

Chapter 3.

SETTLEMENT

The *Susanne Godeffroy* arrived at the anchorage in the roadstead in Moreton Bay on the afternoon of Monday 18 January 1864.¹ She had left Hamburg on 22 September 1863 and had some 430 German immigrants on board, most of whom came out under the agency of Heussler & Co.² The ship was visited by the health officer who reported that the passengers were in excellent health, but eleven children had died on the voyage from dysentery, croup and convulsions, and one adult from consumption.³ The immigrants were brought up the river to Brisbane by the steamer *Settler* on 21 January and landed at the immigration depot in South Brisbane between seven and eight o'clock in the evening.⁴

There are no contemporary reports of the stay of the *Susanne Godeffroy* immigrants at the migrant hostel at South Brisbane. It was reported that some earlier German immigrants who had arrived in the *Beausite* the previous September had been accommodated in tents provided by the government 'at the top to the ridge on which is erected the German Lutheran Chapel.'⁵ It is probable that circumstances such as those gave rise to the story that some *Susanne Godeffroy* immigrants were accommodated at Pastor Hausmann's church.

On Pastor J. G. Hausmann there are several larger and smaller biographies, including a 1964 thesis by Janette Nolan, a 1971 article by his descendant J. C. H. Gill, and a paragraph in Theile's history.⁶ (His name has a variety of spellings, with one or two s's or n's). Johann Gottfried Hausmann came to Queensland in 1838 among the Gossner missionaries who established German Station. The son of a farmer he had been taught various trades in preparation for the mission.⁷ Hausmann's missionary activities included extensive travel with Aborigines. After the mission was abandoned he studied for the ministry at Dr. J. D. Lang's Australian College in Sydney and was ordained in 1852. Hausmann served as an itinerant chaplain to German and English

1. *Courier*, 19 and 20 January 1864; *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 19 January 1864; *Queensland Times*, 20 January 1864.

2. *Courier*, 19 January 1864.

3. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 21 January 1864.

4. *Courier*, 22 January 1864.

5. *ibid*, 1 October 1863.

6. Janette Nolan, 'Pastor J. G. Haussmann, A Queensland Pioneer,' 1838-1901, B.A. Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1964; J. C. H. Gill, 'A German Jubilee, The Notable Career of Rev. J. G. Haussman,' in *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, Vol. 9. No. 2, 1970-71; F. O. Theile, *One Hundred Years of the Luthean Church in Queensland*, U.E.L.C.A., Brisbane, 1938, p. 156.

7. H. J. J. Sparks, *Queensland's First Free Settlement 1838-1938*, Centenary Committee, Brisbane, 1938, pp. 11-13.

settlers in Queensland, then moved to Victoria in 1855 as pastor to a congregation at German Town (later named Grovedale) and among other Germans. After his return to Queensland he helped establish a Lutheran congregation at South Brisbane in 1862, and was the pastor of that congregation and visited Germans in other areas. Hausmann took some of the *Susanne Godeffroy* immigrants to Bethania and helped with their settlement. In 1866 he moved to establish a mission station at 'Bethesda,' some distance south of Bethania. Hausmann was to have a larger place in the settlement of Bethania than is generally admitted in Lutheran church stories and histories.

There are various accounts of how the Germans were introduced to the Logan. The account mainly followed here, as the most detailed and plausible, is that of one of the Hinchcliffes, which appeared in the *Brisbane Courier* fifty years later.⁸ According to F. W. Hinchcliffe, Pastor Hausmann had become acquainted with some of the earliest English settlers on the Logan on their visits to German Station to buy horses and cattle, and at the end of 1863 had visited the Logan on a 'ministering and inspection visit.'⁹ He would have been aware that the blocks in the parish of Boyd which had been offered for sale in October 1863 and were not sold were then available for selection at the upset price of £1 per acre with immediate unconditional title. Hausmann accompanied a small party of the *Susanne Godeffroy* Germans to the Logan. There is no agreement on just who was in that party. It almost certainly included the five men from the *Susanne Godeffroy* who were to take up selections, and possibly some others. The party hired a dray with driver, at a cost it has been said of £2 10s., for a track which was barely passable for a two-wheeled vehicle and impossible for one with four wheels. They left the dray at the punt, crossed the river on the morning of the second day and made their way to Broomhill, the selection of the Hinchcliffes. As previously arranged by Hausmann, two of the Hinchcliffes showed the Germans around the blocks in the parish of Boyd which were available for selection. Hausmann acted as interpreter as none of the Germans could speak English. The party returned to 'Hinchcliffes' commodious tents' in the afternoon for lunch, and then returned to Brisbane which they reached the next day.¹⁰

The separate blocks available for selection could be identified. Corners of blocks were marked by stakes driven into the ground and by marks on trees. Trees on the boundary lines were marked and the boundary lines cleared to a width of three feet by removal of scrub and small trees. The boundaries of the blocks were straight lines, and ran north-south or east-west except where the river was a boundary. Directions to

8. F.W.H., 'Logan Pioneers, Fifty years Ago,' *Brisbane Courier*, 30 May 1914, p.17.

9. *ibid.*

10. *ibid.*

surveyors included: 'the first duty of the Surveyor will be to select the best lines of road passing through, and affording access to the several portions to be marked out,' and 'the portions to be measured are to be designed with frontages on such roads.'¹¹ A marked but unmade road separated the blocks from the selections on the extension to the Agricultural Reserve. This road runs north-south and it was later known as German Pocket Road and is now Station Road.

The first of the *Susanne Godeffroy* immigrants to select land at Bethania, Berndt, Ebert, Holzheimer, Schneider and Tesch, had all received land orders in their own names.¹² It must be presumed that they had paid their own fares. The largest amount in land orders was received by Christian Berndt who received land orders for himself, his wife, three children over fourteen years, and another land order for two children between four and fourteen years, adding up to six 'statute adults' at £18 each, and making a total of £108.¹³ The other immigrants received smaller amounts calculated on the same basis. The Berndt and Tesch families had members in the colony who had arrived in August 1863 on the *La Rochelle*.¹⁴ Land orders for these had been issued to Heussler & Co.

On 11 February 1864 the five men applied in Brisbane for their selections in the County of Ward, Parish of Boyd, and deeds of grant were issued on 13 April. Friedrich Ebert acquired portion 15 of fifty-nine acres, and Andreas Holzheimer portion 16 of fifty-eight acres.¹⁵ Christian Berndt, Gottlieb Schneider and Carl Tesch acquired three blocks in their joint names: portion 12, fifty-eight acres, portion 14, forty-eight acres and portion 26, sixty acres.¹⁶ On the day after that application, 12 February, two more blocks were applied for, and the deeds were also issued on 13 April. Portion 19 of forty-seven acres and portion 20 of forty acres were applied for in the joint names of C. Berndt, F. Ebert, G. Schneider, C. Tesch, A. Holzheimer and J. Hausmann.¹⁷ These two blocks were intended for subdivision.

The next step in the beginning of the settlement was to move from Brisbane to Bethania those who had selected land and also those who intended to acquire land. To convey their families together with luggage and stores to the Logan the settlers, with the

-
11. Queensland State Archives, COL A23, 63/1889 in 65/1715, 'Directions to be observed in marking Boundaries on Land mesured beyond the Limits of Towns,' attached to letter dated 23 July 1863 from Surveyor General to W. C. Boyd.
 12. Queensland State Archives, Registers Issue of Land Orders, IMM 247, 64/4767-8, 4771, 4774, 4786, 4790.
 13. Queensland State Archives, Registers Issue of Land Orers, IMM 247, 64/4767-8.
 14. Queensland State Archives, Registers Issue of Land Orders, IMM 247, 63/3265, 63/3266-7.
 15. Land Purchases 11 February 1864, Deeds 8109, 8110, Vol. 33, fol. 121, 122.
 16. Land Purchases 11 February 1864, Deeds 8106, 8107, 8108, Vol. 33, fol. 118, 119, 120.
 17. Land Purchases 12 February 1864, Deeds 8104, 8105, Vol. 33 fol. 116, 117.

help of Pastor Hausmann, chartered the *Diamond*, to convey them down the Brisbane River, along the Bay, and then up the Logan.¹⁸ The *Diamond* was a fifty-six-ton paddle steamer which had sailed from Melbourne to Brisbane in November 1863.¹⁹ It carried passengers and goods between Brisbane and Ipswich and to and from ships in the roadstead. The *Diamond* also had a regular weekly run to Cleveland.²⁰ Stories of its difficulties in the Bay may be discounted, but the Logan River was uncharted and seldom navigated by steamer. William Parker, who had made several trips in his own cutter which was considered too small for this task, was engaged to assist the captain as pilot.²¹

The ship has been referred to as the 'Black Diamond' apparently as a result of an 1880 report of an interview with Rehfeldt,²² and now there is a 'Black Diamond Crescent' in the nearby suburb of Eden's Landing. The name of that steamer was the *Diamond*, as my 1989 essay stated.²³ According to Brisbane newspapers a schooner *Black Diamond* brought cargoes to Brisbane in September 1860 and June 1864, and a brig *Black Diamond* was lost off Malaya in August 1867.²⁴ There were brief mentions in the shipping notes of the *Courier* and the *Guardian* that the *Diamond* left Raff's wharf early on the morning of 17 February 1864 to go to the Logan River with a party of Germans for a station there.²⁵

Descendants of most German families connected with Bethania claim to have had ancestors on the 'Black Diamond,' but there is no surviving contemporary list of passengers. The *Diamond* would carry only 100 passengers on the day trip from Brisbane to Ipswich²⁶ and one would expect a smaller number on the trip to Bethania with probably two nights on board. According to Ferdinand Kleinschmidt's reminiscences sixty years later there were twenty-two families, ninety-eight souls in all.²⁷

18. F.W.H., 'Logan Pioneers,' loc. cit.

19. *Courier*, 28 and 30 November 1863.

20. *ibid.*, 16 February 1864.

21. F.W.H., 'Logan Pioneers,' loc. cit.

22. *Logan Witness*, 4 September 1880.

23. Ray Holzheimer, 'German Pocket to Bethania Junction,' in Margaret Jenner (ed.), *Bethania the Early Years*, Bethania 125 Committee, Bethania, 1989.

24. *Moreton Bay Courier*, 18 September 1860; *Brisbane Courier*, 27 June 1864; *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 27 and 28 June 1864; *Queenslander*, 26 October 1867, p. 4.

25. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 17 February 1864; *Courier*, 18 February 1864.

26. Queensland State Archives, COL 56 1864/1792, letter from Bright Bros. & Co. to Colonial Secretary, dated 31 May 1864.

27. C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 2 Juli 1938, p. 21.

The settlers were landed on the bank at a bend of the river with deep water, on portion 26 taken up by Berndt, Tesch and Schneider.²⁸ (The approximate site is now marked by a memorial cairn erected in 1964). Their first task was to erect shelter, a 'greenhouse village' consisting of 'huts built of boughs and long grass.'²⁹ There are varying accounts of landing in the rain and so on. Again according to Kleinschmidt, there were a few fine days, and then the rain commenced and continued.³⁰ Pugh's *Almanac* states there was flooding on 10 February and then again on 20 March.³¹ From the *Courier*, it appears there was heavy rain for three weeks during which on 19 March a gale hit Brisbane. Both the Brisbane and Logan Rivers flooded, and on the Logan punts were washed away and crops of the earlier settlers including cotton were destroyed.³² A public meeting in Brisbane called for subscriptions for the relief of the 'distressed agricultural population,' (which at that time would not have included the Bethania Germans) but a fire in April destroyed part of the Brisbane business district.³³ The Logan was flooded for some time, and as Captain Parker's cutter was unable to bring provisions up the river, parties of the men walked to Brisbane to carry home supplies for their families, while one party went to German Station to buy some cattle.³⁴ The 1864 flood was the highest known in the Logan to that time. It was to be misleading as it was taken to have shown the maximum flood level until a much higher flood in 1887 caused considerable destruction.

As the settlers were organising their basic accommodation and supplies, subdivision and further acquisitions of land were proceeding. The information used here on land transactions is taken mainly from land title transfer records, but registrations of title transfers were in some cases later than the actual occupancy of blocks. Registers of land orders issued have been kept at the State Archives, but are incomplete. Information on the immigrants and their ships is partly from the immigration records at the Archives, but mainly from the work of Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, whose translations from the German emigration records contain more information.³⁵

The two blocks acquired in the names of Hausmann and the five original selectors were subdivided into fifteen equal blocks, each of five acres, two roods, and

28. *Brisbane Courier*, 26 May 1914, p. 17.

29. C. R. Hennings, loc. cit..

30. C. R. Hennings, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

31. *Pugh's Almanac 1866*, pp. 4 and 6.

32. *Courier*, 21, 26 and 30 March 1864.

33. *ibid.*, 16 April 1864.

34. F.W.H., 'Logan Pioneers,' loc. cit.; C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 9 Juli 1938, p. 21.

35. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, (comps.) *Emigrants from Hamburg to Australia*, Queensland Family History Society, various years.

eight perches. With the requirement that the blocks have a road frontage, each block was a long narrow strip from the road to the river, with the median block two chains wide and approximately twenty-seven chains long. Because of survey problems there were delays in registering the titles. Transfers of the titles to the two blocks were registered in August 1866 to James Warner, a surveyor, apparently an accommodation to allow the two titles to be consolidated and then subdivided.³⁶ In the time interval between the Germans' occupation of their five-acre-two-rod subdivisions and the registration of their titles there were some changes in the owners. There are differences between the list of owners shown on a sketch map dated July 1865 attached to the surveyor's report, and a list of title transfers actually registered. The 1865 sketch map numbered the subdivisions south-to-north, the actual titles were numbered north-to-south.

Sketch Map ³⁷		Title Transfers Registered ³⁸		
Subdiv.	Name	Subdiv.	Name	Date registered
1	Lobegier	15	Gottlieb Lobegier	10 Oct 1866
2	Somers	14	Wilhelm Sommer	4 Dec 1866
3	Goll	13	Kasper Goll	20 Aug 1867
4	Schaefer	12	W. A. Miller	9 Oct 1866
			Kasper Goll	3 Feb 1869
5	Lots	11	Johannes Lotz	7 Oct 1867
6	Goll	10	Johannes Goll	5 Sept 1866
7	Bobermien	9	William Bobermien	18 Oct 1866
8	Hien	8	William Schubel	18 Oct 1866
9	Noa	7	C. W. A. Barwell	20 Sept 1866
			G. F. Wilhelm Gotsch	26 Aug 1873
10	Sechter	6	Martin Sichter	18 Oct 1866
11	Rehfeldt	5	Carl Rehfeldt	18 Oct 1866
12	Kuter	4	August Kuter	18 Oct 1866
13	Felts	3	Martin Fels	18 Jul 1870
14	Kroning	2	Friedrich Kroning	7 Nov 1867
15	Fien	1	Wilhelm Muchow	21 Apr 1868

Of the occupiers shown on the July 1865 sketch map, Schaefer, Hien (Hein), Noa (Noe) and Fien did not have titles registered to the blocks they occupied only briefly at Bethania. Schaefer, Noe and Fien had been passengers on the *Susanne Godeffroy* and Hein had arrived on the *Beausite* in September 1863.³⁹ Title to a block downstream was registered in the name of Fien in February 1865, and to a block in the

36. Certificate of Title 17065, Vol. 86, fol. 85.

37. Queensland State Archives, 1/2A 5/6 1865, Plan of part of Parish of Boyd, Surveyor General's Office, 25 July 1865 (stamp).

38. Certificate of Title 17065, Vol. 86, fol. 85, transfers Vol. 99, fol. 53 (Goll), 101/88, 191-5, (Lobegier, Rehfeldt, Sichter, Bobermien, Schubel, Kuter), 106/5 (Sommer), 119/135 (Goll), 122/10 (Lotz), 129/149 (Muchow), 141/36 (Goll), 163/191 (Fels), 173/170 (Kroning), 207/105 (Gotsch).

39. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1863, pp. 70, 68, 64, 32.

name of Hein in September 1865.⁴⁰ Schaefer and Noe later had properties on the Logan. Two blocks were registered initially to non-Germans, Miller and Barwell, for reasons unknown, and later transferred to Germans.

Nine of those who acquired titles to these blocks arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy*. Six of the nine (Bobermien, Kroning, Kuter, Lobegier, Rehfeldt and Sichter) were from the Uckermark, and three (the Goll brothers and Lotz) were from Hesse-Darmstadt.⁴¹ The land order records are incomplete for Bobermien, but show that first land orders for all of the others were issued to Heussler & Co.⁴² Three of the settlers had arrived on earlier ships, Fels and Sommer in August 1863 on the *Alster* and *La Rochelle* respectively, Muchow in September 1863 on the *Beausite*.⁴³ Sommer and Muchow were from the Uckermark, and Fels was from Posen also in Prussia. First land orders for Fels and Muchow were issued to Heussler & Co, and that for Sommer has not been traced, all three having received their second land orders before they took up land at Bethania.⁴⁴ The only later arrival was Gotsch, from the Uckermark, on the second voyage of the *Susanne Godeffroy* in September 1865.⁴⁵ His land orders have not been traced. So far the records of Schubel's arrival and land orders have not been identified.

On 18 March 1864 Hausmann was involved in the purchase of two more blocks for subdivision, this time with two Württembergers, Charles Thumm and John Eppinger, who had arrived on 19 February in the *Flying Cloud* out of London, and received first land orders in their own names.⁴⁶ The two blocks taken up were portion 17 of seventy-eight acres and portion 18 of sixty-three acres.⁴⁷ After preliminary consolidation of the two blocks and then subdivision among Hausmann, Thumm and Eppinger, disposals between May 1865 and February 1867 of further subdivisions resulted in the following ownerships:⁴⁸

Charles Thumm	43 acres	April 1865
August Ludwig	12 "	May 1865
Ferdinand Kasper	12 "	September 1865
John Niehaus	10 "	September 1865
Martin Egert	4 "	September 1865
John Eppinger	10 acres	March 1865
Friedrich Radke	9 "	February 1867
Carl Hinze	6 "	January 1867
Carl F. W. Schilling	12 "	February 1867
Friedrich Mollenhagen	12 "	February 1867
Christian Willert	12 acres	February 1867

40. Queensland State Archives file SUR 6. Survey Office, Register of Land Open for Selection and of the Purchase of Such Land, Jan. 1861 - Jan. 1867, Film Z4334, folios 4-6, 37-7.

41. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1863, pp. 62-5, 69-70.

Four of these had arrived on ships earlier than the *Susanne Godeffroy*. Kasper, Mollenhagen and Willert, all from the Uckermark, came on the *Beausite* in September 1863, and Niehaus (or Niehuus) from Holstein on the *San Francisco* in November 1863.⁴⁹ There were also four later arrivals all from the Uckermark, Ludwig on the *Beausite* in February 1865, Radke on the *Johan Cesar* in February 1866, and Hinze and Schilling both on the *Cesar Godeffroy* also in February 1866.⁵⁰ The immigration record for Egert was not found. Incomplete records show that Radke received one £30 land order.⁵¹ Niehaus possibly received his own land orders. Again records are incomplete but it appears that first land orders for Kasper, Mollenhagen and Willert were issued to Heussler & Co, and their second land orders were due in September 1865, before their titles were registered.⁵² No record has been traced of land orders for Ludwig, Hinze and Schilling. The 1865 sketch map showed Enkelmann as occupier of a small block but apparently no land was transferred to him.

Ownership of the three portions taken in the name of Berndt, Schneider and Tesch were re-organised. Portions 12 and 14 totalling some 106 acres were subdivided and transfers of the subdivisions registered from April to October 1866.⁵³

Gottfried Schneider	35 acres
Christian Tesch	4 "
Christian Berndt	4 "
Carl Tesch	4 "
Carl Tesch	9 "
Christian Berndt	48 acres

The subdivisions appear to have been intended to give them all access to the river and the more fertile land on its bank. Portion 26 of sixty acres was transferred to Berndt in

-
42. Queensland State Archives, Registers Issue of Land Orders, IMM 247 64/2089-90, 5102, 5113, 5122, 5147, 5189, 5198.
43. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1863, p. 6.
44. Queensland State Archives, Registers Issue of Land Orders, IMM 247 63/3213-4, 3732, IMM 253 65/2856, 2925, 3465.
45. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1865, p. 47.
46. Queensland State Archives, Registers of Issue of Land Orders, IMM 247, 64/5018-9, 5041.
47. Land Purchases 18 March 1864, Deeds 8566, 8567, Vol. 37, fol 78, 79.
48. Certificate of Title 6714, Vol. 56, fol. 234 (Thumm), 7889 66/159 (Ludwig), 8770 72/40 (Egert), 8771 72/41 (Kasper), 8772 72/42 (Fppinger), 8773 72/43 (Niehaus), 13900 108/170 (Hinze), 13901 108/171 (Radke), 13902 108/172 (Willert), 13903 108/173 (Mollenhagen), 13904 108/174 (Schilling).
49. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1863 pp. 130, 128, 123, 50.
50. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1864, p. 21; 1865, pp. 103, 105.
51. Queensland State Archives, Registers of Issue of Land Orders, IMM 248 66/1911.
52. Queensland State Archives, Registers of Issue of Land Orders, IMM 247 63/3713-4, 3731-2; IMM 253, 65/3455, 3469.
53. Certificate of Title 12309, Vol. 97, fol. 79 (Christian Tesch), 12310 97/80 (Carl Tesch), 12311 97/81 (Berndt), 12312 91/82 (Schneider), 12811 101/81 (Berndt).

October 1866 and retained by him,⁵⁴ and Berndt and the Tesch family acquired two more blocks. On 17 May 1864 Berndt applied for portion 10, forty-nine acres, which he retained.⁵⁵ Carl Tesch on 23 May 1864 applied for portion 13, forty acres, which was later divided between Carl and Christian Tesch.⁵⁶ No explanation is apparent for the later acquisition of these blocks. The acquisitions of separate members of the Tesch family are not always clear.

Another one of the blocks first acquired was subdivided, namely Friedrich Ebert's portion 15. Friedrich Kleinschmidt acquired eighteen acres and Carl Huth five acres.⁵⁷ The transfers of these were recorded as at February 1870, but they had occupied their subdivisions earlier, as shown in the 1865 sketch map. Ebert, Kleinschmidt and Huth were all from the village of Stegelitz in the Uckermark. Like Ebert, Kleinschmidt had arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy* in January 1864, while Huth was an earlier arrival on the *San Francisco* in November 1863. First land orders for Huth and Kleinschmidt were issued to Heussler & Co., and both had received their second land orders long before the transfers were registered.⁵⁸ A part of the Ebert block also became the churchyard and burial ground.

The Germans were to take up two more blocks before the early settlement at Bethania was complete. On the river bank to the east of the other blocks Wilhelm Thiedecke applied for portion 27 of fifty-three acres on 16 September 1865.⁵⁹ If the records are correct he arrived only a few days before applying for his block. He was from the Uckermark and arrived on the second voyage of the *Susanne Godeffroy* in September 1865.⁶⁰

At the other end of the settlement, in the bend of the river to the north, Charles Kelk and Hermann Felschow applied for portion 21 of forty-nine acres on 5 April 1864.⁶¹ The block was divided into four almost equal parts in the names of Kelk and Felschow and also Charles Walter and Wilhelm Muchow.⁶² Muchow also had the adjoining five-acre-two-rood block. Felschow who had arrived on the *Cesar Godeffroy* in January 1862, and Kelk on the *Alster* in August 1863, were both from the

54. Land Purchase 11 February 1864, Deed 8108, transfer Vol. 101, fol 80.

55. Land Purchase 17 May 1864, Deed 8851, Vol. 38, fol. 106.

56. Land Purchase 23 May 1864, Deed 8850, Vol. 38, fol. 112, transfers Vol. 149, fol 160, 154/50.

57. Deed 8109, Vol. 157, fols. 157, 158.

58. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1863 pp. 62-3, 49: Queensland State Archives, Registers of Issue of Land Orders, IMM 254, 65/4798, 66/188.

59. Land Purchase 16 September 1865, Deed 13151, Vol. 77, fol. 65.

60. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, op. cit., 1865, p. 37.

61. Land Purchase, 5 April 1864, Deed 8565, Vol 37., fol. 77.

62. Deed 8565, transfers Vol. 74, fol. 227 (Muchow), 128/236 (Felschow), 133/172 (Kelk), 135/144 (Walter).

Uckermark.⁶³ The first land order for Kelk was issued to Heussler & Co., that for Felschow to Raff & Co.⁶⁴ The records for Walter were not found.

The process of registering subdivisions was delayed by errors in the original survey. The errors were apparently first brought to notice by John Hinchcliffe. In a letter to Pastor Hausmann in May 1865 Hinchcliffe wrote:

Not a single line stands as it was and consequently not a single line in any of the subdivision lines is worth anything. This is a serious thing for the Germans who are but generally poor and have almost enough to do to pay for the division of their land once, to say nothing of the labour, inconvenience and uncertainty of cultivating and clearing land that may not be theirs through no fault or mismanagement of their own whatever.⁶⁵

The Surveyor-General reported that 'it appeared that considerable discrepancies existed between the measurements given in the plan of survey ... and the actual lengths and positions of the boundaries on the ground.'⁶⁶ A new survey was carried out by a licensed surveyor, Fryar, apparently with some involvement by Hinchcliffe. A number of adjustments had to be made, 'giving Mr. Tesch No. 13 one chain which he was short and taking it from Mr. Ebert who had one chain too much,' adjusting boundaries between Kleinschmidt and Holzheimer, Ludwig and Holzheimer, Lobegier and Hausmann, and various others.⁶⁷

There were also errors in the survey of blocks in the parish of Boyd farther down river, such that seventy-two portions of the 104 previously offered in October 1863 were in March 1865 withdrawn from sale for re-survey, and re-offered for sale in June 1865.⁶⁸ This delayed the taking up of land by Germans further down the Logan River in the areas later known as Eagleby and Alberton. The settlement of these areas is not included here.

How the land transactions in Bethania were financed is not revealed in any contemporary accounts, and later accounts do not give a clear picture. Only the five Uckermarker original selectors in addition to Thumm and Eppinger, and Radke, had first land orders. Some of the earlier arrivals had their second land orders by the time

63. Eric and Rosemary Kopittke, *op. cit.*, 1861, pp. 40-1; 1863, p. 6.

64. Queensland State Archives, Registers of Issue of Land Orders IMM 247 63/3222, IMM 246 62/219.

65. Letter John H. Hinchcliffe to Revd. John G. Hausmann dated 25 May 1865, on Queensland State Archives file SUR/A25, 65/2838.

66. Queensland State Archives file LWO/A23 65/1715, 25 August 1865, letter of Surveyor-General to the Secretary for Lands and Works.

67. Letter John H. Hinchcliffe to Revd. John G. Hausmann, *loc. cit.*

68. Queensland State Archives file SUR6, Register of Land open for Selection, *loc. cit.*

they acquired their subdivisions. It appears that Hausmann prevailed on those with resources to help their fellow countrymen who were unable to afford even small blocks of land. Accounts written fifty years later refer to those who had been able to pay their own fares and received land orders as the 'financial members' of the group.⁶⁹ In his reminiscences Ferdinand Kleinschmidt stated that before the departure from Brisbane those settlers who had brought some money made loans to others for them to obtain food and implements, and that Ebert gave up the eighteen acres to Kleinschmidt for payment by instalments.⁷⁰ Apart from this, there is no evidence as to how or by whom or to whom money was borrowed, lent or repaid, or how any debts may otherwise have been discharged.

This account of the formation of the settlement put together from land and immigration records has its limitations. As land registrations were often made at times long after settlers had occupied their land it is not clear when some families actually came to Bethania. The overall description of the area occupied is supported by a report headed 'German Station' published in the *Brisbane Courier* in September 1866, in which the reporter likened the Bethania settlement to that of the former German missionaries north of Brisbane:

When the traveller from Brisbane arrives at the Logan ferry the road to the German Station is to cross the river and make through the newly surveyed town of Waterford, and when at the top of the Government road between Messrs. Hinchcliffe's and Wilson's farms, turning to the left brings one into the heart of the oldest settled portion of the parish of Boyd. The blacksmith's shop, the grave-yard, the school-house, and innumerable houses, stockyards, &c., &c., make one feel half inclined to question the possibility of not being at Kedron Brook instead of on the Logan. Indeed the Logan Germans will soon outstrip their elder settled countrymen. Possessing all the advantages of having selected good land, with a fair proportion of scrub, their ultimate success is certain; and judging from what can be seen of the results of the industry, skill and perseverance already achieved, the time is not far distant.⁷¹

The report continued with a description of the subdivisions of the land occupied, and with references to the occupations of some of the early settlers.

Beginning opposite Slack's Creek, the first farm is equally divided into four possessions, the second and third into fifteen, each containing 5½ acres. The greatest part of these farms is now cleared and cultivated, and when one stands in the neighbourhood more than forty houses can be seen without moving from this place; - a little town, in fact, lies round one. The next two farms are divided

69. F.W.H. 'Logan Pioneers,' *Brisbane Courier*, 30 May 1914, p. 17.

70. C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 2 Juli 1938, pp. 21-2.

71. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 September 1866.

into twelve allotments, which are from four to twelve acres each, and cultivation and house building have made the primeval forest and scrub retire to the background, only to be followed and vanquished entirely before very long. The next half-dozen settlers have somewhat larger holdings, and the magic sweep of population and labor is not so strikingly apparent, although here, as before, no time has been lost in making headway and room for acres of corn and other produce. The farmers have more cattle here, and the situation is, so to speak, the 'head centre' of the whole settlement. Here is the church, graveyard, school-house, black-smith's shop, brick kiln, joiner's, and wheel-wright's, in connection with the smithy, &c., &c. Here, as a matter of course, dwell the different representatives of the above trades, including the schoolmaster, the pastor, and the veritable burgomaster. The Germans have the best notions of starting new communities, they never leave out the essential trades that must always accompany profitable cultivation and agriculture. We now pass the pretty extensive cultivation of the Tesch's and come to Mr. Berndt's ... who mix cattle keeping for dairy purposes along with cultivation.⁷²

The history of the settlement of the Bethania area as unfolded above differs in some respects from accepted earlier histories. The terms 'Little Germany' or 'New Germany' do not appear anywhere in contemporary accounts in relation to the settlement. On the other hand the settlement was referred to as the 'German Pocket' and the road on the western side of the area taken up by the Germans was referred to as the 'German Pocket Road.' It is now Station Road. The emphasis in church histories and congregational stories on settlers who arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy* in January 1864 has some justification, but not the apparent assumption that these were all of the settlement. Nearly half of the settlers arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy*, but there were some who had arrived on earlier ships, and some came later. That Hausmann led the first German settlers to the area is correct, but not that he influenced the government to make land available. The land was already marked out, it had been offered at auction but not sold, and was available for selection. There is no evidence that Heussler had anything to do with the settlement.

The Germans did not settle in a village. Claudia Erdmann has attempted to show 'surprising parallels in the manner of colonisation' with the settlement of Germans in South Australia, but her 'linear settlement that showed all the characteristics of a forest village (*Waldhufendorf*)' simply did not exist.⁷³ The comment of Charles Meyer, following Erdmann, that the farms at Bethania were 'quite unlike non-German farms,' was also incorrect.⁷⁴ The homesteads of Bethania Germans were on their farms, as were those of the English and Irish. Homesteads on the narrow blocks must have been

72. *ibid.*

73. Claudia Erdmann, 'Rural Settlements founded by German Immigrants in South Australia and Queensland during the 19th Century,' in Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhil, (eds.), *The German Presence in Queensland*, U. of Q., Brisbane, 1988, p. 120.

close together and may have appeared to be in a line, but as indicated in the *Brisbane Courier* report quoted above, the smithy, brick kiln, etc., were on the properties of their owners some half-mile away, and not clustered in a village. A village developed later at Waterford, a mile from the nearest point of the original German settlement.

As in other settlements in Queensland such as that at Boonah, English and Irish settlers acquired the more open land suitable for cattle and the Germans the land covered by dense scrub.⁷⁵ The scrub land was more difficult to clear, but it was the best agricultural land. The Germans were dirt farmers, and the areas they preferred were 'better adapted for intensive than extensive cultivation.'⁷⁶ However not all the Bethania settlers were happy with the land to which Pastor Hausmann had led them. Some complained of having to clear the heavily timbered scrub land when clearing the more open forest land would be easier. Pastor Hausmann assured them that they would soon be glad they had the scrub land which was much better for farming.⁷⁷

The settlement was clearly Hausmann's. He was responsible not only for bringing the Germans to the area, but also for the division of the land, and he was the pastor in the early years. The five-and-a-half-acre blocks were his innovation. There is no evidence as to why Hausmann chose this particular area so far from markets and sources of employment. Possibly he recognised that it had some though limited agricultural potential, and other agricultural areas closer to Brisbane or on the agricultural reserve were already taken up. Or perhaps the opportunity for immediate unconditional titles and then subdivisions was an attraction. However, the aim of quick subdivision was to some extent thwarted by the problem with the survey.

By early 1867 the first settlement of Germans at Bethania appeared to be complete, with nearly two hundred men, women and children, occupying 700 acres, a little over one square mile. The area occupied was situated in a pocket of the Logan River, with a river frontage of two miles to the north and east. The properties next to Berndt and Thiedecke on the river to the east were held by English settlers and this separated the Bethania Germans from the Germans downriver. To the west there was a road of one-and-a-quarter miles which separated the settlement from the Agricultural Reserve occupied by English and Irish. The land to the south was useless for agriculture and had little potential for grazing.

74. Charles Meyer, *A History of the Germans in Australia 1839-1945*, Monash University, Caulfield East, 1990, p. 70.

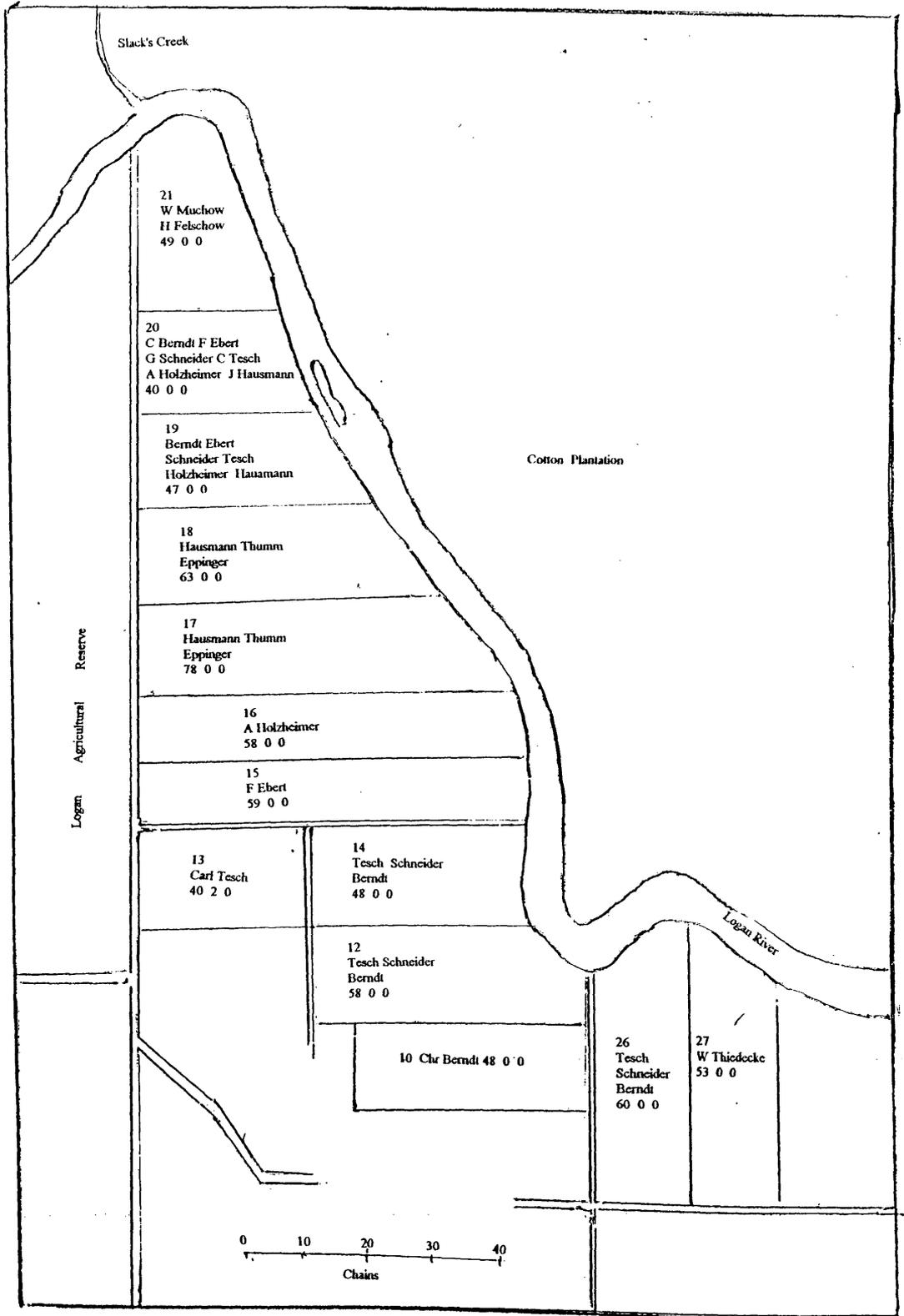
75. John Cole, 'Farm and Family in Boonah 1870-1914, An Ethnic Perspective,' in Johannes H. Voigt, (ed.), *New Regimmings*, Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, Stuttgart, 1983, p. 87.

76. C. Schindler, 'Non-British Settlement in Queensland,' *Journal of the Historical Society of Queensland*, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1916, p. 69.

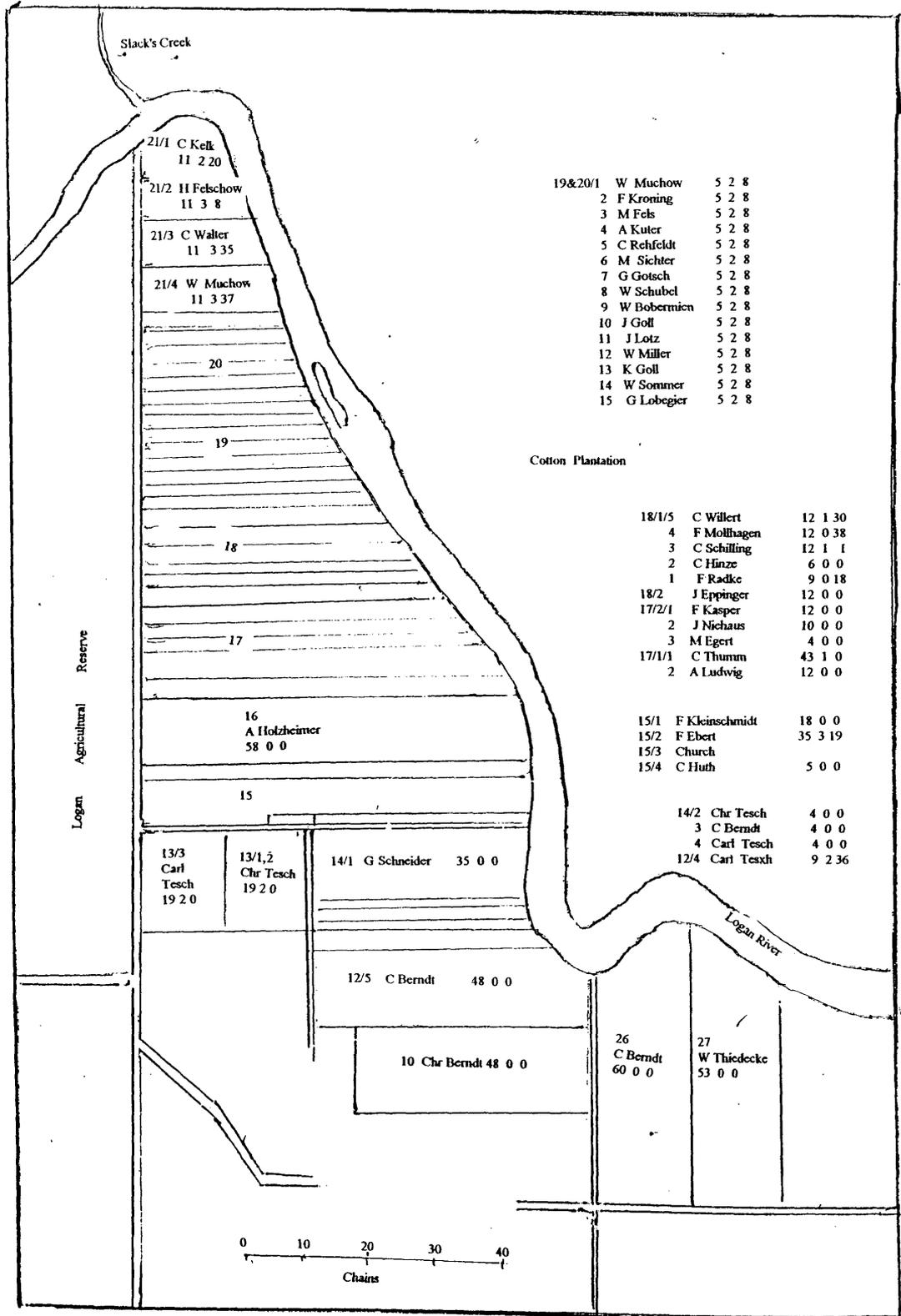
77. C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 9 Juli 1938, p. 21..

The settlement changed gradually. Consolidation of land holdings in the original settlement, and an expansion of the German settlement into areas in the Logan Agricultural Reserve originally settled by English and Irish, and into the former cotton plantation across the river, are discussed in a later chapter. Other chapters follow the transition from subsistence farming to cash crop production. In the next chapter the German migrants who became the Bethania settlers and their families and successors are considered.

Map No. 4. SELECTIONS



Map No. 5. SUBDIVISIONS



Chapter 4.

SETTLERS

The first German settlers who took up land in the original settlement at Bethania have been referred to as the 'forty families.' After the land had been subdivided there were families settled on forty land holdings, but if elderly parents and adult sons were counted separately the number of families exceeded forty.

It is not intended to refer here to all of the Germans who spent some time in the Bethania area. Those who did not acquire land and who did not have their names entered in the congregational registers left little trace. Some spent only a brief time in the area. The names of Noe and Enkelmann, for instance, are shown as occupiers of blocks in the 1865 sketch map but they did not have land titles registered and both families were better known in other parts of the Logan district. The name of Voltz, the only German Catholic identified in the area, appears as a 'labourer' in the school records, as does the name Lubach.¹ Mornberger and Schaig were referred to only in connection with the murder of the German pedlar Bode for which they were later arrested in Toowoomba and tried.² The Post Office Directories gave lists of householders, but the directories were published irregularly and were incomplete, and it is impossible to determine from them how many Germans may have spent short times in the area. None of the Germans with short sojourns in the area appear to have been influential in the establishment or continuance of the settlement of the Bethania Germans.

For German names the spelling apparent at the time is used in this thesis. For instance, there is no attempt to determine if the correct spelling should be 'Götsch,' 'Goetsch' or 'Gotsch,' or if 'Herman' should be spelt with one or two r's or n's.

Earlier German migrants had been employed on cattle stations in the Logan district, and later on cotton plantations, but there are few references to these. A German woman, Mrs Klump, and her son were murdered in August 1857 while on their way to Brisbane from Jimboomba station on the Logan River.³ In August 1862 'upwards of forty' German migrants who arrived on the *La Rochelle* were 'forwarded immediately to the Logan cotton plantation.'⁴ There is no evidence that the Bethania settlers were influenced by earlier German migrants in the Logan district. The *Susanne Godeffroy*

-
1. Register of Waterford Primary School 1874.
 2. *Brisbane Courier*, 2 October 1865; 31 October 1865.
 3. *Moreton Bay Courier*, 29 August 1857.
 4. *Courier*, 16 August 1862.

migrants were not the first Germans on the Logan, but they were the first to take up land.

Half of the forty families arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy* and thus were new to the colony at the time of settlement. As noted in the previous chapter, five of these forty families had sufficient money to pay their own fares, and the fares of the others were paid by the shipping agents. Felschow had arrived in January 1862 and was the only settler with any appreciable time in the colony. Ten families had arrived in the colony in the latter part of 1863 and were thus also fairly new to the colony. The other families came to Queensland after the arrival of the *Susanne Godeffroy*.

All but seven of the forty families who took up land in the original settlement were from the Uckermark in Prussia. The history and conditions of the Uckermark may have been an influence on the settlement of the Bethania Germans in the early years of its development. The Uckermark was an area north of Berlin on both sides of the small Ucker River to the west of the Oder into which it flowed. The area and river took their names from a Slav tribe, the Ucker, whose settlements were subjugated in the twelfth century by the German Dukes of Pomerania. The town of Prenzlau was established and the area colonised by Germans. Pomerania was forced to relinquish the Uckermark to Brandenburg in the fifteenth century. From 1618 Brandenburg and Prussia had the same ruler, and from 1701 were jointly recognised as the kingdom of Prussia with its capital Berlin. The Prussian kings encouraged land development and brought in migrants from various parts of Germany and also Flemings, Frisians, Danes, Swiss and French Huguenots. Some of all these groups settled in the Uckermark. The Uckermark is part of the north German plain, crossed by sluggish streams with some hills in the south covered by deciduous trees. Much of it is sandy heath, but fertile areas were used for the cultivation of sugar-beet, wheat, rye, potatoes and tobacco.⁵ The dialect of the Uckermarkers was the eastern variety of *Plattdeutsch*, the Low German of the northern plain, and their speech was said to be distinguished by a drawl.⁶

Migration from the Uckermark was part of the general migration from eastern Germany, but in earlier times it may have been affected by religious differences in Prussia. After the union of the churches in 1817 'Separatist' preachers had been active in the Uckermark, and migration to America to settlements in New York State, Illinois and Michigan was accelerated.⁷ These difficulties were over and no longer contributed

5. Compiled from various sources including *Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon*, Mannheim, 1971 and *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, Mannheim, 1993.

6. Hans Wendt, 'Uckermaerkische Migration,' typescript, undated, source not stated, pp. 1-2.

7. *ibid*, p. 10.

to emigration by the 1860s when the migrants to Bethania left the Uckermark. The denominational connections of the Bethania migrants are considered in a later chapter.

There was no strong representation from any area of Germany other than the Uckermark, and other families among the first settlers were from a number of different places in Germany and introduced additional dialects. The Fels family came from a village near Posen to the east of Berlin, a part of Poland annexed by Prussia in 1793. This area became part of the Polish republic in 1918. Niehaus was from Holstein, not far from Denmark, and his dialect was probably the western variety of *Plattdeutsch*. The two Goll brothers and Lotz were from Hesse-Darmstadt in the area of Frankish dialects. Eppinger and Thumm were from Württemberg in the south-west of Germany and their dialect was Swabian. They arrived in Queensland direct from London. Thumm was married to an Englishwoman.⁸

The occupations in Germany of the early settlers were given in shipping records and are possibly indicative of their suitability for life in a farm settlement. Felschow, Fien, Goetsch, Johann Goll, Kasper, Kelk, Kroning, Kuter, Mollenhagen, Radke, Sommer, Sichter, and Willert were each noted as worker or labourer (*Arbeitsmann, Arbeiter, Tagelöhner*). Eight others had occupations associated with working the land. The occupation of Gottfried Tesch, Carl Rehfeldt, and August Ludwig was given as shepherd (*Schaefer*). For each of two Berndts, Carl Tesch, Bobermien, and Schaefer the occupation was given as farmer (*Landmann*). Another nine were identifiable as tradesmen. Andreas Holzheimer, Lobegeyer and Niehaus were bricklayers (*Maurer*) and Lindow a brickmaker (*Ziegler*). Kleinschmidt, Casper Goll and Schilling were carpenters (*Zimmermann*) and Ebert was a cabinetmaker (*Tischler*). Schneider was a blacksmith (*Schmied*) and Lotz a cartwright (*Wagner*). The occupation of Carl Huth was given as tailor (*Schneider*). In the Uckermark as in other parts of Brandenburg, a farmer (*Landmann*) would generally have been the owner or occupier of a block with rights to common land, and those with only small blocks would of necessity have worked some of the time for the *Gutsherr*, owner of a larger estate. Those described as labourers were completely dependent on employment on the estate or by the farmers with larger blocks. It was usual for women and children to have seasonal employment on the farms of their own or other families or on the estate.

There is no evidence that this mix of occupations was planned, although the *Brisbane Courier* correspondent of September 1866 thought so. "The Germans have the best notions of starting new communities, they never leave out the essential trades that

8. *Brisbane Courier*, 30 May 1914, p. 17.

must always accompany profitable cultivation and agriculture.⁹ The article was headed 'German Station,' and the correspondent was seeking to draw a comparison with the 1838 mission settlement at German Station (later known as Nundah) north of Brisbane, for which, before they were sent out, lay missionaries were trained in occupations useful for the settlement. Probably a group of migrants from any of the agricultural areas of Germany would have included a similar mix of occupations.

Other Germans came into the Bethania area later than the forty families and became part of the Bethania German community. Most of these took part in the expansion of the community into adjacent areas. Some of the later settlers had been in the colony before the arrival of the *Susanne Godeffroy*. The earliest in Queensland was Andreas Oppermann who had arrived in 1856 as an indentured immigrant under the New South Wales immigration scheme. Wilhelm Schlort had arrived in 1862 and Christian Maas in 1863 as land order immigrants. Oppermann and Schlort arrived in the colony as single men but were married with families before they came into the Bethania area. All the other additional arrivals came to the colony with families. Richter and Hinze were land order immigrants in 1865 and 1866. Others came out under later Queensland government schemes. The Baumann, Beutel, Burow, Hinze, Kraatz, Maas, Regeling, Sempf and Spann families were from the Uckermark. Richter was from the adjacent province of Barnim, Kopp and Lietzow from Pomerania, and Oppermann and Schlort from Hanover, apparently all with dialects similar to that of the Uckermarkers. Other Germans were unable to understand the dialect of the Noffke family from an area of mixed nationalities near Danzig. They were referred to as 'Polacks' and probably spoke a Slav dialect.

Origins in different German states, or time of arrival in Queensland or at Bethania, do not appear to have led to distinctions among the migrants. Settlers from different states were mixed in the original distribution of land. Original settlers as well as later arrivals took part in later land transactions among the Germans. There was intermarriage among former citizens of the different states. It was to be expected that because of their relative numbers Uckermarkers would predominate in most activities, but some from other areas such as Oppermann, Richter and Goll became local government representatives. W. Richter was treasurer of the Lutheran congregation for forty-nine years.¹⁰

9. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 September 1866.

10. Minute Book of Evangelical Lutheran Church Bethania, 1904 to 1969, Minutes of annual general meeting 18 January 1931.

During the 1860s most of the Germans who migrated to Queensland did so in families, and this was true of those who settled at Bethania. The forty families totalled nearly 200 persons. Elderly relatives accompanied some families. Carl and Sophie Lindow, both aged sixty-four, came with their two surviving daughters, Wilhelmine married to Andreas Holzheimer, and Ida married to Ferdinand Stollznow who later settled farther down the Logan. Gottfried and Marie Tesch, aged sixty-three and fifty-nine, and Johann Radke aged sixty-two, also accompanied families, perhaps because they had no one else, or perhaps for their last great adventure. The other men were of a variety of ages. Kuter and Schiilling were over fifty years old and ten of the men were in their forties, the rest in their twenties and thirties. The largest families on arrival, those of Berndt, Fien and Sommer, contained seven and eight children each, the eldest aged twenty years. The Goll brothers aged twenty-eight and twenty-six brought their wives but had not commenced their families. The heads of families were too old to have migrated for avoidance of military service, but that may have been an added incentive for parents of teenage sons, if they had recognised troubles developing which led to the wars of late 1864, 1866 and 1870. As noted below, August Tesch had served his time in the 1870-71 war before migrating. The families included pregnant women and young children although the food and other conditions on the ships were not suitable for young children. On the *Susanne Godeffroy* in 1863-64 one child was born on the voyage and eleven children died.¹¹ The Holzheimer family lost an infant daughter on the voyage, and a daughter was born about a month after they arrived at Bethania, both events being within the normal experience of German migrants of that time. German settlers employed family labour, and some of the Bethania Germans had in effect brought with them their own labour forces which would be useful for working their food gardens and their early crops of cotton.

Relations among the families in Germany have not been examined in detail, but there were family connections among the migrants. As noted above Mrs Holzheimer and Mrs Stollznow were Lindow daughters. Mrs Lindow was a Berndt.¹² Mrs Christian Berndt was a Tesch.¹³ The Berndt, Holzheimer and Tesch families were probably also related to the Rehfeld family from the same village of Günterberg. It is probable also that those from the same Uckermark villages, such as the Ebert, Huth, Kleinschmidt, Lobegeyer and Sichter families from Stegelitz, and the Fien, Kasper, Kroning and Schneider families from Greiffenberg, were related or had relations in common. The Lotz family was from the same Hessian village, Glauberg, as the two Golls, and

11. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 21 January 1864.

12. Holzheimer family history records.

13. Sheelah Stenhouse, *Some Notes on the Families who settled in the Logan and Albert Districts of South-East Queensland*, p. 15, Gold Coast City Council Local Studies Library.

probably related. Wilhelmine, wife of Martin Sichter, was a Bobermien, and Wilhelm Bobermien married Auguste Fien soon after arrival in Brisbane. Among later arrivals, Mrs Regeling was a Burow. Relationships do not appear to have bound the migrants to settle in the same area in Queensland, and some of those mentioned above did not remain in Bethania.

With family migration there was a relatively equal sex ratio among younger members of the families who could find marriage partners within the community. Most of the marriages among the Bethania Germans in the earlier years were to other Germans, mainly from Bethania and the wider Logan German community, with some from Brisbane and other areas in Queensland. However there were exceptions even among the first generation of settlers' children. For instance, of the eight children of Martin Fels, one of the original settlers, three married non-Germans.¹⁴ The marriage records of the Lutheran congregation show that in the next generation, among the families of the children of the immigrants, practically every family brought up at Bethania had at least one member who married a non-German. Those who married non-Germans were almost without exception living away from the Bethania area at the time of the marriage or they moved away after the marriage. Descendants of the Bethania Germans in other places are not followed here and are not considered to be part of the subject of this thesis. They ceased to be Bethania Germans and their spouses did not become part of the Bethania community. One exception, a non-German who became a member of the community, was John Greig. He was a Scottish migrant, who married a daughter of J. G. Schneider and remained at Waterford, where his children were brought up in the Lutheran church and as part of the German community. The Bethania community, as a place-bound entity, began as a German community and remained essentially one of German descendants, not diluted by intermarriage with British until well into the twentieth century.

Family sizes, after allowing for infant deaths, were larger than required to continue the German community through the generations. In the fifteen years from 1895 (the first full year for which records were available) there were 319 christenings at the Bethania Lutheran Church, and over the same period burials of children under ten years of age totalled twenty-nine, or nearly ten per cent of the number of christenings. In the earliest years families were not exceptionally large for the time, but well above the number required for replacement. The number of children surviving at a parent's death was first recorded in the burial records of the Bethania Lutheran Church in the early 1900s. These show that for the early settlers a family of seven or eight

14. Joan Starr, *Logan, the Man, the River and the City*, Tenterfield, Southern Cross, 1988, p. 39.

survivors was large, with an average of five survivors at the date of the parent's death. Families commenced in the 1880s by the children of the early settlers tended to be larger, but not much larger. Carl Holzheimer died in 1926 and was survived by all of his thirteen children. Ernst Richter was survived by twelve when he died in 1942. August Radke, who died in 1943, was survived by ten of his fourteen children, two having died as children, two as adults. Survival by more than ten children was unusual. An examination of the Bethania burial records for the 1920s and 1930s shows an average of seven survivors for families commenced in the 1880s.

The burial records of the Bethania Lutheran Church show that in good circumstances both men and women could expect to live seventy or eighty years. However many passed away in their fifties and sixties, most from conditions associated with aging. Heinrich Fien, who died in 1912 aged ninety-five, and Wilhelmine Lietzow, also at ninety-five in 1914, were exceptionally long-lived.

The Bethania settlement was one of a number of 'cluster settlements' of Germans in Queensland, where later migrants took up land close to that of earlier German settlers. After the first five *Susanne Godeffroy* settlers others took up land available for selection at Bethania, and later German migrants bought land in nearby areas from other settlers. Carola Robson referred to Germans who 'settled in communities, with groups based on friendships made during the long voyage,' while W. E. Hanlon referred more briefly to 'shipmate batches' settling at Bethania.¹⁵ The Uckermark migrants on the *Susanne Godeffroy* were joined by others on the same ship but from different areas, Lotz and the Golls. There were other examples of shipmate settlers. Fels, Kelk and Maas all arrived in Queensland on the *Alster* in 1863 but took up land at Bethania at different later times. Later arrivals to take up land in the Bethania area included Gotsch and Richter who arrived in Queensland on the second voyage of the *Susanne Godeffroy* in 1865, and Spann and Schlort on the *Wandrahm* in 1866.

Chain migration, where earlier migrants provide information and finance for the migration of relatives or friends, was not a strong feature of the Bethania settlement. Some families migrated in instalments. Berndt and Tesch family members arrived on the *La Rochelle* in August 1863, too early to have sent money or information back to the relatives who arrived on the *Susanne Godeffroy* in January 1864. Members of other families such as Sempf and Spann also arrived on different ships but only some of them came to the Bethania area. In only a few cases is there evidence of actual chain

15. Carola Robson, 'The Germans in Queensland,' in Ian Harmstorf and Martin Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1985, p. 96; W. E. Hanlon, 'The Early Settlement of the Logan and Albert Districts,' in *Journal of the Historical Society of Queensland*, Vol. 2, 1935, p. 215.

migration. Schneider assisted one or more nephews, none of whom stayed at Bethania. The Noffke family assisted the Berganns who after a short stay at Waterford moved to Teutoberg. There may have been others similarly assisted but most of the families appear to have had no forerunners and no successors. The later arrivals included a number of families from the Uckermark but it is difficult to establish any direct connection with earlier arrivals from that district. There is no evidence of chain migration extending to the later years of the century.

Literacy appears to have been universal among the men. In Prussia there had been state support for education since the eighteenth century. Prussia was the first German state to introduce compulsory elementary schooling and by 1864 over 90% of children attended school.¹⁶ Practically all boys and nearly all girls attended elementary school. By the 1860s the situation in other German states was roughly similar. While they would have been more familiar with their own dialects, their 'official' education in the German states was in High German. This basic literacy in German made it easier for the Bethania Germans to acquire literacy in English when some instruction was provided.

No contemporary written accounts of the lifestyle of the women in the early years of the Bethania settlement have been found. It was accepted among Germans generally, not only in Bethania, that women did some of the farm work. Of another part of the colony it was said:

Although the German farm girl was capable of most rural chores, for the most part her labour contribution beyond the house was secondary to that of her husband or brothers. She might help in milking the cows and in seasonal tasks such as harvesting corn, but her main role centred on the household - in raising children and preparing provisions.¹⁷

In 1866 the reporter of the *Brisbane Courier* referred to women and children at Bethania attending to crops.¹⁸ From the cotton plantation across the river W. E. Hanlon observed: 'Their womenfolk toiled in the field, just as did their men.'¹⁹ Their farm work changed with the different stages of settlement. On the early small blocks, when the men had completed some clearing and planting and went away to work, the women either organised the children or themselves tended the vegetable garden, milked the

16. John Brouilly, *Nineteenth-Century Germany*, Hodder, London, 2001, pp. 93-7; Thomas Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismark 1800-1866*, Princeton U. P., 1963, pp. 657-8, 667.

17. John Cole, 'Fertility in a Frontier Queensland Community,' in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp. 59-60.

18. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 September 1866.

19. W. E. Hanlon, loc. cit.

cow, made the butter and cheese, and fed the pigs and chickens. Later they and the children assisted in planting and harvesting maize and potatoes, and in chipping and picking cotton. Butchering of large animals, cattle or pigs, was done by the men, and the women attended to making sausage, and smoking and other preservation of meat. When dairying became an industry women and children were expected to help with the milking and in the lighter tasks of harvesting fodder. The women were also responsible for the care of the family in time of illness. Some women were pregnant when they commenced the migration, and there must have been midwives among them. Among later arrivals Mrs Nofke and Mrs Richter were midwives.²⁰ There were probably also bone-setters among the migrants, although no accounts of these have survived. Apart from these the nearest source of medical help was Brisbane, until there were doctors in the area. Pastor Hellmuth, the resident pastor from 1867 to 1876, was a homoeopathic medical practitioner. In November 1871 a doctor took up a farm near Slack's Creek, and in January 1872 there was also a doctor in Beenleigh.²¹ Thereafter medical assistance was available from Beenleigh. By the end of the century the residences had changed from the early humpies to the split-slab shingle-roofed huts and later to the sawn timber, corrugated iron roofed houses of three or so bedrooms, dining room and lounge, on high stumps, some with a semi-detached kitchen, of which those remaining are today known as 'Queenslanders.'

Social activity among the Bethania Germans involved church festivals and family occasions, but the only contemporary evidence is in two newspaper accounts and a few entries in the Kleinschmidt diary. In January 1866 the *Brisbane Courier* reported that 'the Germans kept up their fatherland customs; they have had their Christmas trees and medley dishes, and sung and prayed, and watched the old year out and the new year in,' and in May that 'the Germans kept Whit Monday and Tuesday.'²² Kleinschmidt wrote that the Christmas of 1876 was celebrated over four days and New Year over two.²³ He also recorded pleasant evenings with violin, flute and harmonica in a 'close circle of friends' who 'amused ourselves with music and song.'²⁴ Two weddings he attended were celebrated 'in true Uckermark style, in the midst of all the relations keeping up the old customs and traditions,'²⁵ but he gave no details of the customs. Most of the Bethania Germans had migrated as citizens of Prussia and other states before Germany became united as one nation-state, and apparently German national occasions were not celebrated in the Bethania area.

20. *Logan Lutheran Centenary 1964-1964*, p. 10; Holzheimer family birth certificates.

21. *Brisbane Courier*, 28 November 1871, 22 January 1872.

22. *Brisbane Courier*, 9 January 1866, 28 May 1866.

23. Ferdinand Kleinschmidt, Diary 1876-92, photocopy in John Oxley Library, 4 January 1877.

24. *ibid*, 8 October 1872, 6 December 1876.

25. *ibid*, 5 January 1879, 8 July 1879

German nationalism was not evident among the Bethania Germans. There appeared to be no consciousness of or attempt to preserve *Deutschtum*, a German term difficult to translate but which basically refers to the state of being German. The efforts of the Church to maintain the German language are considered in another chapter. The early Bethania Germans are not mentioned in celebrations of German national occasions in Brisbane, although it may be that a few of them were minor participants and did not attract attention. The records of the early Brisbane German Club (*Deutscher Turn Verein*) have been lost, but press reports on its gatherings do not include Bethania Germans among the participants. There was no German club in Bethania or in Beenleigh, the urban centre of the Logan district. There was for a time in Beenleigh, a *Krankenverein*, a medical benefit organisation, but it is not known if it had Bethania members. In late 1870 a committee was formed among Germans around Ipswich to raise funds for the relief of widows and orphans of the war between France and Prussia,²⁶ but there is no mention of similar activity in the Logan. There was no German ex-servicemen's organisation in the Logan although there were such organisations in other parts of Queensland, such as one at Marburg.²⁷ In 1899 August Tesch was one of the recipients of the Kaiser's Commemorative Medal to veterans of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.²⁸ This indicated contact with the German Consulate in Brisbane, which was also evidenced by the visit of the Consul to the Logan district on various occasions. In 1909 the Consul presented to the Bethania School maps and pictures sent out by the German Government, and in February 1914 the Consul attended the fiftieth anniversary celebrations at Bethania.²⁹ Lists of Germans at celebrations such as for the German National Day and the Kaiser's Birthday in the years before the First World War generally did not include any Bethania Germans. However, in 1909 the celebration in Brisbane of the fiftieth birthday of the Kaiser was attended by Carl Heinrich Fien of Bethania who had just attained his 92nd birthday and was 'perhaps the oldest surviving soldier who fought under Frederic Willhelm IV.'³⁰ It has not been possible to ascertain how long and to what extent the Bethania Germans retained contact with relatives and friends in Germany. The only one of the original migrants to go to Germany was Gottfried Tesch who went back on a visit in 1886.³¹

Leadership was not a strong feature of the migration of the Germans to Bethania or of their settlement. Reference in Lutheran Church histories to a migration of Lutherans with J. G. Schneider as leader³² was an attempt to draw a parallel with the

26. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 October 1870.

27. *ibid.*, 28 January 1908, p. 4.

28. *ibid.*, 14 July 1899, p. 6.

29. *ibid.*, 17 September 1909, p. 5; 19 January 1914, p. 7.

30. *ibid.*, 20 January 1909, p. 5.

31. *Logan Witness*, 27 March 1886.

migration of Old Lutherans under a recognised leader to South Australia in 1838. While some of the Uckermark families travelled together there is no evidence that they migrated as an organised group or with a recognised leader. In contemporary accounts of the early settlement there were no references to leaders, nor did leaders emerge later in the settlement. Schneider's name was prominent in Theile's history and he appears to have been the main source of information on early Bethania. He has a place in Church histories as a long-term elder and denominational councillor, but there were also other long-term officers of the congregation. Attempts by the Church and his family to portray him as a general leader of the community fail. Schneider was a participant in local government for many years and his smithy, post office store and sawmill show that he was more enterprising than his fellows in his own interest, but he left no long-term mark on the community. Questions as to his probity may be due to jealousy or misunderstanding but were also part of local oral history. He was not recognised as a leader by other families and except in the Church, Schneider was little known outside the immediate area. In the early 1900s one of his sons, M. T. (Traugott) Schneider, followed his father as blacksmith and sawmiller and in local government, and also became treasurer of the Lutheran denomination. He was more widely known, as a leader of the rifle team, as a committee member of the Show Society and other bodies, and as a political candidate, but he too left no enduring mark on the Bethania community. The names of other members of the community showed up from time to time, for instance, at the beginning of local government, and in the early stages of sugar-cane and dairying in the area, but none of them left a particular mark on the community or any of its activities and again there was no recognition of sustained leadership. In their livelihood activities Bethania Germans followed government initiatives in cotton and dairying, and Hinchcliffe in cane growing, and do not appear to have needed other leaders. None of the Bethania Germans showed enterprise like that of Rehfeldt or members of the Kleinschmidt family in other parts of the Logan. There was nothing different about the community because of the influence of any one of those who might have been considered leaders in particular activities from time to time.

The Bethania Germans were generally strictly law-abiding. The Kleiver and the Mornberger and Schaig incidents referred to in this chapter were unusual and did not involve continuing residents of Bethania. In the Depositions Books of the Beenleigh Court of Petty Sessions maintained from 1871 cases involving Bethania Germans are difficult to find. In April 1878 two cases of assault, Ludwig v. Noffke, and Ludwig v.

32. F. O. Theile, *One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland*, U.E.L.C.A., Brisbane, 1938, pp. 11-12, Th. Hebart, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia*, Lutheran Publishing Depot, North Adelaide, 1938, p. 114.

Richter, were recorded in the Beenleigh Depositions Book,³³ but no other similar cases were found. The Record Books of Small Debts have a few claims of tradesmen such as Lietzow, Schneider or Willert for payment for work completed.³⁴ It was expected that disputes among members of the Lutheran congregation would be settled with the mediation of the pastor, or 'talked out' in congregational meetings. As the Bethania Germans attracted little attention from the authorities, they were able to participate in local political and social activities, and incurred few restrictions during the war from 1914. It was also easy for them to maintain good relations with their neighbours.

Relations with their neighbours, the English and Irish settlers, were trouble-free. Settlers all faced similar problems, and there was little about which they might come into conflict. The English and Irish had larger blocks than the small holdings of the Germans, and some of them looked to the Germans as a source of labour particularly when they were growing cotton. One incident reported in the Depositions Book of the Court of Petty Sessions at Beenleigh in 1872 has been blown out of proportion by recent writers to indicate trouble. A German named Kleiver and his son driving a young horse in a dray with butter and eggs, encountered at Scrubby Creek on the way to Brisbane some Irish lads who refused to 'clear the bridge' for the young horse, one of them using the term 'German bugger.' An Irish lad alleged he had been struck once with a whip, the Germans that stones had been thrown at them and into their cart. Kleiver was fined five shillings.³⁵ This incident has been said to 'give evidence of an ill feeling between the Irish and German communities that is much referred to in oral tradition.'³⁶ The claim must be considered false as no other similar incident has been reported. Kleiver was a dealer and except in this incident his name was not otherwise mentioned in the area. In my experience among the German descendants there were no complaints of difficulties with the Irish.. The Irish were very rarely referred to, and then only in reference to their presence and with no evidence of ill feeling. An alternative sort of incident from an earlier year was also reported nearly fifty years later. After walking from Brisbane with supplies in 1864, Kleinschmidt, Lotz and Schneider 'stayed the night with a good-hearted Irishman named O'Donnell on the other side of the Logan.'³⁷ This is a nice story indicating assistance from Irish to German, but it does not make sense, as O'Donnell's

33. Queensland State Archives file CPS 2C/3, Clerk of Petty Sessions Beenleigh, Depositions Book, January 1878 to November 1882, p. 27, 17 April 1878.

34. Queensland State Archives file CPS 2C/1, Clerk of Petty Sessions Beenleigh, Record Books of Small Debts, Depositions Books, from January 1871.

35. Queensland State Archives file CPS 2C/1, Clerk of Petty Sessions Beenleigh, Depositions Book, January 1871 to January 1875, pp. 312-320; *Brisbane Courier*, 20 April 1872.

36. Alexander T. Yarwood, 'The German Community of the Logan Region,' in Manfred Jurgensen and Alan Corkhill (eds.), *The German Presence in Queensland*, U. of Q., St. Lucia, 1988, p. 133; Michael Jones, *Country of Five Rivers*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1988, p. 190.

37. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 January 1914, p. 5.

home was on the same side of the Logan and less than a mile from the Germans' homes. As recorded in the diary of his days working a punt on the Logan, Kleinschmidt had no more problems in transactions with English and Irish than with Germans.³⁸ The assistance the English settlers, the Hinchcliffes, gave to the Germans is referred to in other chapters. The Germans do not appear to have been discriminated against in any official or government activity and the attempts to secure their participation in the national school and in local government are referred to in later chapters. So too is their participation in sport. As English and Irish settlers left the Logan Agricultural Reserve, German settlers were able to buy their blocks in ordinary land sale transactions.

The German settlers at Bethania had no trouble with Aborigines. In an article on his experiences on the cotton plantation across the river at the time the Germans began their settlement W. E. Hanlon wrote, 'There were many blacks in the district, but on no occasion did they give us any trouble. On the contrary, we were always glad to see them, for they brought us fish, kangaroo tails, crabs, or honey, to barter for our flour, sugar, tea, or "tumbacca."³⁹ According to Ferdinand Kleinschmidt some of the more intelligent of them questioned the white man's right to take over their hunting land and deprive them of their livelihood, but the settlers were never troubled except by their begging. Kleinschmidt also stated that one tribe frequently camped close to the German settlement, and the Germans often went on full-moon nights to enjoy their corroborees.⁴⁰ As part of the oral history of the Bethania area there is a story that the Aborigines sometimes helped the Germans in clearing their blocks in return for tobacco, and that the local Aborigines brought members of a tribe from farther away to do some of the work. After settlement the number of Aborigines in the area declined rapidly. In 1887 it was reported that from a tribe that in 1863 could muster 110 only seventeen had turned up for the annual distribution of blankets at Beenleigh, with only 'two young gins that are likely to keep the stock up.'⁴¹

For many of the first settlers and their descendants it was inevitable that Bethania would be a transition area. The very small initial land holdings of the first settlers became inadequate when production changed, or to provide for large growing families. Some of the earliest settlers at Bethania such as Mollenhagen and Niehuus became the first occupiers of larger blocks downstream in the Parish of Boyd.⁴² Others such as Kleinschmidt and Rehfeldt moved later to land opened up farther south in the

38. Ferdinand Kleinschmidt, *Diary 1876-92*, handwritten, photocopy in Oxley Library.

39. W. E. Hanlon, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

40. C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 9 Juli 1938, p. 21.

41. *Logan Witness*, 14 May 1887.

42. Queensland State Archives file SUR 6, Register of Land Open for Selection and Purchase of Such Land, Jan. 1961 - Jan. 1867, Film Z4334, Mollenhagen portion 48, Niehaus portion 83.

Logan district. Small blocks were bought by neighbours to create more sizeable holdings, and lands previously occupied by English and Irish settlers were acquired by Germans, but these areas could absorb only some members of the large families. The families of the first settlers were too large for all the family members to be placed on farms in the vicinity of Bethania, and there were few other opportunities for employment or enterprise in the Bethania area. No industry developed in the area to absorb the labour of any significant number of members of large families. Beenleigh, the local township four miles away, grew only slowly as a centre of employment. Some members of the community unable to obtain land or local employment sought employment in Brisbane which continued to grow. Others moved to more distant areas of the colony as land was opened up. There were no particular areas of migration from Bethania similar to Hawthorn in Victoria or Walla Walla in New South Wales settled by Germans from South Australia.⁴³ The *Brisbane Courier* reporter of 1907 identified 'the names of men at Marburg, Boonah, Rosewood, Bundaberg and the Blackall' as offspring of Bethania settlers,⁴⁴ but in such places Bethania migrants were only a small part of the number of German settlers. Those who remained in the Bethania area tended to keep land in their families. In a number of cases the youngest son took over the family property, with the obligation to care for the aging parent or parents, a practice which continued into the twentieth century. Some of these land transfers appear to have been by simple inheritance, and in other cases mortgages to the parents indicate a sale or part sale. Elder sons would be supported by the family including the youngest son through apprenticeships, or helped to acquire properties of their own. When no son was available or interested in the property it might be passed to a son-in-law. Carl Hinze's property was passed to his only surviving daughter and worked by her husband Carl Oppermann.⁴⁵ The property of Friedrich Ebert passed to his daughter and her husband Wilhelm Richter, and then to their son-in-law Hermann Ludwig.⁴⁶

By migrating as families and marrying within the community or with other Germans the settlers maintained a population identifiably German, and they did so without problems from other settlers. With close settlement on small holdings described in the previous chapter and high reproduction the population was too large for the area. Many who were Bethania Germans for a time had to leave the area. These included original settlers as well as descendants born in the area. Although some Germans additional to the original settlers took up land in the area there was net depopulation. In a later chapter the change in land ownership is considered.

43. Charles Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5, 111-3.

44. *Brisbane Courier*, 1 June 1907, p. 15.

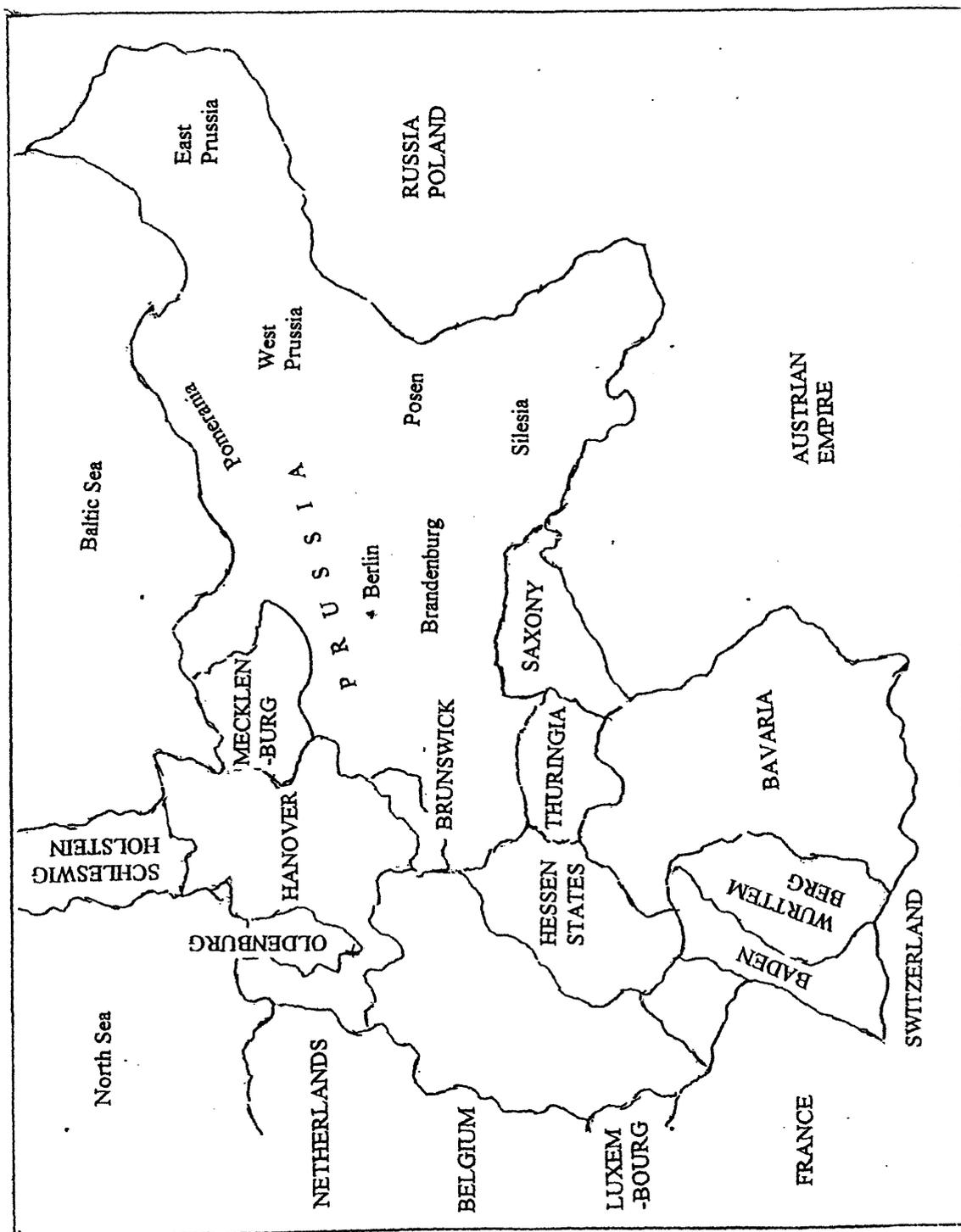
45. Certificate of Title 90542, Vol. 603, fol. 32.

46. Certificate of Title 96538, Vol. 659, fol. 28.

Consolidation of holdings reduced the number of farms in the area of original settlement and the expansion areas absorbed only some of the population.

Map No. 6

MAJOR GERMAN STATES IN 1863



Map No. 7. BRANDENBURG AND UCKERMARK



Map No. 8 SOME TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF THE UCKERMARK

