

Chapter 5

LIVELIHOOD

The arrival and settlement of the first Germans at Bethania was observed from the cotton plantation across the river by W. E. Hanlon whose recollections were published seventy years later.

Presently a wave of German immigrants came along in communities, generally speaking, in ship-mate batches. They took up contiguous blocks of standing scrubland, and forthwith set about making the land produce the wherewithal for their domestic living, with a little surplus sufficient to meet the cost of indispensable farming implements. They were characteristically modest in their requirements, frugal in their living, and indefatigably industrious. Their womenfolk toiled in the field, just as did their men.¹

Another observer in 1866 described the process of settlement in the following terms:

As soon as a German settles on his patch, his first care is to knock up a rough house and a stockyard; so as to have milk and butter at home. The next work is to clear two, three, or four acres, as the case may be, for corn and potatoes. This done, the women and children attend to the crops, whilst the men either clear fresh ground or (if their money resources are exhausted) go to work for hire. Thus, at any rate, headway is made very economically. The crops hitherto have been mostly maize and potatoes.²

The land in the pocket of the Logan River on which Pastor Hausmann had settled the Germans with its two-mile river frontage lay in the flood plain of the river. The riverside soil under the scrub in a belt along the river bank could when cleared produce any of the crops it was possible to grow in south-east Queensland. On the block taken up by Andreas Holzheimer, for example, the scrub land extended twenty chains from the river bank to a low escarpment, and wells sunk on the property went through twenty feet of loam. The soil on the rest of the property was over clay and not very deep but when cleared provided intermediate pasturage. The blocks held by Germans in the area originally settled and in the expansion areas were generally similar, and each settler had some of the deeper loam for cultivation.

Small acreages, large families, and the distance from the city both as a source of supplies and as a market for produce made it inevitable that a large part of their farming efforts would be devoted to providing their own subsistence. Subsistence farming was to be a significant part of their endeavours to the end of the nineteenth century. Maize

1. 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.
2. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 September 1866.

and potatoes were the main early crops for cash and also for their own sustenance. There were also references to the growing of arrowroot, bananas, tobacco, cabbages, carrots, turnips, sweet potatoes and pumpkins, and to the raising of poultry and pigs.³ Arrowroot does not appear to have been grown as a commercial crop in the Bethania area, although it became an industry among the Germans farther south. The Bethania Germans in 1865 grew one crop of tobacco, which was 'of the best description,' but 'there was some difficulty in favourably disposing of it.'⁴ Tobacco was a crop grown in the Uckermark and other parts of Germany, but it seems it was not again grown as a commercial crop in Bethania. Probably some was grown for home consumption as self-sown tobacco plants appeared at least until the 1940s. There were no references to the making of wine, although on the Holzheimer property there was the site of a vineyard, and there were also stories in other families involving home-produced wine. The smoke-house was not mentioned in any of the contemporary accounts, but the smoke-house in which meat and particularly varieties of German sausages were cured was a feature of homesteads until into the twentieth century.

Early success in the establishment of the Bethania settlement was reported by the Logan correspondent of the *Queenslander* in March 1866, two years after their arrival.

It cannot be otherwise than highly gratifying to the most ardent friends of colonisation to witness the daily progress of the German settlement on the lower part of the river. Nearly every day are we receiving fresh people, either from newly arrived vessels or from the bush. Somehow or other, the Germans seem soon to have made enough money to settle upon a farm, although they land with little or nothing. A few, and but a few things, apparently, are needful, and they can start. What would entirely puzzle an Englishman, outwit the Scotch, and leave the Irish completely in the shade, the German can, by his natural plodding habits, by his economic style of living, and by the general adaptability of his outgoings to his incomings, accomplish with perfect ease. They soon get started, and they are very industrious as well as careful.⁵

However another reporter in September 1867 referred to conditions of hardship.

It is no use denying the fact that scores of the residents - along both banks of the river - are, at this moment, very badly off, living, as it were, from hand to mouth, and it is no unusual fact to be informed by some poor German that he has not tasted meat, even at its present cheap cost, for days past. Pumpkins and sweet potatoes constitute their chief daily requirements, and have been the life safety-valve of too many around me ... however discouraging and blank the prospect

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3. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 15 March 1865, 14 October 1865, 25 April 1868; *Brisbane Courier*, 28 November 1868.
 4. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 September 1866.
 5. *Queenslander*, 3 March 1866, p. 7.

appears, yet most of the good folk - barely beyond the brink of absolute starvation - hope on; and remain buoyed up with the expectancy that matters will soon mend and the scales be presently turned in their favour.⁶

Like other settlers the Bethania Germans had the problem of providing their own subsistence until they could obtain production or incomes from their farms. There were scarcely any opportunities for employment in the area. The English and Irish settlers on the Logan Agricultural Reserve were not significant employers in the early years as they struggled to develop their blocks. Among the German settlers, even those who had acquired blocks with land orders apparently had little cash and sought work. There are accounts of some who went to work for a time at their trades in Brisbane and German Station.⁷ It was said that some who worked for contractors on the railway from Ipswich had difficulty in getting paid when the colonial government could not raise a loan.⁸

German settlers who were able to work at their trades, usually on their properties, in addition to their work as farmers. A few referred to in stories of the church are mentioned here. Friedrich Kleinschmidt, carpenter (*Zimmermann*), built the first wooden church. Carl Lindow, brickmaker (*Ziegler*), erected a kiln on the property of his son-in-law Andreas Holzheimer from clay found beneath the top layer of soil. Andreas Holzheimer, bricklayer (*Maurer*), built his own house of brick, and supervised the building of the brick church. Brick buildings were not popular, the clay was of inferior quality, and local bricks were used only for ovens and for lining underground tanks. There was a report of 'the hole made by the excavated clay making an excellent pond for Holzheimer, Kleinschmidt, Ebert, and Huth's ducks and geese'⁹ According to local oral history Johannes Lotz, cartwright (*Wagner*), built the first German wagon.¹⁰ It was also said that Gottlieb Schneider, blacksmith (*Schmied*), built the first German wagon in Queensland.¹¹ There is no contemporary evidence to support either claim, and given the length of time other Germans were in the colony it is unlikely that either of these was the first. Schneider carried on this trade with a forge erected on his property, and later sold his farm, and became a full-time blacksmith in Waterford. And there were others, such as Friedrich Ebert, joiner or cabinetmaker (*Tischler*), and Casper Goll, carpenter (*Zimmermann*), about whose trade activities nothing has been handed down.

6. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 23 September 1867.

7. Reminiscences of Pioneering Days on the Logan, 1922, p. 1; *Brisbane Courier*, 12 January 1914, p. 5.

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

9. *ibid.*, 30 May 1914, p. 17.

10. *Logan Lutheran Centenary*, 1964, p. 6; *Waterford State School Centenary*, 1969, p. 21.

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

It was necessary for the Bethania Germans to produce and sell. While they could grow crops for subsistence, the community was too small to provide all that was needed to be self-sufficient or self-contained. And they needed to produce and sell if their personal fortunes were to rise above the subsistence level. Their production whether of goods or labour and whether for use in their own households or for sale maintained themselves and their families and thus contributed to a German community in the area. On the other hand sales of their produce and purchase of necessities brought them into contact and to some extent made them dependent on the wider English-speaking population and made the community less German.

The Bethania Germans were dependent on the government for roads and bridges, but the government was in no haste to provide these. The district including the adjacent agricultural reserve had been opened for settlement because it was accessible by water. In 1864 in relation to the agricultural reserve, a 'Logan Farmer' writing to the *Weekly Herald* stated that 'the means of procuring speedily, and at a reasonable rate, the necessary articles of subsistence and cultivation, as well as of profitably marketing the produce, are as yet totally a-wanting.' He also described 'the want of all regular and available communication with the capital and proper markets' as the 'greatest calamity' and one which was not generally found out until after settlement.¹² The correspondent continued:

The Logan farmer will, however, soon learn to his cost, that from want of proper access to markets, the disposal of his produce in a remunerative way is quite impossible, for, although within seven hours' walk of Brisbane, the water carriage to that city averages four days, a period far too great for safe transit of perishable goods, and that too at the enormous charge of 40s. per ton, while by the dray truck, owing to the state of the road, although the time is shortened, the expense from the light load that can only be carried is much greater.¹³

Vegetables and garden produce were considered to pay the best but were very difficult to market. The arrival of boats was irregular, depending on 'the circumstances or the convenience or profit of the boat proprietor,' and according to the correspondent it was not uncommon for families to be without flour and other necessities for four or five weeks, while the state of the roads made sending a horse and dray to Brisbane 'out of the question.'¹⁴

Before the Germans took up their land it was said that to reach the neighbouring Logan agricultural reserve one had 'to accomplish seventy or eighty miles of bad

12. Quoted in *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 19 November 1864, p. 3.

13. *ibid.*

14. *ibid.*

navigation or twenty miles of bad road.¹⁵ Water transport, in spite of its inadequacies, provided the main service to the Bethania area in the early years, and the Logan River was 'the great highway to a market for our produce' as intended when the agricultural reserve was established.¹⁶ The river was considered navigable as far as McLean at the bridge on the road from Brisbane to the cattle runs on the upper Logan, but Robert Towns established the depot for his cotton plantation at the site of the sawmills, then known as the 'Village on the Logan' and later as 'Logan Village,' and that became the effective head of navigation.¹⁷ At first there were sailing ships and an occasional steamer, and the service improved as demand increased. In October 1867 the steamer *Amy* commenced a regular weekly service, 'a convenience and improvement ... to the old system of cutters waiting wind and weather.'¹⁸ The *Tadorna Radjah* began fortnightly trips to the Logan in January 1870, and in November 1870 it was reported that the *Amy* and the *Gneering* plied the Logan regularly.¹⁹ It was only in July 1874 that the Queensland government began clearing the navigation of the Logan River, removing snags, trees and roots.²⁰ Various other vessels also served the river population. In 1871 to cope with the rapid growth of the sugar industry there was an increase in the number of small vessels in the bay and river trade, facetiously called the 'mosquito fleet.'²¹ The demand for shipping declined with the improvement in roads, and particularly with the arrival of the railway in 1885, but ships were employed on the Logan for another forty years. One of the last was the *Eucalyptus* which loaded timber at Logan Village in 1927.²²

Land transport between Brisbane and the Logan district was slow to develop. In October 1865 it was impossible to take produce to Brisbane by land 'because the roads are so bad it is difficult to get an empty dray over them, let alone one with a load.'²³ In November 1865 the Queensland government established a ferry at the crossing of the Logan river in the agricultural reserve, the site of Waterman's punt in 1862.²⁴ This was later known as the 'Upper Ferry on the Logan River' to distinguish it from the one at Loganholme. Ferry regulations prescribed the conditions of operation including charges, 1s. 9d. for a two-wheeled gig, dray or cart, 4s. for a four-wheeled wagon or carriage and so on,²⁵ and tenders were called for operation of the ferry. However in the

15. *Courier*, 14 August 1862.

16. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 September 1868.

17. *ibid.*, 1 August 1874, 15 May 1876.

18. *ibid.*, 12 October 1867; *Queenslander*, 26 October 1867, p. 4.

19. *ibid.*, 30 December 1869; 5 November 1870.

20. *ibid.*, 12 July 1874, 4 September 1875.

21. *ibid.*, 21 February 1871.

22. *Daily Mail*, 9 July 1927, p. 3.

23. *Brisbane Courier*, 14 October 1865.

24. *Queensland Government Gazette*, Vol. VI, No. 120, 25 November 1865, p. 1187.

25. *ibid.*, p. 1189.

next year it was reported that the ferry was still a problem as the approaches were 'steep and dangerous' and after the slightest wet 'inaccessible for a dray and dangerous even for a horse.'²⁶ From 1868 Road Boards were expected to co-operate with the Government Engineer of Roads in deciding how the grant for roads for the district was to be spent,²⁷ but complaints continued. In 1869 the annual vote of £1,000 for all the roads and bridges between Brisbane and the border was considered small, and the roads 'all but impassable,'²⁸ and in 1870 the road to Eight Mile Plains and thence Brisbane was 'not safe for a rider to go out of a walking pace, and as for vehicles, it is out of the question.'²⁹ In 1873 the approaches to the ferry were said to be still 'apparently risky to any but quiet and well trained horses.'³⁰ However, the mail from Brisbane to Waterford and points farther south was carried by Cobb & Co coaches from 1871, and in 1872 at least one dealer was able to cart produce to Brisbane,³¹ so complaints may have been over-stated.

Marketing, in addition to transport, was also a problem for the early farmers. In 1864 there were a few produce merchants and no organised markets. In the newspapers of 1864 agents and auctioneers advertised sales of stations and livestock, and of hay, maize and potatoes, but there were no agents for the sale of small crops.³² The farmers themselves had to take their produce to Brisbane and try to sell it to storekeepers or householders in the sprawling town. Storekeepers preferred to barter, with the farmer taking supplies in exchange for the produce he had to sell, or accepting a reduced price if cash was required. Vegetables, eggs, poultry, bacon and kegs of butter could be sold.³³ There is no information on how the Bethania Germans marketed their produce, or whether they had direct lines to German customers in Brisbane. With poor transport and poor markets the conditions of trade were generally against the farmer. In October 1865 it was suggested that even if he sent his vegetables by boat and travelled overland for their arrival to effect a sale, merchants might give him 'nearly as much as would pay the freight of them.'³⁴

In time the Germans were to be at the beginnings of the cotton industry, the sugar industry and the dairying industry. But in their earliest years what they could grow and sell was limited by the distance from the city and the lack of transport and markets. Their main marketable products were the hardy crops maize and potatoes

26. *Brisbane Courier*, 27 April 1866, 15 August 1866.

27. *ibid.*, 3 June 1868, 3 August 1907, p. 13.

28. *ibid.*, 3 April 1869, 24 May 1869, 16 September 1870.

29. *ibid.*, 16 September 1870.

30. *ibid.*, 10 May 1873.

31. *ibid.*, 1 November 1870; see reference to dealer Kleiver in Chapter 4.

32. *Courier*, 4 January 1864.

33. *Brisbane Courier*, 19 September 1874, 25 December 1874, 13 February 1932, p. 8.

and then cotton growing sponsored by the government became important to farmers in the Logan district including the Germans.

In Queensland before the arrival of the Bethania Germans more maize was cultivated than any other crop, and the returns from maize grown on rich bush lands near the banks of rivers were 'very prolific and remunerating.'³⁵ Two crops a year could be grown, one pulled before Christmas and the other at the end of May, to avoid the frost during the growing periods. It was considered a hardy crop, with fewer enemies than other grain crops. Maize could be planted with a hoe in partly cleared land before stumps and logs had been removed. It could be husked by hand on the farm as it was pulled, or later in the barn, and could be shelled by hand, although a corn-sheller was introduced which could be worked by hand, or by animal power, or by an engine. The grains were hard and little affected by rough handling when transported to market by land or water. Maize was an ideal crop for the German farmers beginning to clear their land and prepared to work with a hoe.

The demand for maize grew with the increase in the population of the colony and in the number of horses providing motive power. As almost all of the coastal areas of Queensland were suitable for maize-growing, production also increased as settlement spread up the coast. Most of the time maize was a good crop for the farmer, always saleable, but in good growing seasons the price tended to fall below a remunerative level. There are no separate statistics for Bethania, but the Agricultural Returns of Land under Cultivation published by the Registrar-General show that in the Logan District although cotton and sugar-cane in their turn became popular crops, maize continued to be grown as a commercial crop into the twentieth century.³⁶

Maize ground by hand mills was used as an article of food by families on the Logan River and elsewhere, owing to the high price and 'indifferent quality' of imported flour.³⁷ The newspapers published recipes for a 'variety of excellent dishes that can be made from crushed maize and its flour.' These included bread made from maize flour on its own or in combination with wheat flour, and puddings and cakes made with milk, eggs and sweeteners also in their ingredients.³⁸ While struggling farmers used maize in their homes others were happy to state, 'No, we have not come to that yet.'³⁹

34. *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 14 October 1865.

35. *Queensland Guardian*, 30 October 1861.

36. Statistical Registers in *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, various years.

37. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 February 1866; *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 25 April 1868.

38. *Brisbane Courier*, 16 February 1866, 29 May 1866.

39. *ibid.*, 20 June 1868.

Potatoes also yielded two crops a year, before and after winter, and could be transported by boat and marketed through agents, but they were more difficult to grow, more subject to disease, and could not be handled as roughly as maize. There are no separate statistics for Bethania, but the area in the Logan district planted with potatoes was only one-tenth of that planted with maize.⁴⁰ Production of potatoes continued through the cotton and sugar years with transport later by wagon and rail.

Cotton growing in Queensland in the 1860s and 1870s was sponsored by the government under two provisions of the *Alienation of Crown Lands Act* of 1860. A premium was payable on cotton exported to Great Britain, £10 per bale in the first years and then on a reducing scale to cease after 1871. The premium was payable in land orders as the government had a lot of land at its disposal but very little cash. The government also made 'conditional grants of land for cotton cultivation' in blocks of between 320 and 1280 acres, subject to cultivation and expenditure conditions. The blockade of southern ports during the American Civil War created a 'cotton crisis' from 1861 to 1863 when imports of cotton to Britain declined and prices quadrupled.⁴¹ In these years a number of cotton plantations were established in Queensland. Plantations south of Brisbane included the Queensland Co-operative Company across the river at Loganholme and the plantation of Robert Towns at Townsvale near Beaudesert farther up the Logan. The cotton plantations did not last very long. Townsvale was the most successful, but in its only one reasonably good year 1867 it made a loss, and it ceased to grow cotton in 1871.⁴²

There are references to cotton-growing by Logan farmers, but few specifically to the Bethania Germans. The Logan farmers came into cotton later than the plantations and later than the farmers in the vicinity of Brisbane and Ipswich. The experience of the plantations was passed on and some early mistakes avoided. The hardier Upland varieties were grown instead of the more valuable but difficult to grow Sea Island varieties, and cotton was grown as an annual instead of as a perennial. The premium paid to exporters raised the price paid to farmers. However the Logan farmers missed the highest cotton prices. By 1867 when they began production the price had fallen to less than half its peak, and it continued to fall to its pre-war level.⁴³

40. Statistical Registers in *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, various years.

41. Raymond Holzheimer, 'Cotton in the Logan,' M. Litt. thesis, U.N.E., 1998, p. 64, table of prices.

42. *ibid.* pp. 22-6.

43. *ibid.* p. 32, and p. 64, table of prices.

Cotton was urged as an alternative to maize in early 1867 as the market was overstocked with maize and cotton promised to be more remunerative.⁴⁴ The first cotton seasons reported for the Logan were those of 1866-67 and 1867-68.⁴⁵ The results were mixed and although it soon became apparent that the Logan was not good cotton country the farmers persisted for some eight years. In 1868 it was observed that the alluvial lands of the Logan would never be cotton lands like the limestone bottom lands around Ipswich the main cotton centre. The plants were too thick and the yield of cotton less than in lighter soil.⁴⁶ There was seldom a year in which the weather at all stages was favourable to cotton. Seed had to be planted so that the plants would come up in September or October, after the frost, but rain during the growing season was uncertain. Insect pests, the cotton aphis, cabbage caterpillar and boll worm, increased every year. Cultivation was needed to keep down the weeds in which the pests hid. The picking season included the wettest months of the year, February and March, when pests were most active, and cultivation was difficult. Cotton picked wet had to be dried.

By 1867 cotton-growing in Queensland had assumed the dimensions of a regular industry.⁴⁷ Before the farmers began to grow cotton in the Logan there were agents in Brisbane who would gin and pack cotton, and either purchase or consign it to Britain.⁴⁸ As the industry developed Brisbane merchants had agents operating in the Logan. The Hinchcliffe family acted as agents at Waterford and Logan Village.⁴⁹ In 1868 Grimley had a gin operating at the Waterford ferry, and in the next year had a second.⁵⁰ The simplest arrangement for the farmer was to sell his cotton in seed at the farm gate. In 1870 there were four buyers in the district and competition was keen, but by 1872 there were only two.⁵¹

Cotton growing required work for nearly the whole year. When one harvest was completed old bushes were uprooted and burnt during the winter and land had to be prepared for the next crop. There is an 1868 reference to Logan farmers with small acreages including Germans 'who cultivate them with manual labour'.⁵² Later horse-drawn implements were used for initial soil preparation and inter-row cultivation during

44. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 June 1868, East Moreton Farmers' Association; *Queensland Daily Guardian*, 8 June 1868.

45. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 June 1867, 8 June 1868, 6 October 1868.

46. *Queensland Times*, 9 July 1868, *Brisbane Courier*, 10 July 1868.

47. *Queensland Times*, 20 August 1867.

48. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 March 1867.

49. Hinchcliffe Cutting Book, pp. 46-7.

50. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 April 1868, 14 May 1868, 25 May 1869.

51. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 April 1870, 15 May 1870, 22 April 1872.

52. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 October 1868.

the growing and harvesting periods. Much of the work such as chipping and picking was light and could be done by women and children. In 1870 it was suggested that the only farmer who had a chance of making farming pay was 'he who has a large family.'⁵³ Although children were relied on as part of the labour force at picking time there were no general changes to school holidays or school hours, and school attendances suffered during the picking season.⁵⁴ Germans in the Logan were providing labour before they were growing cotton. In January 1866 it was reported that 'several parties of German children have gone down to the Pimpama cotton plantation, having been sent for to pick cotton' and in April the same year that 'no difficulty is expected in the picking as the numbers of German families on the Logan will furnish ample assistance.'⁵⁵ They apparently continued through the cotton years and it was reported that when cotton growing ceased in 1875 the poor farmers of the Logan were 'quite disheartened,' as they no longer had that employment.⁵⁶

The only really successful cotton crop for the Logan farmers was in 1869-70, with favourable weather and little trouble from pests, and the quantity and quality of cotton exceeded that of former years.⁵⁷ A handwritten journal of an unnamed cotton-buyer for the year 1869 held at the John Oxley Library shows purchases of small quantities of cotton from many of the Logan farmers.⁵⁸ The next year the Logan cotton industry had the highest acreage ever recorded, but at the 'German Station' the crop was a failure and the farmers substituted potatoes which yielded an 'excellent result.'⁵⁹ From that high point of 1870-71 the decline was rapid. By August 1873 'several of the farmers were giving up cotton on account of its uncertainty and the great fall there has been in the price of it'.⁶⁰ The year 1874 was a drought year in the Logan with thousands of burnt-out acres and heavy loss of livestock, and the cotton industry was almost ended before the flood of February 1875, the highest recorded since 1864. In 1875 the price had returned to the 1860 level. Although cotton was introduced as an alternative to maize, throughout the cotton years the acreage of maize had continued to exceed that of cotton. In 1875 maize gave a better return for land and labour and so did sugarcane as that industry was becoming better organised.⁶¹

53. *Queensland Times*, 30 August 1870.

54. *Queensland Times*, 1 March 1870, 13 April 1871; *Brisbane Courier*, 23 July 1870.

55. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 January 1866, 16 April 1866.

56. *Queensland Times*, 29 June 1875.

57. *Brisbane Courier*, 15 May 1870, 24 September 1870.

58. Journal showing purchases of cotton in the Logan in 1869, Oxley Library reference OM91-96/2.

59. *Queensland Times*, 24 December 1870.

60. *Brisbane Courier*, 16 August 1878.

61. Raymond Holzheimer, 'Cotton in the Logan,' p. 37.

Farming was never going to be easy for the Bethania Germans. In a letter addressed to the farmers in East and West Moreton in 1868 a farmer saw difficulties with all of the accepted crops.

It has now been proved that cotton-growing in East Moreton, even with the bonus, will scarce pay for the picking, and few, if any, who have grown it, will I think ever try cotton again in East Moreton.

Maize, besides being somewhat uncertain, scarcely pays the grower; as, if he has a good crop, the price is generally too low to leave any margin for profit.

English potatoes scarcely return you the seed, and while they are brought here from the southward and sold in Brisbane at from 25s. to 30s. per ton, it is madness to grow more than you can consume in your own families.

Sugar cane appears to be the only crop at present likely to pay, but here again we are met with the vast expense of buildings and machinery for its manufacture into sugar. To say nothing of the long time it takes to mature a sugar crop.⁶²

The cotton years tended to mark the end of the first stage of farming among the Bethania Germans. The very small farms were disappearing as land holdings were consolidated, sugarcane was becoming the preferred crop, and from the late 1870s there were improvements in transport and marketing.

62. *Brisbane Courier*, 28 October 1868, letter from John Campbell addressed to The Farmers of East and West Moreton.

Chapter 6.

CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION

From the 1870s the shape of the Bethania settlement changed. There were improvements in transport and marketing made by the government. In the area of first settlement the very small holdings were consolidated and the settlement expanded as Germans acquired land originally taken up by other settlers. Both consolidation and expansion of the settlement occurred slowly over decades, and there was no apparent correlation with other events such as the changes in transport or with changes in production. The production changes to sugarcane growing and dairying are referred to in the next chapter. Here transport and marketing are first considered and then the changes in land ownership.

Agitation for a bridge to replace the ferry appears to have begun in 1874, and the bridge over the Logan River at Waterford was opened to traffic on 15 August 1876.¹ It was a high-level bridge, 'well above the highest flood level recorded,' and gave headway of twenty-four feet with bays of fifty feet to provide ample room for the passage of boats. While the government clearly intended that the river would continue to provide transport, road transport had considerably improved. In 1878 it was reported of the German population: 'The farmers carry into town their own produce by waggon, and bring loading out at the same price as the steamer charges, and thus the whole of the returns from their crops are their own.'²

The Waterford Divisional Board became responsible for local roads. The first Board was appointed in 1880, subsequent Boards were elected, and complaints about local roads no longer appeared in the press. Complaints about the road to Brisbane were directed to other Divisional Boards. After the arrival of the railway in 1885 both water transport and the roads became of lesser importance.

Construction of the first railway in Queensland began in February 1864, soon after the *Susanne Godeffroy* migrants arrived in Brisbane. It started in Ipswich and went westwards. In 1875 Ipswich was connected to Brisbane by rail. But it was not until 1885 that Bethania was linked by rail to Brisbane twenty miles away. The line to Loganlea on the left bank of the Logan River was opened in April 1885,³ but there was a delay in obtaining materials for the railway bridge over the Logan, and the line to Beenleigh was opened on 15 July 1885. A correspondent of the *Logan Witness*

1. *Brisbane Courier*, 15 August 1874, 21 August 1876.

2. *Logan Witness*, 4 May 1878.

3. *ibid.*, 7 April 1885.

described the line through the Bethania area.

From the Logan River the line passes through what is known as the German Pocket - a stretch of country entirely occupied by German settlers, hence the name. A mile beyond the bridge the first station Kara Kara (the native name for the district) is reached. At this station is the junction with the Upper Logan Branch, which is still under construction ... Between Kara Kara and Beenleigh there are two stopping places. One is called Hawthorne, at which a good deal of traffic is anticipated from the opposite side of the river, where there is a considerable settlement. The traffic will be carried on from the other side of the river to Hawthorne by boat.⁴

For the line through the German Pocket resumptions were made from the selections of Holzheimer, Ebert, Tesch, Schneider and Berndt and from the church block. During construction the bridge was referred to as the 'Kara Kara Bridge' and the junction as 'Waterford Junction.'⁵ Some Bethania Germans were employed on the line and some used their horses and wagons in carting gravel and sleepers. The Hawthorne stopping place was intended to serve the farms on the former cotton plantation, by then occupied by Germans, but it was little used and soon ceased to be a stopping place. The branch line to Logan Village was opened on 5 September 1885. The timetable for the line opened to Beenligh showed the name of the station in the German Pocket as 'Kara Kara,' but the new timetable when the branch was opened to Logan Village showed the name as 'Bethania Junction.'⁶ Thus the name 'Bethania' became official. Bethania Junction railway station had a full time staff. There was also a station at Waterford on the Logan Village branch, a mile or so from the surveyed allotments of the township, but that station was of lesser status and manned only for a time. The railway bridge had to be rebuilt after the flood of 1887.

A new post office for Bethania Junction was located at the railway station and staffed by railway officers. According to the Post Office's own history the earliest postal service for the area began soon after the Germans arrived in 1864 when a postmaster was appointed and a post office established at 'Logan Reserve,' on the left side of the river not far from the future site of Waterford. At first mail was carried on horseback to and from Brisbane once a week. In 1877 a new post office was established farther up the Logan River and named 'Logan Reserve' and the old office was named 'Waterford.' Over the years there were various postmasters. Schneider, who set up his blacksmith shop and a store in Waterford, took over the post office in 1877. The store and post office in Waterford were to remain with members of the

4. *ibid.*, 1 August 1885.

5. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 March 1885.

6. *Logan Witness*, 1 August 1885, 5 September 1885.

Schneider family until 1932, but the Bethania Junction post office was never operated by Germans.⁷

By the late 1870s and early 1880s the produce trade in Brisbane was centred in Mary and Eagle Streets where the Brisbane City Council had a market reserve and agents held sales regularly, according to an account of the Brisbane markets published in 1932.⁸ Most of the produce came by boats, usually sailing cutters, which discharged their cargoes at wharves in Eagle Street. But by the 1880s the roads from the Logan were sufficiently improved for the carriage of produce by wagon. In the 1880s the centre of the produce trade shifted to the market area near the Roma Street railway station, 'which had its obvious advantages of situation and improved railway facilities.' The building of the Roma Street market was begun in 1884 and the railway line was extended to enable railway trucks to be brought into a produce section with stalls for agents. With the move to Roma Street 'the era of boat-carrying faded into history,' and railway services marked the end of carriage to market by horse-drawn wagons. While markets and transport were being improved the pattern of land ownership also changed

Within a few years of the settlement of the forty families at Bethania some of the Germans enlarged their small holdings by buying out their neighbours. With clearing and other development the properties had increased in value from the £1 per acre paid for the land. In October 1866 the Logan correspondent of the *Brisbane Courier* reported:

During the last week several small properties at the German Station have changed hands rather encouragingly to small farmers. One, five and a half acres, half cleared, with a little humpy, has changed owners for £50 cash; another twelve acres, four cleared, £100; also several lots without any improvements at £3 an acre. This, at any rate, shows that people have full confidence in small farms on the Logan; and, indeed, good land with river frontage will soon be at a high premium.⁹

The remaining farmers required larger acreages as they relied less on their own farming for subsistence, and moved to mixed farming growing cotton and sugarcane, and then on to dairying. Names of original settlers who disposed of their land holdings and left the Bethania area are listed in the following table. Although the *Brisbane Courier* referred to sales in 1866 the first of the land transfers was registered in 1869 and they became more frequent from 1874.

7. Malcolm M. Rea, Waterford, An Australian Post Office History, P.M.G. Dept, Brisbane, 1970, in typescript, Oxley Library.

8. *Brisbane Courier*, 13 February 1932, p. 9.

9. *Brisbane Courier*, 20 October 1866.

1869	Johannes Goll to Johannes Lotz	6 acres
	Wilhelm Bobermien to Wilhelm Goetsch	6 "
1873	Friedrich Kroning to Pastor Hellmuth	6 "
1874	Ferdinand Kasper to Friedrich Radke	12 acres
	Carl Walters to Herrmann Felschow	12 "
1875	John Eppinger to Ernst Richter	10 "
	Martin Egert to Ernst Richter	4 acres
1876	Wilhelm Schubel to Wilhelm Goetsch	6 "
	August Kuter to Herrmann Felschow	6 "
	Carl Rehfeldt to Herrmann Felschow	6 "
1880	Friedrich Kleinschmidt to Emil Lohrisch	18 acres
1882	Friedrich Mollenhagen to Carl Schilling	12 "
	Christian Berndt to Carl Holzheimer	97 "
	Christian Berndt to Wilhelm Sommer	60 acres
1884	John Niehaus to Johannes Lotz	10 "
	Gottlieb Lobegier to Johannes Kruger	6 "
	Carl Huth to Friedrich Ebert	6 "
1898	Martin Sichter to August Felschow	6 acres ¹⁰

The surnames of these seventeen sellers then disappeared from the Bethania area, but descendants of Berndt returned some years later. There were settlers who sold their blocks to move to other properties in the Bethania area.

1869	Wilhelm Sommer to Frederick Wagert	6 acres
1872	Martin Fels to Pastor Hellmuth	6 "
1873	Carl Hinze to Friedrich Radke	6 "
1876	Wilhelm Muchow to Carl Kelk	12 "
1878	Gottlieb Schneider to Carl Ludwig	35 acres. ¹¹

Those settlers who moved to areas adjacent to Bethania are here regarded as still being Bethania Germans.

The years shown above and referred to below are those on title transfer records. No other information on the date of transactions is now available, but as indicated in a previous chapter, it is probable that some transfers were completed some time before the documents were registered. Transfers referred to here are intended to show the departure of some settlers and the enhanced land holdings of others, and are not intended to be a complete record of all land transactions.

10. Transfers are shown on Certificates of Title, 12533 Goll, 12923 Bobermien, 16100 Kroning, 8771 Kasper, 18146 Walter, 8772 Eppinger, 10524 Egert, 12924 Schubel, 12925 Kuter, 12921 Rehfeldt, 74968 Kleinschmidt, 13903 Mollenhagen, 12810 and 12811 Berndt, 8773 Niehaus, 12818 Lobegier, 157/158 Huth, 12912 Sichter.

11. Certificates of Title 13530 Sommer, 22695 Fels, 30599 Hinze, 9207 Muchow, 12312 Schneider.

Some original settlers also put together enlarged properties before passing them on. Johannes Lotz added to his own block those of Johannes Goll in 1869 and Niehaus in 1884 and sold these sixteen acres to August Radke and Ferdinand Goetsch in 1900 and 1910.¹² The Felschows father and son bought the properties of Walters, Kuter and Rehfeldt from 1874 to 1876 and that of Sichter in 1898 and these with the original property totalled forty acres and were transferred to Wilhelm Kelk in 1909 and 1910.¹³ Schilling added to his own the block of Mollenhagen in 1882, and these twenty-four acres were sold to Carl F. A. Tesch in 1909.¹⁴

Kruger, Richter and Burow were newcomers to the district who purchased properties and later sold them to longer term residents of Bethania. Members of the Kruger family purchased blocks from Lobegier in 1867 and Wagert in 1876 and in 1896 transferred these eleven acres to August and Johann Radke when the Krugers left the Bethania area.¹⁵ Ernst Richter acquired the properties of Egert and Eppinger in 1875 and transferred these fourteen acres to Kasper Goll in 1884.¹⁶ Wilhelm Burow acquired Pastor Hellmuth's two blocks in 1878, and in 1886 sold them to Carl Kelk.¹⁷ Richter and Burow both moved to properties on the former Logan Agricultural Reserve.

After selling his original block Wilhelm Sommer bought the fifty-three acre block of Thiedecke in 1875 and one block of sixty acres from Berndt in 1883. When Sommer moved out of the district to take up land downstream he sold both of these blocks at the eastern end of the German settlement to Samuel Orr in 1885.¹⁸ This was the first transfer of land in the original settlement to a non-German, and there was not to be another until 1939.

Those who added to their land and remained in the area continued the Bethania German community. The Kelk, Goetsch, Radke, Goll, Ludwig and Holzheimer families all considerably enlarged their holdings.

Carl Kelk, as noted above, bought the blocks of Muchow in 1876 and Burow in 1886, and in 1909 and 1910 his son Wilhelm added the land put together by Felschow.¹⁹ Wilhelm Kelk then held all of the subdivisions of the forty-nine acres of Portion 21,

12. Certificates of Title 12533 Goll, 8773 Niehaus, 15740, 71019 Lotz.

13. Certificates of Title 18146 Walter, 12925 Kuter, 12921 Rehfeldt, 12912 Sichter, 1696720, 1720150 Felschow.

14. Certificates of Title 13903 Mollenhagen, 13904 Schilling.

15. Certificates of Title 12818 Lobegier Kruger Radke, 13530 Sommer Wagert Radke.

16. Certificates of Title 17631, 8772 Eppinger, 60428 Richter.

17. Certificates of Title 16100 Kroning, 22695 Fels, 28048, 30599 Hellmuth, 50759 Burow.

18. Land Purchase Deed 13151 Thiedecke, Certificates of Title 12810 Berndt, 75240 Sommer.

19. Certificates of Title 9207 Muchow, 29206 Hellmuth, Deed of Grant 60016 Hinze, Certificates of Title 1696720 1720150 Felschow.

plus the adjoining five-and-a-half acre blocks originally owned by Muchow, Kroning, Fels, Kuter, Rehfeldt, and Sichter, a total of eighty-two acres, considerably larger than his original eleven acres.

Wilhelm Goetsch bought the adjoining blocks of Bobermien in 1869 and Schubel in 1876. His son Ferdinand in 1910 added the original block of Johannes Lotz and two blocks of Kasper Goll in 1914.²⁰ Goetsch then had seven of the five-and-a-half-acre blocks adjacent to each other. In addition in 1906 he acquired the twelve acres of Christian Willert.²¹ All of the land of Ferdinand Goetsch passed to his son-in-law Gustav Fels in 1935.

Friedrich Radke purchased land from Hinze in 1873 and Kasper in 1874, and his son August in 1895 added the land of the Krugers and in 1900 the Niehaus block from Lotz, to give him a total of thirty-eight acres. In 1896 his brother Johannes Radke bought the former Lobegier block from the Krugers.²²

Kasper Goll moved from his original block and by acquisitions extending into the twentieth century he and his son Carl put together some sixty acres in adjoining blocks in the original settlement area. These included purchases from Richter in 1884, the Thumm land in 1905, and the block of August Ludwig in 1915.²³

Carl Ludwig bought Schneider's thirty-five acres in 1878 and his son Edward in 1937 also acquired the Tesch properties of over forty acres.²⁴ As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the block of Ebert was transferred to Herman Ludwig in 1932.²⁵

The smallness of the blocks held by the Bethania Germans has sometimes been attributed to subdivisions for inheritance,²⁶ but as indicated in a previous chapter, the subdivisions were made by the earliest occupiers before questions of inheritance could have arisen. In fact, the Holzheimer selection was the only one of the earliest blocks to be divided among family members. Some land was taken by the railway in 1884, and the remainder split into two blocks each five chains wide, with twenty-seven acres transferred to Carl in 1887.²⁷ Carl also acquired two blocks from Berndt in 1882.²⁸ On

20. Certificates of Title 12923 Bobermien, 12924 Schubel, 133704 Lotz, 12819 15365 Goll.

21. Certificate of title 13902.

22. Certificates of Title 13901 Radke, 30599 Hinze, 32520 Kasper, 13520 Sommer Kruger, 8773 Niehaus Lotz, 12818 Lobegier Kruger.

23. Certificates of Title 17631.60428 Richter, 12819 15365 Goll, 6714 Thumm, 7889 Ludwig.

24. Certificates of Title 12312 Schneider, 376620 etc. Tesch.

25. Certificate of Title 96538.

26. For example, see *Brisbane Courier*, 1 June 1907, p. 15, article on 'Bethania Junction.'

27. Land Purchase 11 February 1864 Deed 8110.

28. Certificates of Title 12810, 12811.

the death of Andreas in 1895 his part was transferred to his youngest son Traugott who also acquired from his brother Gustav the Lohrisch block in 1909.²⁹

Over the fifty years from the first settlement of Germans at Bethania the number of landowners in the area of original settlement had fallen from forty to ten, from north to south, Kelk, Goetsch (later G. Fels), Tesch, two Radkes, Goll, two Holzheimers, Richter (later H. Ludwig) and E. Ludwig. Johannes Radke with five acres was a wheelwright and sawmiller rather than a farmer. The other nine were to be the dairy farmers in the twentieth century.

There are no clear indications of why some families were successful in acquiring larger blocks at Bethania. Additional land was likely to be bought by those who had farming occupations prior to migrating. Possibly some settlers carried on other occupations in addition to farming to obtain the resources to buy larger properties.

There is not enough information to link family size to success in acquiring larger areas. One would also need to know how many children stayed at home and for how long. Sizes of families are discussed in another chapter.

It cannot be assumed that those who moved away were less successful. It is not known if any left because of financial difficulties. Although there were some in other parts of the Logan district there were no actual bankrupts among the Bethania Germans. Those who moved away to become independent tradesmen or businessmen or to take up employment may well have considered themselves more fortunate than those left on farms. Schneider sold his farm to move to Waterford for his smithy and store, and later established a saw mill, and also bought some low quality blocks near Waterford. Fels, Richter and Burow also moved to larger properties in the expansion areas considered below. Rehfeldt and Kleinschmidt were perhaps the most successful of those who moved away. They both moved to larger farms in other parts of the Logan and established their own sugar mills. In the next generation Gustav Holzheimer sold his Bethania farm so he and some of his sons could take up larger properties near Gladstone.

While the German settlers were consolidating their holdings, other Germans, some original settlers, some descendants of original settlers, and some Germans new to the area were moving into areas adjacent to the original settlement. There was no more good agricultural land near Bethania available for settlement. Germans who wanted more land in the area, whether settlers or newcomers, could acquire it only by buying out English and Irish settlers. The areas into which the German settlement at Bethania

29. Certificate of Title 74968.

expanded may be considered in five parts. First there was the area to the south on the same side of the Logan River in the extension to the Logan Agricultural Reserve. Then there was the area also to the south on the opposite side of the river and in the original Logan Agricultural Reserve. There was also the Kara Kara area to the west and across the road from the Bethania settlement and in the same river 'pocket.' Most of the former cotton plantation across the Logan River to the east of Bethania was taken up by Germans. Some Germans also became residents of the township of Waterford.

The movement into some of the new areas indirectly followed application of the closer settlement provisions of *The Crown Lands Alienation Act 1868*. In 1872 following a recommendation of the Land Commissioner for East Moreton the Parliament resolved that blocks of approximately eight square miles be resumed from eleven pastoral runs in the upper Logan.³⁰ When selections became available on these runs some of the British settlers on the former Logan Agricultural Reserve moved to larger holdings more suitable for cattle raising. Some of the German farmers who had sold their small blocks to neighbours, and perhaps had acquired additional means by work or produce sales, bought larger acreages in the former Reserve. Some properties were also bought by Germans new to the Bethania area. The process was described in the *Brisbane Courier* in November 1872:

The group of settlers above mentioned [at Canungra and Tambourine] are all from the Logan, where they found their holdings too circumscribed. Their farms are about 150 to double that number of acres, and the extensive ridges of the Darlington Range give them large tracts of pasture. ... their land is much to be preferred to the sandy ridges or the hard silt of the Logan.

Many of the Logan holdings purchased by land-orders in 1863 and '64, and fenced by compulsion, were only very partially cultivated, only the small patches of scrub being worth the labor. These have now been bought by the careful, frugal Germans who came to the colony about the same time, and have wisely learned to earn and save their wages so as to obtain homes ready made for them; and the prices which they now pay down to the former owners, although not great remuneration for the labor and cash spent in the holdings, come when experience has made it doubly valuable, and with the cattle and horses which eight years of carefulness have enabled them to collect they are able to compete with larger farmers in cultivating any or all of the crops possible to be obtained here.³¹

30. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly 1872*, pp. 1257-8, Report of Land Commissioner East Moreton, 30 April 1872; *Queensland Parliamentary Debates 1872*, pp. 853-4, 13 August 1872, Secretary for Public Lands.

31. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 November 1872.

The Germans first took up previously occupied areas in the former Extension to the Logan Agricultural Reserve. This was in the Parish of Moffatt on the right bank of the Logan River, to the south of the Bethania settlement, adjacent to the area surveyed for the town of Waterford. Some of the land had been held on lease and never purchased, and for these blocks the German purchasers were shown on the cadastral map as original owners. Some of the earliest settlers in Bethania obtained land in this area:

Gottlieb Schneider, 40 acres in 1869, and another four blocks between 1870 and 1878, near the surveyed town of Waterford;
 Wilhelm Schilling, 59 acres in 1870, and another 59 acres in 1878;
 Carl Schilling, 40 acres in 1875, near the German settlement;
 Wilhelm Thiedecke, 51 acres in 1872, and later three more blocks;
 Friedrich Mollenhagen, 50 acres in 1877;
 Carl Tesch, in 1880, 28 acres;
 Friedrich Berndt, 48 acres in 1899.³²

Other Germans who had not previously been landowners in the Bethania area also bought land in this area:

Wilhelm Schlort, 61 acres in 1869, and later 51 acres and 46 acres;
 Andreas Oppermann, 69 acres in 1876;
 Gottfried Kraatz, in 1877, 46 acres.³³

As in the area of original settlement there were other subsequent transfers of property among the German purchasers and some families were able to secure more extensive holdings. Only a few transfers are mentioned here. The Spann family were new landowners in the Bethania area and later acquired all of the Thiedecke land and most of the Schilling property. The Mollenhagen block passed through the hands of Lotz, Schlort and Goetsch and then to Gottfried Oppermann in 1909.³⁴ August Tesch bought one block from Schneider.³⁵ Wilhelm Kraatz acquired his father's block, and then two additional blocks in 1899, and all three passed to his son-in-law Carl Maas in 1935.³⁶ In this area the Germans did split a few blocks, apparently to divide joint purchases or to share arable land, but there were none of the very small blocks such as those in the original settlement.

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32. Land Purchase 1869 Deed 35400, Certificates of Title 73167 91643 Schneider, Certificates of Title 11398 25907 Schilling and Tesch, 36577 C. Schilling, 27941 37992 Thiedecke, 46259 Mollenhagen, 34681 Tesch, 31314 Berndt.
 33. Certificates of Title 19346 etc. Schlort, 11336 Oppermann, 44590 Kraatz.
 34. Certificates of Title 46259, 68254.
 35. Certificate of Title 91643.
 36. Certificates of Title 91940, 44590, 27090.

Germans also acquired properties in the Parish of Mackenzie in what had been the original Logan Agricultural Reserve on the left bank of the Logan River. The title transfers could not be traced in full detail, but it is apparent that Henry Jordan put together a property of some 200 acres from blocks which had been bought or leased originally in 1862.³⁷ Jordan erected a sugar-mill and operated his property as a sugar plantation. When the venture failed Francis Lahey bought ten acres and the mill.³⁸ The rest of the property was resubdivided and acquired by Germans in transactions which appear to have extended over some decades, some after the death of Jordan in 1890, and in some cases after intermediate transactions. Sales from the former Jordan property were made to:

Ferdinand Lietzow, three blocks totalling 137 acres between 1880 and 1900;
Christian Willert, 48 acres in 1892; and
Albert Baumann, 25 acres in 1899.³⁹

Wilhelm Burow bought the Willert property in 1902 and thirty-nine acres from Lietzow in 1914.⁴⁰ These Germans and some others acquired additional properties on the left bank of the Logan River.

Gottfried Tesch, in 1874 and 1875, two blocks totalling 111 acres;
Christian Beutel, 55 acres in 1883;
Beutel family members, in 1908 and 1912, 40 acres;
Christian Willert, 57 acres in 1895;
Carl Muchow, 58 acres in 1911.⁴¹

The Willert purchase passed to William Goetsch in 1898 and then to Albert Baumann in 1910, and the Muchow purchase to Baumann in 1912.⁴² Also on the left bank of the Logan River, but farther downstream and to the north, three blocks were acquired by Ernst Richter in 1890, Karl Regeling in 1900, and Ferdinand Lietzow in 1905.⁴³

The family names Baumann, Beutel, Regeling and Lietzow had not previously been recorded as landowners in the Bethania area. The names of some other Germans, whose land occupancy for a few years has not been considered here, Berthelsen, Devantier, Heidenreich and Schmidt, were better known in other areas. Other properties farther upriver also passed to Germans who appear to have been associated

37. Certificates of Title 20079 82716 82759.

38. Certificate of Title 20079.

39. Certificates of Title 20079 82759 Lietzow, 52885 Willert, 82716 Baumann.

40. Certificates of Title 82759 52885.

41. Deed 9728, Certificate of Title 18419 Tesch, Deeds 6080 80145 80146 Beutel, Certificates of Title 145379 Willert, 142228 Muchow.

42. Certificates of Title 147058, 142228.

43. Certificates of Title 231538 Richter, 132302 Regeling, Deed 5869 Lietzow.

with Logan Reserve rather than with Waterford and Bethania.

The Kara Kara area to the west of the original German settlement between the road and the river was also acquired by Germans from 1876 and in the twentieth century became the property of the Oppermann, Noffke and Tesch families. The three blocks held by the original selectors John Harrison, John Gilbanks and Tom Penny were re-arranged into three separate titles to give each of them some arable land on the river bank and access to the river. The German purchasers were:

Carl Noffke, 30 acres in 1876;
 Christian Sempf, 17 acres in 1879 and 20 acres in 1884, both of which were
 sold to August Noffke in 1912;
 Carl Hinze, 46 acres in 1891.⁴⁴

In 1885 Carl Hinze had bought the former ferry reserve, on the river at the end of the road, and had sold half of it to Carl Kelk. The remaining eight acres were transferred to his son-in-law Carl Oppermann in 1911, and the forty-six acres to Hinze's daughter Magdalene wife of Carl Oppermann in 1921.⁴⁵

The O'Donnell family were to remain longer than many of the Waterford Irish, and their property was acquired by August Noffke, one block in 1888, and three blocks in 1906.⁴⁶ Christian Willert became the owner in 1906 of an adjacent fifty acre block which had been divided by the railway, and which was acquired by Pauline wife of Alfred Noffke in 1929 and 1937.⁴⁷

The four blocks originally held by the Hinchcliffe's were eventually acquired by members of the Tesch family. Gottfried Tesch bought twenty acres in 1878, which passed to his son Carl C. F. Tesch in 1897 and grandson Ernst in 1924.⁴⁸ Friedrich Schilling bought ninety-six acres in 1895 which with his two blocks in the original settlement area were sold to Carl F. A. Tesch 1909, and passed to his son Theodor in 1943.⁴⁹ On the departure of John Hinchcliffe from Waterford the remaining Hinchcliffe property was sold in April 1896 in two parcels. John Greig bought thirty-three acres, which passed to his son and were sold to Wilhelm Tesch in 1923.⁵⁰ Thirty-four acres bought by Albert Noffke passed through the hands of Heinrich Dargusch, Christian Beutel, and Hermann Radke to Ernst Tesch in 1929.⁵¹

44. Certificates of Title 40288 Noffke, 40344 74255 Sempf, 132133 Hinze.

45. Certificates of Title 90542, 132133.

46. Deeds 33584 17653 71444, Certificate of Title 74953.

47. Deed 78669.

48. Certificate of Title 28568 Tesch, Deeds 39969 39970 Schilling.

49. Certificates of Title 274752 131277.

50. Certificate of Title 147117.

The failure of the cotton plantation at Loganholme on the land across the river from the original area of German settlement was also to provide opportunities for Germans to acquire land. The 700 acre block of the cotton company was subdivided into fifteen blocks each with a river frontage, one of 100 acres and fourteen of nearly forty-three acres each.⁵² None of the original purchasers in 1866 to 1868 was German, and there were various transfers among British settlers, but subsequently, except for the 100 acre block, all of the land was to be acquired by Germans. From land transfer records the process of acquisition by Germans appears to have taken several decades.

Martin Fels moved from his five-acre-two-perch block across the river to forty-three acres in 1872. Members of the Radunz family acquired five blocks between 1870 and 1880. One block was divided between William Koplick and Henry Fien in 1871. Others who acquired blocks were Carl Mohr in 1870, Hans Bock in 1872, Christian Kriesch in 1873, Christian Maas in 1878 and Wilhelm Kopp in 1906. Apart from Fels and Fien all of the Germans who first acquired blocks had surnames unknown among the earlier Bethania settlers. After subsequent transfers among German owners, again over several decades, by the early part of the twentieth century all of the blocks were in the hands of Christoph Burow and members of the Fels and Kopp families.⁵³

How many of the Germans in this area should be included among the Bethania Germans, and for how long, is doubtful. In the 1870s when the main transport was by river, for the Germans this area was an extension of Bethania. When road transport developed and the production of cotton and sugarcane which were transported by the river was succeeded by dairying which did not use the river the connection with Bethania faded. A railway stopping place at Hawthorne referred to above did nothing to delay this. There was a state school at Loganholme on their side of the river, and the Germans had road access to Lutheran churches in Beenleigh. Some members of the Fels, Kopp, Burow and Maas families were associated with people at Bethania, but the other families do not appear to have identified with the Bethania Germans.

Some Germans also took up land in Waterford. The proclamation of the Township Reserve of Waterford has not been traced and apparently it was not notified in the *Government Gazette*. The township was surveyed on the right bank of the river near the site of the ferry crossing, in the extension to the Logan Agricultural Reserve.

51. Certificate of Title 147111.

52. Certificate of Title 11508.

53. Certificates of Title 53752 22751 137384 Radunz Burow, 29832 Fels, 39252 23314 Radunz Fels, 27845 Bock Fels, 29048 Kriesch Burow, 25681 Maas Fels, 22626 Mohr Fels, 17978 Kopp, 27100 20102 Fels, 27065 Koplick Kopp, 23770 Fien Kopp.

In August 1866 twenty-nine allotments in the Town of Waterford, most of one acre or more, were offered for sale at a price of £8 per acre, and in December 1866 another ten allotments.⁵⁴ Some allotments sold were taken up by British settlers, Hinchcliffe and Jordan, who appear to have been speculators.⁵⁵ Waterford did not develop into a town and more urban development took place in Beenleigh four miles away. The Logan River police station was located in Waterford from 1866 until 1874 when a police station was opened in Beenleigh.⁵⁶ Other government buildings such as the lands office and court house were in Beenleigh, which also became the commercial centre for the Logan district. Waterford was no more than a village straggling along two roads from the ferry (later the bridge) towards Logan Village and Beenleigh. A government school from 1869, a post office store, and some tradesmen were in the township area. Two hotels, one on each side of the river, and from 1885 an unmanned railway station to the south-east were outside the surveyed town. Some allotments were used as farm land. Just when Germans moved to Waterford as land-owners or tenants is not clear. The occupiers of land shown in the 1880 and 1883 records of the Waterford Divisional Board included members of some early Bethania families, Friedrich Kleinschmidt, Ludwig Lietzow, August Noffke, Charles Richter, J. G. Schneider, Carl Tesch and Gottfried Tesch. Other German names recorded were Jacob Berthelsen, George Rick, Ferdinand Schultz and Gottfried Westphal. The occupations of Bethelsen, Schneider and Carl Tesch were given as 'blacksmith,' and of Lietzow and Gottfried Tesch as 'farmer.'⁵⁷ Occupations of the others were not stated and it is not apparent why they had land in Waterford. Some of them held land in the township for only a short time.

The German surnames or family names of owners of farming land in 1914, fifty years after the first settlement, show that the German population of the Bethania area had changed. From among the early settlers, the Goetsch, Goll, Holzheimcr, Kolk, Ludwig, Radke and Tesch families were still represented in the area originally settled. Some members of these families and also the early settler families Berndt, Fels, Muchow, Schneider, and Willert occupied land in the expansion areas. A number of families who arrived later, Baumann, Beutel, Burow, Kopp, Kraatz, Lietzow, Noffke, Oppermann, Regeling, Richter, Schlort, and Spann, also occupied land in either the original Bethania settlement or its expansion areas. However, the number of family names is not of itself indicative of the relative numbers of earlier and later settlers. By 1914 for some names such as Tesch there were a number of separate families.

54. *Queensland Government Gazette*, Vol. VII, No. 73, p. 661, 26 July 1866; Vol. VII, No. 164, p. 1268, 21 December 1866.

55. Waterford Divisional Board, Valuation Registers, 1880 and 1883.

56. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings* 1867, p. 1223, Statistical Register 1866, p. 39, Pugh's Almanac, 1866, p. 54, 1873, p. 64, 1874, pp. 112-3.

57. Waterford Divisional Board, Valuation Registers, 1880 and 1883.

Some of the Germans also supplemented their better land by acquiring low quality grazing land farther from the river as 'back paddocks.' This land never became homestead blocks, and the purchase transactions have not been included here.

The processes of consolidation and expansion proceeded over the same time period and while transport and marketing were being improved. The population in the area originally settled had declined, but new families had been added to the German population which was spread over a larger area and most farmers had larger holdings of land. There is no direct time correlation, but consolidation of the earlier small holdings by the German farmers and expansion into new areas accompanied changes in production. The transition by the Bethania Germans from largely subsistence farming to the growing of sugarcane and then dairying is considered in the next chapter.

Map No. 9. EXPANSION OF GERMAN LANDHOLDING

