Waterford State School centenary history in 1969 contained factual notes covering a wider area than Bethania and the Germans, but its section on 'German Settlement' centred on twelve families from the Uckermark who arrived on the 'Susanah Godefrey'. Alexander T. Yarwood in an article on 'The German Community of the Logan Region,' in Jurgensen and Corkhill's book on *The German Presence in Queensland* in 1983, also referred to the eleven Lutheran families from the Uckermark who arrived in the 'Susanne Goddefroy'. In *Logan, the Man, the River and the City*, Joan Starr in 1988 included a section on 'German Settlers' which followed part of the state school history.

Earlier newspaper articles looked for comparisons between Bethania and the 1838 settlement of German missionaries at 'German Station' (now Nundah). Lutheran church publications treated the Bethania settlement as a unique event but sought to draw parallels with the settlement of Old Lutheran Germans in South Australia, also dating from 1838. The church and congregational histories have drawn mainly on oral sources with little attempt to refer to documents. They may have been adequate for the purposes intended but their explanations of the original settlement were meagre and to

some extent erroneous, and they provided no explanation for the expansion and continuance of the German community. When examined further, the settlement at Bethania is seen not as the unique experience represented in the church histories but rather as one which fits within the general pattern of emigration from Germany and the efforts of the Queensland government to attract German migrants and to promote land settlement. One of the problems in writing this thesis has been to dispose of what was incorrect in these histories, and the thesis may be seen at least in part as an attempt to 'set the record straight.'

Previous work has provided various starting points for parts of the thesis, mainly for the earliest years, but it has been necessary to range much more widely for sources. The broad approach in writing the thesis has been to examine general works on the various topics for the historical environment in which events in Bethania took place, and to provide a framework within which contemporary and local sources have been considered. Newspapers have been examined for contemporary information over the period covered by the thesis. Brisbane papers have provided intermittent and irregular items on Bethania, more frequent in earlier years, less so as settlement in Queensland expanded. Copies of a local newspaper based in the township of Beenleigh from 1878 to 1893 were available and have been used, but no copies have survived of two papers in the early years of the twentieth century, or of one which was published roughly between the two world wars. A later Beenleigh paper of which copies were available began in 1956. Beaudesert papers had reports on the Bethania area in some years. A diary kept by Ferdinand Kleinschmidt from 1876-92 has some items on the life of the settlers. A series of articles by C. R. Hennings based on notes of the same Ferdinand Kleinschmidt was published in a German-English newspaper in 1938. Some of Kleinschmidt's notes were included in a paper 'Reminiscences of the Pioneering days on the Logan,' in typescript and dated 1922.

21. Ferdinand Kleinschmidt, Diary 1876-92, Handwritten in German and English, photocopy in John Oxley Library.
23. 'Reminiscences of Pioneering Days on the Logan,' dated 26/1/22, photocopy of typescript held at Local Studies Library, City of Gold Coast.
From these and such other sources as could be located the thesis has sought to provide answers to the three questions briefly stated above: first, how it was that the original Bethania Germans and those who followed them came to migrate to Queensland and take up land in the area known as Bethania and nearby areas, then, how these Germans were able to sustain themselves so that the area remained identifiable as a German-settled area for about a hundred years; and the final question is how that German element then declined so that the area ceased to be identifiable as German. The search for answers to these questions determines the scheme of the thesis.

An answer to the first question required an examination of the general factors which led to migration and settlement, the 'push' factors which led Germans to leave Germany, and the 'pull' factors such as the Queensland immigration and land settlement policies which led many Germans to Queensland. Then there were the questions peculiar to the Bethania settlement, the state of the district when the Germans arrived, how a particular group of German immigrants was brought to the Bethania area and took up land, how these were joined by other German immigrants, and then how they and their successors were able to expand the settlement into areas formerly occupied by other settlers. Accepted published histories were used for the general background to emigration from Germany and immigration into the Australian colonies, with more detailed attention to government documents on immigration and land settlement in Queensland. State Archives and Titles Office records have been searched as primary sources for information on the Bethania immigrants and the land they occupied. Records of the old Waterford Shire have also been used to trace land occupation and transfers.

To explain how the Germans were able to remain an identifiable group for about a century required examination of a number of factors some of which tended to keep the Germans apart from other citizens and some of which tended to reduce or eliminate their distinct identity. Immigration records and congregational records of births, marriages and burials, provided information on the sort of people they were. Germany did not exist as a nation-state until 1871 and the Bethania migrants came from a number of German states with different dialects. Germans generally migrated to Queensland in family groups, and were sufficiently numerous to marry among the German community at least in early years.

The adherence of most of the Bethania Germans to the Lutheran Church, and the church's attempts to operate in the German language and teach that language for church purposes, set them apart from other settlers, as did the bi-lingual schools which the church maintained some of the time. Histories of the Lutheran church and archived
information held centrally in Adelaide and also in the local congregation have been consulted for information on the denomination and on the congregation and its language activities, and also for information on people. From the 1880s the German Apostolic Church had some adherents in the area, but while there are general histories of the denomination, information on its local congregation and adherents has been more difficult to locate.

Productive activities were similar to those of other settlers in the area, and on the one hand enabled the Germans to maintain their homesteads and their settlement, but also led them out of the community. Among the settlers there were most of the service occupations required for a settlement of farmers, but the community could never be wholly self-sustaining. In the search for markets for their produce and transport to those markets they had to move out of their own community and work with others. The Bethania Germans participated in the beginning in Queensland of the short-duration cotton industry and the sugar and dairying industries. General works on markets and on the cotton, sugar and dairying industries have been consulted in addition to newspapers and contemporary and local sources for the economic activities of the community.

The Bethania Germans also participated with others in such official activities as local government, and in relation to the state school, not only in attendance but also in school committees. In more informal activities, participation in sport and recreation and patriotic activities during wartime, the German community was also not self-contained. State school and local government records have provided some information, but other activities have been more difficult to trace when local newspapers were sometimes not available and there have been only sparse references in Brisbane newspapers.

These topics have been considered in separate chapters for the period in which the Bethania German community developed and adapted and generally maintained a distinctive identity up to about the time of the first World War. Then two chapters, drawn generally from similar sources, cover the decline of the community. After the First World War the German character of the area declined as the church's efforts to maintain the German language were discontinued. The population reduced as the main industry became the supply of whole milk to Brisbane, and when dairying declined and urbanization overtook the area in the 1960s it ceased to be populated mainly by German descendants. That whole process from the first settlement of Germans to the ultimate loss of a German identity in the area took about 100 years. First consideration is here given to the background in Germany and in Queensland to the migration of the settlers.
Chapter 2.

BACKGROUND

The settlement of Germans at Bethania began with five families who arrived on the Susanne Godeffroy in January and took up land on the Logan River in February 1864. Other German settlers joined them. To understand how these events came about and to place them in their historical context requires consideration of the background to the conditions in the early 1860s. The factors involved in German emigration should be considered. So too should the various schemes to attract German migrants to New South Wales and to Queensland and the inducements offered. Then there are the land settlement schemes in Queensland, and particularly the conditions for settlement and the progress of settlement in the area where the Germans acquired their land.

The Germans who took up land at Bethania in 1864 were part of a wave of emigrants from Germany in the nineteenth century some of whom were attracted to the Australian colonies. In his study of Germans in Australia, Charles Meyer records that between 1820 and 1910 over 5,000,000 Germans emigrated, and some 55,000 left the ports of Hamburg and Bremen for Australia. America was the preferred destination for German migrants as for a time land there was free or very cheap, and the passage was quicker and less expensive, costing only £6 compared with £15 to Australia. Only a little over one per cent of the German emigrants came to Australia and as Meyer commented, 'in the larger picture Australia was never a major destination' for German emigrants.

No contemporary diaries or letters or similar personal records of the Bethania settlers have been found, and apart from the brief comments of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt referred to below there is nothing to show how the various families who settled at Bethania made their decisions to migrate, the influences to which they were subjected, or the factors they took into account in making their decisions. The reasons people have generally for migrating may be considered for their possible application by the Bethania migrants. These general reasons were summarised by Meyer:

Political oppression, religious persecution, fear of national service, poor economic and social living conditions are all obvious 'push' factors, while a vision of good jobs, cheap land, political and religious freedom are all 'pull'

2. ibid. p. 7.
factors. Of course, different factors exert different pressures at different times according to prevailing political, religious and economic circumstances.\(^4\)

For the Bethania migrants political motives may be discounted and fear of national service was unlikely. It is also unlikely they were influenced by religious considerations. The main factors in their decisions to migrate appear to have been economic.

Political motives among German migrants to Australia in the nineteenth century were almost unheard of, apart from the small number of 'forty-eighters' who arrived in the Australian colonies. The dramatic events of the 1848 revolution occurred among people and in places where there was little emigration before or after 1848.\(^5\) Political upheavals in Germany occurred mainly in cities but the migrants were from rural areas. There is no direct evidence that the Bethania settlers migrated to avoid military service although that may have been a motive for some with teenage sons.

There is also no evidence of a religious or denominational motive for their migration. The migration of the Bethania Germans was not associated with the German 'Gossner' missionaries who arrived in Moreton Bay in 1838, nor with the German Lutheran migrants to South Australia, also in 1838. A history of the missionaries' settlement was published in 1938 by H. J. J. Sparks under the title *Queensland's First Free Settlement*.\(^6\) The Gossner migrants were recruited by Dr John Dunmore Lang specifically for mission activities and were not part of the general migration stream. They had established themselves on a land grant at 'German Station,' now part of the Brisbane suburb of Nundah, and some of them had continued there as farmers after the mission failed. The Germans at Bethania were not associated with the settlement at German Station although they were introduced to Bethania by Pastor Hausmann who had been a missionary there and they made contact with the remaining residents of German Station soon after their arrival.

Attempts to find religious motives by drawing parallels with the migration of Old Lutherans to South Australia were not justified. In 1817 in the kingdom of Prussia it was ordered that Lutheran and Reformed churches be placed under one and the same church government, with a common liturgy and prayer book.\(^7\) When some Lutherans could not be persuaded to adhere to the union church repressive measures were

\(^4\) ibid. pp. 6-7.
employed. These were referred to as 'Old Lutherans' although that was not the name of a denomination, and there were divisions among them. From 1834 there were laws against ministerial acts performed by persons not ordained by the state authorities, against private religious meetings, religious instruction of children, and so on. Some 7,000 Old Lutherans emigrated, most between 1838 and 1846. The Old Lutherans led by Pastor Kavel who migrated from Silesia to South Australia in 1838 were part of that movement out of Prussia. However in the 1840s Old Lutherans were granted toleration in the kingdom of Prussia, and long before the departure of the migrants who would settle at Bethania most of the difficulties of Old Lutherans had disappeared. Among the older migrants there may have been memories of former difficulties. The migrants at Bethania included some Old Lutherans, and they were to form a Lutheran congregation. Some of the migrant families from the Uckermark travelled together by train to Berlin and then Hamburg, but their travel appears to have been organised by an immigration agent, and they did not travel as a religious group and there were no pastors or religious instructors among them.

The main factors to account for the massive emigration of Germans as a whole during the nineteenth century were economic and accompanying social conditions, a conclusion expressed by Charles Meyer (who drew on the analyses of Monckmeier and Marschalck), and also by historians Mack Walker, Hajo Holborn, and E. J. Passant. Economic conditions in Germany were generally poor throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, with wages remaining fairly constant but prices of basic commodities rising by fifty per cent from 1820 to 1850. For much of the century the living conditions of many Germans were very precarious. The continued increase in the German population during the nineteenth century was both a determinant and a result of changing economic and social conditions. In spite of the heavy emigration during the century the population increased from less than twenty-five million in 1815 to thirty-five million in 1850, and forty million in 1870. In the early part of the century the population increase was attributable to a high birth rate without any decline in the death rate, but later in the century better hygiene, medical care and social

8. ibid
conditions enhanced life expectancy.\textsuperscript{16} In the middle years of the century, 'neither industry nor agriculture expanded rapidly enough to enable the whole of the increased population to maintain its existing standard of living.'\textsuperscript{17} Over-population became apparent, as Meyer put it, 'not as an absolute quantity but rather the disproportion between land boundaries, earning possibilities, living needs, and population growth.'\textsuperscript{18} While numbers of Germans had migrated in earlier times much larger migration commenced after the Napoleonic wars.\textsuperscript{19}

In the earlier stages the main emigration was from south-western Germany, and consisted of small farmers, independent village shopkeepers and artisans. In Baden, Württemberg and the Palatinate there was no primogeniture system, and the division of land among large families led to farms of ever-decreasing size, the 'dwarf economy.'\textsuperscript{20} In the Hessen states the peasants' holdings were being bought out and consolidated by wealthy landowners, and many peasants migrated to the cities or became wage labourers on large estates.\textsuperscript{21} The disasters of the late 1840s worsened economic and social conditions. The potato blight evident from 1842 became widespread in 1845 and 1846, and there was a grain failure in 1845 and a typhus epidemic in 1846. Prices rose and imports of grain became necessary. Flight from the countryside swelled the numbers of unemployed in the cities.\textsuperscript{22} In 1847 the number of emigrants rose above 100,000 for the first time, and the emigrants included a higher proportion of wage labourers and poor.\textsuperscript{23}

From the 1850s it became easier to emigrate from Germany. Emigration appeared to be a permanent movement, and began to take on the features of an industry. Sea and rail transport improved, and companies engaged in the migration trade grew in size and efficiency, with networks of agents centred on Hamburg, Bremen and other cities.\textsuperscript{24} Some communities paid the cost of migration of the poor in preference to the cost of what appeared likely to be perpetual support.\textsuperscript{25} Governments in some states legislated to regulate emigration brokers.\textsuperscript{26} Between 1850 and 1859 over one million emigrated, with a quarter of a million in 1855 alone.\textsuperscript{27} The sources of emigrants spread

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\textsuperscript{16} E. J. Passant, op. cit., p. 80; Hajo Holborn, op. cit., p. 368.
\textsuperscript{17} E. J. Passant, op. cit., p. 81.
\textsuperscript{18} Charles Meyer, op. cit., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{19} Charles Meyer, op. cit., p. 9; Hajo Holborn, op. cit., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{20} Charles Meyer, op. cit., p. 11; Hajo Holborn, op. cit., p. 7.
\textsuperscript{21} Charles Meyer, loc. cit
\textsuperscript{22} Hajo Holborn, op. cit., p. 14.
\textsuperscript{24} Mack Walker, op. cit., pp. 159, 168.
\textsuperscript{25} Hajo Holborn, op. cit., p. 122; Mack Walker, op. cit., p. 154.
\textsuperscript{26} Mack Walker, op. cit., p. 168.
\textsuperscript{27} Hajo Holborn, op. cit., p. 122; Mack Walker, op. cit., p. 154.
to the inland areas of Saxony and Thuringia, and to Brunswick, Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein, and later to the northeast, East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and Mecklenburg. The great majority were from rural districts, and were below the middle class, mainly artisans and those who owned no land. The German emigration rate fell in the late 1850s and early 1860s, although it was to rise again in the late 1860s. In the late 1850s there was a reaction against immigration in America, the most popular destination, and in the international situation associated with the Crimean War the German states wished to maintain a manpower reserve for military purposes. In the early 1860s when the first of the Germans who were to settle at Bethania were emigrating the Civil War curtailed shipping to America. In the early 1870s, after unification in 1871, German emigration tended to rise, possibly because of uncertainty after the Franco-Prussian war, but then slowed down, with a steady decline after 1885 associated with rapid but spasmodic industrial growth.

In Prussia, the source of the first settlers at Bethania, under the reforms of the early nineteenth century the small peasants had been released from their feudal obligations. The large landholders were gradually able to expand their holdings at the expense of the smaller farmers. As Mack Walker stated, 'Agriculture became a profitable pursuit for owners, instead of a means of subsistence for warriors and governors ... and the system of personal obligations and payments in kind was changed to one of capitalist operation with day labour.' Crops became more specialised and employment more seasonal. The labour laws placed the landless labourers so much at the mercy of their employers that it was said that 'serfage' still existed in spirit and to some extent in fact. The Gutsherr (equivalent of lord of the manor) was not only the master in an economic sense but also exercised public authority. There was a widening economic and social gap between landowners and their workers and tenant-farmers.

33. ibid.
34. Mack Walker, op. cit., p. 162.
35. ibid., p. 163.
37. ibid.
Two brief comments in Kleinschmidt's reminiscences support the view that the main reason for migrating was economic. According to Kleinschmidt some of the Uckermarkers became interested in migrating through letters from migrants to Queensland and enquired of an immigration agent for more precise information on the climate, the soil and the land laws. The comment of Ebert to Kleinschmidt's father, that in the colony the land would belong to them and their children, indicated ownership of land as an attraction. The main incentive offered by the Queensland government in the 1860s to attract migrants was the prospect of land ownership.

Ebert was the owner of a block of land, and Kleinschmidt rented a house and garden. Apart from this we do not have details of the economic circumstances of the individual families, but the migrants who left Germany in the early 1860s and took up land at Bethania appear to have been fairly representative of the German emigrants at that time. The first five families to take up land, the Berndt, Ebert, Holzheimer, Schneider and Tesch families, were from the Uckermark in Brandenborg, Prussia. There were other families from the Uckermark, and some such as the Fels family from different parts of Prussia. The Goll and Lotz families came from Hesse-Darmstadt, the Eppinger and Thumm Families from Württemberg, and the Niehuus family from Holstein. From the evidence of land orders issued in their own names, it appears that some of the migrants had sufficient resources to pay their own fares. Most had to have their fares paid for them. The occupations of the migrants included artisans of various kinds, carpenter, joiner, blacksmith, bricklayer, and occupations associated with the land, described as the German equivalents of farmer, workman and labourer. Colonial government assistance was necessary for the migration of persons of limited means.

Both the New South Wales and Queensland governments made deliberate efforts to attract rural immigrants. In Queensland, in particular, immigration was linked to land settlement and attempts to establish a farming population. Both governments accepted that immigration would have to be funded by the government, and the practices adopted by Queensland drew on those developed by New South Wales. Government efforts had been preceded by earlier migrations of Germans, including a small number who had established themselves in Sydney and Brisbane. Both the New South Wales and Queensland government immigration schemes relied on private enterprise to actually bring in the

immigrants with the government providing subsidies, and businessmen were instrumental in bringing in German immigrants, with at least two to them, Kirchner and Heussler, having official status as immigration agents.

The New South Wales bounty regulations of 1835 provided assistance for 'foreigners brought to the colony for the cultivation of the vine or olive or for the manufacture of wine or oil,' but in only two cases were bounties provided to settlers who introduced foreigners, and after 1837 this assistance was discontinued. The systematic immigration of Germans to New South Wales began in 1849 under the bounty regulations of 1847. The amount of the bounty for a person bringing in immigrants was £36 for a man and wife, £18 for a child over fourteen years, £9 for a younger child. The bounty of £18 was intended to cover the cost of bringing in an immigrant. Shipping costs for shiploads of migrants were quoted at amounts from £12 to £15 per head, and there were opportunities for profit for an entrepreneur who could keep recruitment costs low, contract for shipping, and arrange the disposal of migrants soon after arrival. In recognition of the fact that 'many commodities producible in the Colony, such as wine, oil, silk, &c., are not produced in the United Kingdom, and the skilled labourers requisite for their culture or manufacture cannot in consequence be obtained by the Colony from the Mother Country,' the bounty was extended to persons who brought in for their own services 'emigrants from the Continent of Europe.' In a further extension of the bounty system, regulations of 1859 provided for the issue of bounty tickets to naturalized foreigners who wished to nominate relatives who were 'mechanics of any description, domestic servants, and all persons of the laboring class,' and paid a deposit.

Although the bounty regulations applied to migrants from the continent generally, most of the foreign migrants to arrive were Germans. Wilhelm Kirchner was deputed by the New South Wales government to return to Germany to recruit immigrants and published a book in German on the advantages for emigrants in Australia, containing selections from the letters of earlier migrants. German merchants in Sydney and Brisbane advertised their services and arranged for the engagement and transport of migrants whose indentures were then assigned to the actual employers. After two years of indentured service on low wages the migrants were free to seek employment in towns or rural areas or take up land if they had the

42. New South Wales Legislative Council 1859, Foreign Immigration, 14 September 1859.
means. In 1849 three ships to Port Phillip and two to Sydney disembarked the first significant groups of German settlers in the Colony. Almost 4,000 Germans migrated within four years and were in great demand for their agricultural abilities, especially for the cultivation of grape vines and also for wine making. In Brisbane, Heussler & Co. advertised their services as agents, and J. C. Heussler visited Germany in 1854 to arrange migrants. In endorsing the importation of Germans the editor of the Moreton Bay Courier stated: 'It is quite unnecessary to enlarge upon the great value of the Germans as labourers. Their frugal and industrious habits never fail to become apparent in any spot where they locate themselves, and next to immigrants from the United Kingdom, they are unquestionably the most desirable persons.' German migrants for the Moreton Bay District were transshipped in Sydney or at the behest of their employers were sent overland to the Darling Downs until March 1855 when the Merbz and the Aurora brought German migrants directly to Brisbane.

The application of German migrants to the occupations referred to in the regulations does not appear to have been enforced or checked, and many were employed by pastoralists. My great-great-grandfather, Adam Holzberger from Baden, arrived in Brisbane in 1855, his occupation given as 'vine dresser.' There were only six acres of vines in the Moreton Bay District at that time, and he was employed as a 'shepherd' at Gayndah. On completion of his period of servitude he became the original owner of a small block at Bulimba, then a farming area supplying produce to Brisbane.

After the separation of Queensland in 1859, German migration to the remainder of New South Wales slowed, and most of the Germans coming to eastern Australia went to the new colony. The Queensland government followed New South Wales in recognising the need for continued government assistance for immigration. It linked its immigration policy more directly to its land settlement policy. Germans who settled at Bethania were indebted to both the immigration and the land settlement policies of the Queensand government.

46. Moreton Bay Courier, 2 December 1854.
47. ibid. 9 December 1854.
48. ibid. 24 March 1855.
49. Holzberger family records in my possession.
The new Queensland government assumed responsibility for an area of 559,000 square miles, 'about three times the size of Spain,' and of that less than one quarter was occupied, an area of 119,370 square miles, 'about the same as that of Great Britain and Ireland.' The government had vast areas of land at its disposal, but it had little money, and there was only a small population. The new Governor, Sir George Bowen, found just 7½d. (seven pence ha'penny) in the Treasury, which a thief carried off a few nights later, and he had to borrow money from the banks until revenue came in. The white population was estimated in 1859 at 25,000, and the census count in April 1861 was 30,059, including 2,124 German-born. These counts did not include the Aborigines 'whose numbers are variously but vaguely stated at from 10 to 15,000.'

To have the lands of the colony productively utilised involved two separate but overlapping issues. Occupancy of the vast areas of the colony required the encouragement of pastoralists who in 1860 accounted for ninety per cent of the exports and seventy per cent of the revenue of the colony. Agricultural settlement had to be expanded to reduce the heavy reliance on imports of agricultural products. The first statistics published, for 1860, showed that only 3,353 acres in the whole colony were devoted to agriculture. The 1,280 acres cultivated in the vicinity of Brisbane produced only one month's supply of the city's annual requirements of maize and potatoes.

As a comprehensive land policy, the first Queensland parliament in August-September 1860 passed four Acts to replace and extend the land legislation taken over from New South Wales. The three 'pastoral Acts' which set out the conditions for pastoral leases and provided a measure of security for pastoralists were not relevant to the Bethania settlement. The Alienation of Crown Lands Act 1860 not only contained provisions to regulate the sale of Crown land but also to subsidise cotton-growing and immigration. The Act continued the N.S.W. practice of unconditional sale of land by public auction at a price of not less than one pound per acre, and it provided for the...
proclamation of towns and villages. Its more innovative provisions covered the conditional sale of land in agricultural reserves and a premium payable in land orders on the export of cotton. The Act also authorised the issue of land orders for immigration.

In June 1860 the Legislative Assembly appointed a select committee 'to consider and report on the best means of promoting immigration to the colony of Queensland.' The committee's most important recommendation was adapted from a New Zealand practice and was for encouraging immigration by issue of land orders to immigrants or their sponsors. The committee was in favour of the appointment of a 'Selecting Agent' in Great Britain to disseminate knowledge of the colony and by means of lectures and advertisements point out to desirable immigrants 'the many advantages offered by Queensland.' In evidence to the committee, Dr John Dunmore Lang recommended that a 'certain proportion of the immigrants should be allowed to be imported from Germany' as, compared with other continental Europeans, Germans assimilated most speedily with the British and 'the agricultural classes of that country are an industrious people,' and by way of proof he referred to the experience of South Australia. The committee recommended that the 'advantages' of the proposed scheme 'be extended to skilled German labourers or mechanics.'

A year later the Ipswich correspondent of the Courier declared the Germans a 'truly valuable class of emigrants' who dreaded the long voyage too much to go home again. The editor of the Courier endorsed bringing in Germans if the colony was unable to obtain sufficient British migrants.

We know of no people so likely to well substitute a British population as the Germans. Sprung from the same parent race, plodding and industrious, frugal and virtuous, and accustomed even more than Britons to the pursuits best suited to this climate and a young country, there are a thousand inducements to prefer German immigration to any other save British. The experience of both America and Australia establishes the worth of Germans as colonists, and did we wish to particularize, we could even in Queensland point to instances of the fruits of German industry highly beneficial to the country, and creditable to them as a class.

56. Moreton Bay Courier, 2 June 1860.
61. Courier, 13 August 1861.
The editor considered that the introduction of German families for pastoral purposes or cotton cultivation would be 'cheaper and better in the end' than the introduction of 'Coolies or Mongolians.'

The issue of land orders was provided for in Section 20 of the *Alienation Act* and in the *Immigration Regulations* of 1860. The effect of these was that an adult immigrant who came direct from Europe and paid his own fare was entitled to a land order for £18. Alternatively, when the fare was paid by an agent, the agent was entitled to the £18 land order. When the immigrant had resided two years continuously in Queensland, and, if not a British subject, had been naturalised, a further land order for £12 was issued to the immigrant. Two children over the age of four years and under fourteen years counted as one adult. The land order replaced the bounty under the New South Wales scheme, and the amount was kept at £18 per statute adult. The requirement that migrants serve under indentures disappeared, but it was anticipated that those who had not paid their own fares would have two years in employment until they became eligible for their £12 land orders. The Queensland government would accept land orders in payment or part-payment for land. It would not exchange them for cash. However a market in land orders did develop, and recipients of land orders could trade them for cash, but at a discount, to persons who would then use them for purchase of land from the government. To counter some abuses and limit speculation subsequent regulations in 1862 limited the issue of land orders to migrants arriving by vessel direct from Europe (and not via another colony), and also provided that land orders would be received only as payment for country lands including land in agricultural reserves, while town and suburban lands would have to be paid for in cash. Germans were not mentioned specifically in the Act or Regulations, both of which referred more generally to migrants from Europe. The first Germans to take up land at Bethania had received land orders, but for others the land orders were issued to the agents who had arranged their fares.

The *Immigration Act* of 1864 repealed and replaced the immigration provisions of the 1860 *Alienation Act*. The 1864 Act provided that the person who paid the full cost of the passage of an immigrant approved by the Agent-General for Emigration from Europe to Queensland was entitled to a land order of £30 for each person over twelve years of age and £15 for each child between the ages of one and twelve years.
A land order was not transferable and could be used for purchase of country or suburban lands, but while the land order was available immediately on arrival in the colony, a deed of grant would not issue until the purchaser of the land had resided in the colony for two years. The 1864 Act also provided for assisted passages for some immigrants and for the nomination of immigrants by friends or relatives. The conditions for issuing land orders were changed at various times until 1875 when the system was discontinued.66

The Queensland government continued supervised and assisted immigration for the rest of the century. Although some of the Bethania settlers appear to have nominated or assisted others to migrate the later government immigration schemes were generally not relevant to the settlement of Bethania.

Brisbane agents in 1860 announced their willingness 'to establish a continuance of German immigration,' soliciting orders from squatters and selectors. They were prepared to select and enter into agreements with servants for their employers and to provide the conveyance of migrants. The agents were also prepared to finance the migrants, pointing out that 'no outlay of passage money on the part of the employer is required,' and that those who paid the fare of an adult immigrant were entitled to a land order for £18. Geo. Raff & Co. advertised themselves as agents for the shipping firm J. C. Godeffroy and Sohn of Hamburg, and Heussler and Francksen as agents for H. Bischoff and Co. of Bremen.67 Later Heussler and Francksen were associated with the Godeffroy company.

Henry Jordan was appointed by the Queensland government as its Immigration Agent in England at a salary of £600 and expenses, and he resigned from the Legislative Assembly and disposed of his dental practice to take up his appointment.68 Of more interest for German immigration was the appointment of an immigration agent for the continent.

John Christian Heussler was appointed in March 1861 as Immigration Agent for Queensland on the Continent of Europe in a capacity similar to that of Jordan, but without a salary, and with an allowance of £200 per annum for travelling expenses.69 Articles on Heussler have been published by Delphine Nagel and by Alan Corkhill, and

67. For example, Moreton Bay Courier, 1 and 3 November, 1860.
68. Queensland Government Gazette 1860, No. 67, 17 November 1860, p. 401; No. 69, 21 November 1860, p. 411; North Australian, 5 October 1860; Moreton Bay Courier, 6 October 1860, 3 November 1860.
in 2001 a biography by one of his descendants. Heussler, who preferred to be known as 'John' rather than 'Johann,' had migrated to Victoria from Germany in 1852 and settled in Brisbane in 1854. His business as a general merchant, importer and exporter had included bringing in German immigrants under the New South Wales bounty scheme. As Heussler himself explained, he had 'contemplated a visit to Germany, with a view to introducing German Colonists under the land-order system, and to ensure success' had applied for the appointment which had the recommendation of members of the Legislative Assembly. His duties included the personal inspection of migrants, the engaging of licensed immigration agents, negotiations with shipping firms and the overseeing of departure arrangements. Based in Frankfurt, he travelled extensively in the German states, contacted government officials and private immigration agents and endeavoured to publicize the advantages of migrating to Queensland. Heussler's 1862 book *Kurze Beschreibung der neuen Colonie Queensland in Australien* was published in Frankfurt, and he also claimed authorship of a pamphlet which had been favourably mentioned in several papers. In October 1861 he reported: 'The war in America has put nearly a stop to the Emigration from Germany to that country and there is no doubt that many who would have gone there will be induced to go to Queensland after they know of the advantages offered in Queensland.

Heussler's official activities and his private business activities seem to have overlapped. As the official immigration agent for Queensland he arranged with the shipping company Godeffroy for ships to carry the migrants. As the shipper he arranged payment of the fares of migrants who could not pay their own fares, and the land orders for these were later issued to Heussler & Co. A petition from German residents to the Legislative Assembly in July 1863 complained that Heussler was using his office 'more for his own benefit than for the good of the Colony or the immigrants,' and asked for 'a salaried agent precluded by the terms of his appointment from speculation or jobbery.'

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72. Alan Corkhill, op. cit., p. 12.

73. Delphine Nagel, op. cit., p. 124; Alan Corkhill, op. cit., p. 13; Queensland State Archives file, COL/A30, 62/1573, 21 April 1862, report of J.C.Heussler to Colonial Secretary.

74. Queensland State Archives file, COL/A21, 61/2587, 16 October 1861, report of J.C.Heussler to Colonial Secretary.

Heussler complained that he had been unable to recover the advances made for young children not covered or only partly covered by land orders. On the death of his business partner Francksen in Brisbane he had to return to Brisbane in 1863, and left the immigration business in the hands of Godeffroy and Co., whom he authorised to continue arrangements until the end of the year. Heussler applied unsuccessfully to three successive ministries in 1867 and 1868 for reimbursement of expenses, and in 1872 petitioned the Legislative Assembly for a grant of £5,000 to reimburse his loss on immigration, including the cost of three ships placed in quarantine. The motion to refer his petition to a select committee was lost, and the petition was not further considered. Heussler was appointed a member of the Legislative Council in 1866, the only German ever to be so appointed. In 1863 shortly after his return from Europe he was appointed Consul for the Netherlands, and Consul for the German Empire in 1880. On his death in 1907 he was described as 'one of the fathers of the colony.' German immigration to Queensland was suspended in 1866 mainly because of the government's financial crisis. When resumed in 1869 it was made the responsibility of Wilhelm Kirchner, a former immigration agent for New South Wales, who was given the title of Agent-General for Queensland.

Heussler claimed to have introduced 6,000 German colonists to Queensland. The *Susanne Godeffroy* with 430 passengers was one of the migrant ships arranged by him. Heussler also claimed that he took 'great personal trouble' to settle colonists, and especially that he was instrumental 'with the kind assistance of the Rev. Hausmann' in settling a number of them on the banks of the Logan River. However although some church histories refer to his participation, there is no direct evidence that he was personally involved in the settlement of the Germans on the land at Bethania.

The provision of land for agriculture under the *Alienation of Crown Lands Act 1860* was 'based on two principles - auction at the minimum price of £1, and selection in agricultural reserves ... the whole forming a structure of supervised selection opposed to the free selection of New South Wales.' The Queensland government did not need
free selection policies as competition for land between farmers and pastoralists was not
evident in 1860. Selection or purchase was permitted only in proclaimed areas and only
after survey. Lands offered for sale were to be divided into town, suburban and country
lots. The sale of town and suburban lots is not followed here, except insofar as the sale
of land in the town of Waterford was later to be of interest to the Bethania Germans.
The practice of selling small blocks of country land by public auction was continued.
The Bethania Germans were to acquire their first land under this scheme. The
Queensland government also introduced agricultural reserves, and it was under this
scheme that the first small holdings of agricultural land on the Logan were offered.
Under both schemes the minimum area was generally forty acres. The minimum price
for country lands was set at £1 per acre to limit speculation, and as the pick of the land
would be the first alienated and was worth the price, although it was argued that a lower
price was necessary to encourage migrants from England and other colonies for the
rapid development of agriculture.85 The minimum price of £1 was abandoned in 1868 as
it was then considered to be far too much for most of the available land.86

Agricultural reserves were provided for in sections 10 to 15 of the Alienation of
Crown Lands Act 1860. These sections were repealed by the Agricultural Reserves Act
1863, which generally repeated them with some amendments. Agricultural reserves
were to be proclaimed on shores of navigable waters or close to towns, and set apart for
agricultural production. Allotments would be surveyed in blocks of from forty to 160
acres, and would not be sold, but would be available by selection at a fixed price of £1
per acre. A selector was required to pay the full amount in advance, with title in twelve
months if he complied with residence, fencing and cultivation requirements. He could
also lease contiguous blocks for five years and purchase them during the currency of the
lease. In relation to the Darling Downs, Waterson observed, 'the 40-acre farm was an
estate indeed to the impoverished Irish or German immigrant but was useless for
profitable settlement unless adjoining a town and on good well-watered land.'87 On the
other hand, Kingston noted, 'the size of selections permitted in the agricultural reserves
make it quite possible for the selector to become a grazier on a small scale.'88
Complaints of reserves 'laid down among quartz ridges, tea-tree swamps, or stiff-clay
flats'89 did not apply to the Logan reserve, although most of the land within its

85. Moreton Bay Courier, 25 August 1860, 30 August 1860, 4 September 1860.
86. Queensland Parliamentary Debates, 18 December 1867, p. 771.
87. D. B. Waterson, Squatter, Selector, and Storekeeper, A History of the Darling Downs, 1859-93,
Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1968, p. 120.
88. B. R. Kingston, 'The Search for an Alternative to Free Selection in Queensland,' Queensland
89. Courier, 6 November 1862.
boundaries was not genuinely arable, and only patches along the river bank could be cultivated.

Changes in government policy were introduced by the *Crown Lands Alienation Act 1868*. That Act repealed the *Agricultural Reserves Act* and effectively abolished agricultural reserves. It replaced the minimum price of £1 per acre with lower variable prices for different classes of land. The 1868 Act also provided for the resumption of lands on pastoral runs for closer settlement. If a pastoral tenant divided his run into two parts, the government would resume the part more likely to be required for closer settlement, and grant the pastoral tenant a lease of ten years over the remaining part. The resumed part had to be not less than eight square miles in one block, and twelve months notice and resolutions of both Houses of the Parliament were required for a resumption. Selectors could obtain larger acreages with varied prices and time payment under conditional purchase or homestead conditions. This legislation was of indirect interest to the German settlers at Bethania as when earlier settlers attracted by the new conditions moved out to take up land formerly on cattle runs the Germans were able to acquire their land. Other changes to legislation which later enabled the Germans to buy larger low quality blocks used as 'back paddocks' are not followed here as these were of little consequence to the German settlement.

There was no agricultural development on the Logan prior to the 1860s. Under New South Wales administration, after the last convicts were withdrawn from the Moreton Bay district pastoralists had occupied the area of the upper Logan, and by 1860 the sheep originally brought over the range from the Darling Downs had mainly been replaced by cattle. In 1862 a low level bridge was opened across the upper Logan at what was later known as McLean on the track from Brisbane to the cattle runs. There is little information on cattle runs in the areas farther down the Logan to be settled in the early 1860s. Some of the land for closer settlement on the right bank of the Logan was surveyed out of Henderson's cattle run based on Jimboomba, and some on the left bank out of Fitzgerald's run at Tygum. Further south on the left bank was the run of Slack whose name is commemorated in Slack's Creek. It is probable that some of the land to be settled had been held under New South Wales regulations on square mile section leases which required annual renewal and that the leases on the land required were not renewed. But the heavily timbered areas on the river banks in which agriculture was to be commenced were not attractive for graziers. These cattle runs were not an impediment to agricultural development on the Logan at Bethania.

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90. *Courier*, 18 October 1862.
lower Logan had been traversed by timber-getters and others moving south from Brisbane. In 1861 or 1862 Waterman who also operated a store established a punt across the Logan less than two miles from where the Germans were to take up land. The punt was later taken over by Stone, and in 1865 Eden operated a licensed ferry. The town of Waterford was later planned on the right bank of the river near the ferry crossing.

Aborigines do not appear to have been considered in the plans for closer settlement on the Logan. Problems between Aborigines and the stations farther up the Logan had been resolved before closer settlement began. Aborigines were seldom referred to in any accounts of the settlement, and only a few Aboriginal place names were taken up by the settlers. Twenty years later the railway station was briefly given the Aboriginal name 'Kara Kara' before it became Bethania Junction. 'Pookgoor Creek,' near the area surveyed for the town of Waterford, is a name known only to surveyors, never used by local residents and not appearing in any writing on the district. 'Tygum' on the other side of the river near Waterford is the only Aboriginal place name generally known in the area.

The selectors on the agricultural reserve had taken their places before the Germans arrived and were to be their neighbours. The Logan Agricultural Reserve was proclaimed on 1 January 1861 and contained 20,000 acres on the left bank of the Logan about seventeen miles south-south-east from Brisbane, in the parish of Mackenzie. From near where the track from Brisbane to the cattle runs crossed the Logan it extended downstream to the junction with Slack's Creek. The first surveyed allotments were offered for selection on 13 January 1862, with 44 lots varying in size from 40 to 85 acres. A second offering of 63 lots was made on 2 April 1862. There was no rush of selectors. The first selection was applied for on 1 August 1862, and by March 1863, 68 of the 117 lots offered had been taken up, 27 purchased and 41 leased. The first selectors included land order immigrants recently arrived from Ireland on the Erin go Bragh migrant ship sponsored by Bishop Quinn, the Catholic Bishop of Brisbane. The earliest selections were at the northern or down-river end of the reserve, near the ferry crossing.

92. Brisbane Courier, 9 December 1865, 13 December 1865.
95. Queensland Government Gazette 1862, No. 21, pp. 127-8, 5 March 1862.
An Extension of the Logan Agricultural Reserve was proclaimed on 7 August 1863, 25,000 acres on the right bank of the Logan River in the parish of Moffatt opposite the original agricultural reserve. The reserve for the town of Waterford was later to be in this extension. The first offering of 268 allotments for selection in the extension was made on 1 September and a further 76 were offered on 3 November 1863.Selectors of the second offering included John H. Hinchcliffe and his sons, who purchased 51 acres and leased 136 acres, Michael O'Donnell, 53 acres purchased and 150 acres leased, and Harrison, Gilbanks and Penny, 43 acres purchased and 100 acres leased. The properties acquired by these were in part of the area now known as Bethania, and were separated by an unmade road from the land to be taken up by the Bethania Germans. John Hinchcliffe, an English migrant from Yorkshire, with training and experience as a surveyor and as a journalist, was to be of assistance in the selection of land by the Germans, and his sons were to teach them English.

The official Selector of Agricultural Reserves reported in September 1864 that nearly all the farms fronting the river on both banks had been taken up.

As yet there has not been any large amount of land brought under cultivation, as the settlers have been engaged in the preliminary work of fencing and clearing, but I have no doubt that there will be established here eventually a very prosperous agricultural community. The crops cultivated at present are potatoes, maize, oats, arrowroot, with a small quantity of sugar-cane, &c.

The Selector considered the land surveyed to be of good quality although heavily timbered, but the unsurveyed part of the reserve was generally composed of inferior land, and he recommended that no more of the reserve be surveyed. On the Selector's recommendation a second extension of 8,000 acres was proclaimed on 19 October 1864 downstream from the original reserve. A return to 31 December 1864 showed that of the 53,000 acres in the reserve and extensions 22,600 acres had been proclaimed for sale, and of this area 8,400 acres had been purchased or leased and 14,200 acres were available for selection. With the repeal of the Agricultural Reserves Act in 1868 previous purchasers and lessees in reserves retained their rights and obligations, but there was no longer any distinction between sales in the former reserves and other sales of land.
Cotton growers had also taken their place on the Logan before the Germans arrived. Under the *Alienation of Crown Lands Act 1860* the government sought to encourage the growing of cotton by providing for a premium payable in land orders on all cotton exported. Cotton growing was given further encouragement under regulations made in 1861 for conditional grants of land for cotton plantations. There were twenty applicants in various parts of Queensland for land for cotton plantations. The Queensland Co-operative Cotton Growing and Manufacturing Company applied in April 1863 and was given a conditional grant of 700 acres downstream from the Logan Agricultural Reserve and across the Logan River from the area to be taken up by the first German settlers. The company failed but was re-formed as the Albion Cotton Company. The cotton acreage and property improvements of this company were considered sufficient for the grant of a title deed to the land in January 1866. However by 1868 the Albion company had also failed. The plantation lands were later subdivided for farms.

The Logan Agricultural Reserve and the cotton plantation were not of immediate interest to the German settlers. They were however indicative of the efforts of the Queensland government to have the land settled, and of the type of land on the Logan. Later the lands in the Agricultural Reserve were to become an expansion area for the Germans when some of the original English and Irish settlers began to move out from about 1869. The cotton company lands also became an expansion area for the Germans when its estate was subdivided after the failure of the cotton venture. The Germans' first interest in land in Queensland was downriver from the reserve and across the river from the plantation. There were conditions for acquiring land in the Agricultural Reserve, but the Germans were able to receive immediately unconditional titles to land which had been offered at public auction. In the parish of Boyd allotments were offered for sale by public auction on 15 October 1863. As in the case of lands offered in the agricultural reserve there was little interest in the offering. The *Courier* reported: 'The attendance of the public was very poor, and the bidding was equalled by the attendance.' Only two lots were sold, both at the upset price of £1 per

106. ibid.
111. *Courier*, 16 October 1863.
acre and at a considerable distance downstream from where the Germans were to take up land. The unsold allotments then became available for selection at the upset price. It was to this land that some of the Germans who arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy* were introduced.

Map No. 3  BETHANIA AND THE LOGAN AGRICULTURAL RESERVE