

## Chapter 7

## PRODUCTION

The consolidated holdings and the blocks acquired by Germans in the expansion areas were suitable for small scale dairying. They were nearly all on or adjacent to the river, with generally some arable land on the river bank. Although the areas of arable land were small, the alluvial soil was more suitable for growing sugarcane than cotton.

Sugarcane growing in Queensland began about the same time as cotton growing, but the industry was much slower to develop. In early years sugar did not have the attraction of cotton, and it required a larger investment of capital. Sugarcane had been grown at various places along the east coast of Australia, including the Brisbane Botanic Gardens.<sup>1</sup> Credit for placing cane growing in Queensland on a substantial basis is given to Captain Louis Hope who in 1862 had twenty acres at Ormiston near Brisbane.<sup>2</sup> In 1862 the first granulated sugar was produced by John Buhot from cane grown in the Botanic Gardens.<sup>3</sup> Under regulations in 1864 the Queensland government provided grants of land for sugar plantations on conditions similar to the grants for cotton plantations.<sup>4</sup> Sugar plantations were initially established north and south of Brisbane, in the Caboolture district and the Logan and extending north to Maryborough, and then extended farther north, with Mackay becoming the sugar capital of Queensland. By 1874 Queensland produced enough sugar for its own requirements, and by 1878 was exporting half its output to other colonies.<sup>5</sup>

The lead in introducing cane growing to the Bethania area was given by John Hinchcliffe. Hinchcliffe published a pamphlet 'Sugarcane in Queensland' and he had thirty acres of cane on his property Broomhill, and also thirty-six varieties in experimental plots.<sup>6</sup> In 1867 a number of meetings of farmers were held at his home.<sup>7</sup> A move to have a mill erected by Hinchcliffe and a partner failed, but it was arranged that Captain Hope would supply cuttings to Hinchcliffe for distribution to farmers, and Hope would arrange carriage of cane to his mill and manufacture the sugar.<sup>8</sup> Farmers

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1. Harry T. Easterby, *The Queensland Sugar Industry*, Bureau of Sugar Experiment Stations, Brisbane, 1932, p. 1.
  2. Essex Evans, (ed.), *Sugar*, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1909, p. 20; *Brisbane Courier*, 19 May 1863.
  3. Harry T. Easterby, op. cit., p. 2; Essex Evans, op. cit., p. 20.
  4. *Coffee and Sugar Regulations 1863*; *Brisbane Courier*, 17 September 1864.
  5. Ross Fitzgerald, *From the Dreaming to 1815, A History of Queensland*, U. of Q. Press, St. Lucia, 1982, p. 180; C. T. Wood, *Sugar Country, A Short History of the Raw Sugar Industry in Australia 1861-1964*, Queensland Canegrowers' Council, 1965, p. 4.
  6. *Brisbane Courier*, 26 July 1873, 3 August 1907, p. 13.
  7. *ibid.*, 8 February 1867, 2 August 1867, 30 August 1867.
  8. *ibid.*, 30 August 1867.

who engaged to plant cane included two Bethania Germans, Christian Berndt and William Sommer, both of whom signed for two acres.<sup>9</sup> The return to the grower, one half of the sugar and one half of the molasses, the rest being retained by the mill-owner, was regarded as fair at the time, as it was comparable with the return from other mills, and the very expensive machinery was used only during crop time.<sup>10</sup> In November 1868 the small farmers were 'scraping up a boat-load of ripe cane' for Hope's mill.<sup>11</sup>

Sugarcane required much less labour than cotton. Ploughing and preparing the land and cleaning the cane could be done with horse implements. Once planted cane required little attention and would last several years without replanting.<sup>12</sup> Cane was cut once a year, compared with the long picking season for cotton. An 1872 report indicated that cane had taken its place among the crops grown by the Germans.

Our German friends, on their station about two miles from our township, have all smaller or larger patches of cane, as well as maize, cotton, and potatoes, which look exceedingly well. ... and really they deserve their good luck, for, as a rule, they are an industrious, frugal, temperate, and persevering class, minding their own affairs, and eschewing polemics and politics.<sup>13</sup>

By 1870 there were twelve sugarmills and 1,000 acres of cane in the Logan district.<sup>14</sup> It was reported that sugar growing in the Logan 'had disappointed none, given universal satisfaction' and been 'unprecedentedly successful,' and that sugar was a 'much surer and better paying crop than cotton.'<sup>15</sup>

The Bethania Germans grew sugarcane on their small areas of arable land on the banks of the Logan River and used the river to convey their cane to the mills. In 1868 Hope paid for cane delivered at the river bank.<sup>16</sup> Fryer and Strachan had a sugar plantation and a mill at the Loganholme ferry and employed four punts on the river carrying cane from the farms.<sup>17</sup> Henry Jordan erected his own sugar mill on his plantation at Tygum and commenced his first crushing in 1870.<sup>18</sup> The first two years were successful, but then came 'two or three years of successive frosts' and heavy

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9. *ibid.*, 3 September 1867.

10. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 September 1867, 6 January 1868, 13 January 1868; *Queenslander*, 18 January 1868.

11. *Brisbane Courier*, 16 November 1868.

12. Essex Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

13. *Queensland Times*, 29 February 1872.

14. *Brisbane Courier*, 19 July 1870.

15. *Queenslander*, 4 January 1870, p. 11; *Brisbane Courier*, 5 November 1870; *Queensland Times*, 11 March 1871.

16. *Brisbane Courier*, 7 October 1879.

17. *ibid.*, 16 November 1868, 29 November 1876.

18. *ibid.*, 17 September 1870.

expenses, and the plantation lasted only six years.<sup>19</sup> Jordan's mill was acquired by Lahey, who was however more interested in operating a sawmill.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the 1870s there were insufficient sugar mills to meet the requirements of the Logan district. The Waterford Sugar Mill Company was formed in 1880 with J. G. Schneider as chairman by about a dozen farmers from the German Pocket who had sugar planted and expected to increase their areas.<sup>21</sup> Other farmers including non-Germans from farther upstream were also members.<sup>22</sup> The company was apparently not an incorporated body as no reference to it can be found in the company records at the State Archives. The Jordan sugar mill was bought from Lahey and removed and re-erected under the supervision of an engineer on two acres near the post office and Schneider's blacksmith shop.<sup>23</sup> In August 1880 it was reported: 'The mill was completed and put about on Thursday last upon cane grown by Mr. Holzheimer one of the shareholders.'<sup>24</sup> The mill was in operation for at least three years,<sup>25</sup> but for how much longer is not clear. When it failed some of the machinery was taken over by Schneider to begin his sawmill.<sup>26</sup> Reasons for the failure were not explained at the time, but the sugar industry in the Bethania area declined. There was a severe fall in the price of cane in 1885, a disastrous flood in 1887 and then a severe drought.<sup>27</sup> Smaller and less expensive mills were introduced with the brand names of 'Victor' and 'Sutton,' which enabled a farmer to crush his own cane and that of a few neighbours.<sup>28</sup> However, while the Waterford mill failed a co-operative established by German farmers at Eagleby did well.<sup>29</sup>

The flood of January 1887 was the worst economic disaster experienced by the Bethania Germans. In 1864 a flood soon after they arrived had appeared to indicate the 'flood line,' the highest level a flood on the Logan River could reach, and this seemed to be confirmed by a flood of the same size in 1875. However the 1887 flood as measured at Hinchcliffe's Broomhill was twenty-four feet higher than the flood of 1864. The iron railway bridge less than two years old was wrecked, but the wooden road bridge

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19. *ibid.*, 10 March 1883, p. 6.

20. *Logan Witness*, 14 August 1880.

21. *ibid.*, 27 March 1880, 14 August 1880.

22. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 May 1883.

23. *Logan Witness*, 27 March 1880, 14 August 1880.

24. *ibid.*, 14 August 1880.

25. *ibid.*, 20 October 1883.

26. Matthew J. Fox, *The History of Queensland, Its People and Industries*, State Publishing Co., Brisbane, 1919-23, p. 837.

27. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 October 1885, Report of Chief Inspector of Distilleries 1889, p. 2, *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly* 1889.

28. *Logan Witness*, 21 June 1879, 18 July 1879, 27 March 1880.

29. Report of the Royal Commission on the Sugar Industry 1889, pp. 64-8, *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly* 1889.

remained intact although some of its southern embankment was swept away.<sup>30</sup> Among the Bethania Germans no lives were lost, although there were fatalities on other parts of the River. In Waterford two houses and the smithy of the Tesch family were washed away together with other houses and buildings. A large part of the German Pocket went under water including some complete farms on the area originally taken up by Eppinger and Thumm. 'Radke's new housetop just glistened in the sun, a foot from the top.' Some of the Germans went to higher ground at Broomhill. 'Early there appeared about seventy people wading their way from out of the German Pocket, with a wagon-load of clothes and blankets and rations.'<sup>31</sup> Nothing was left of crops and some livestock were lost. The schedule of losses compiled by the relief committee included Waterford Sugar Company £200, Carl Tesch £401, A. Noffke £357, Herman Felschow £340, and smaller amounts to other farmers in the German Pocket all of whom suffered some losses.<sup>32</sup> Relief supplies distributed included food, clothing and bedding for immediate relief and also seed, galvanised iron, fencing wire, agricultural implements, tools of trade and livestock.<sup>33</sup> These assisted recovery but did not nearly make up the losses suffered. The drought which followed the 1887 flood was the worst the colony had experienced to that time. In 1893 Brisbane and towns to the north were devastated by floods, but in that year the floods in the Logan were relatively minor. A flood similar to that of 1887 was not to be suffered again in the Logan for sixty years, in 1947, and then again in 1974.

Cane farming did not have the same importance among the Bethania Germans as it did in other parts of the Logan, nor did it last as long. When the industry expanded beyond meeting Queensland's requirements and sought exports in the competitive world market prices fluctuated. In the early years of the industry while there were high prices sugar could be profitably grown around Brisbane, but in more difficult times this area gave place to the 'climatically superior' districts of northern Queensland.<sup>34</sup> In the Logan district the industry reached a high point in 1884-85 with 4,280 acres under cane and forty mills working.<sup>35</sup> The Royal Commission on the Sugar Industry in 1889 took evidence from farmers in the Logan, but not from anyone in Bethania or Waterford.<sup>36</sup> The Commission found many of the older plantations in the Logan abandoned, and some of the smaller ones which continued provided only a bare subsistence.<sup>37</sup> In and

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30. *Logan Witness*, 29 January 1887.

31. *ibid.*

32. *ibid.*, 19 February 1887.

33. *ibid.*

34. *Brisbane Courier*, 12 June 1886.

35. Report of the Chief Inspector of Distilleries 1886, *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly* 1886, pp. 879-86.

36. Report of the Royal Commission on the Sugar Industry 1899, pp. 267-75.

37. Royal Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

around Bethania only small areas of land on the river bank were suitable for cane growing, and the area was subject to frost. However the industry problem which attracted most attention, employment of Islander labour, was of no concern to the Bethania Germans who generally did not employ labour. Just how long cane for sugar continued to be grown in the Bethania area is not clear. Ben Holzheimer could recall carting cane for his uncle Traugott, probably about 1920. When no longer grown for sugar, some cane was kept by dairy farmers as rough fodder. Price fluctuations and difficulties in growing and transport of cane made dairying more attractive.

Dairying for subsistence began among the Bethania Germans when the earliest settlers acquired some cows from German Station soon after their arrival.<sup>38</sup> Commercial dairying in the Moreton Bay District had begun in 1844 when farmers at German Station began selling their locally produced butter in Brisbane.<sup>39</sup> Development was very slow and at separation in 1859 Queensland had only twelve dairy cows.<sup>40</sup> The development of dairying among the Bethania Germans was not reported at the time, and it is not clear who did what or when. The Bethania Germans soon took to raising more cattle than required for their own subsistence. The greater part of each of their blocks was not arable land, but when cleared provided fair pasture. In 1872 C Berndt, F. Ebert, A. Holzheimer, A. Ludwig, F. Radke, C. Schilling, G. Schneider, and C. Willert registered their cattle brands.<sup>41</sup> Dairying required but little capital and on a small scale had a place in mixed farming. It provided 'an income to offset failure in crops,' and was also a way of employing female and young labour.<sup>42</sup> Pig raising became a sideline to the dairying industry with pigs fed on skim milk and other farm produce. After the arrival of the railway in 1885 butter could be sent by rail, and there were complaints of kegs of butter exposed to the sun at railway stations.<sup>43</sup>

In the early stage of the industry butter was made by skimming cream from milk which had been allowed to stand and then churning the cream into butter in a hand-operated wooden churn. There was no organised market and butter was sold or bartered to shopkeepers. The earliest cream separators were introduced in the 1880s and were large and cumbersome and powered by a horse or steam engine. Farmers would take their milk to a creamery to be separated, and later take home the skim milk while the

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

39. Morris Lake, *Queensland's Dairy Industry - Its History and Development*, Department of Primary Industries, Brisbane, 1992, p. 1.

40. E. B. Rice, 'Queensland had only 12 Dairy Cows in 1859,' *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Vol. 5, 1989, No. 9, September 1959, p. 23.

41. *Queensland Government Gazette*, Vol. XIII, No. 99, 10 Sept 1972, pp. 1442-57.

42. Morris Lake, *One Hundred Years of Dairying*, M. Lake, Brisbane, 1984, p. 35.

43. *Queenslander*, 3 December 1892, p.1082, 14 January 1893, p. 51.

cream was sent to a butter factory. Queensland lagged behind the other eastern colonies and the government made a determined effort to catch up in the late 1880s. The travelling dairy set up by the Queensland government to demonstrate methods of producing butter and cheese visited Beenleigh in May 1889, and the farmers who received instruction appear to have included some from Bethania.<sup>44</sup> Butter factories began in Queensland in the 1890s, and there are references to a butter factory in South Brisbane in 1890 and in Allora in 1895.<sup>45</sup> Factory-made butter was of a more even quality than farm-made butter and attracted a higher price. With the introduction of refrigerated shipping space an export trade developed. The first shipment of butter from Queensland to London was made in 1895.<sup>46</sup>

In the years before 1900 cows were milked once daily, calves were allowed to run with them, and farmers relied on indigenous grasses for the grazing of their herds. There was no provision for winter feed.<sup>47</sup> 'Summer dairying' was practised, letting the cows go dry through the winter to 'come fresh in the spring,' and some creameries closed during the winter.<sup>48</sup> This was to change towards the end of the century. Paspalum grass, a native of Argentina, took its place as paddock fodder where it could be grown instead of indigenous grasses.<sup>49</sup> Lucerne was cultivated as fodder on the alluvial flat land near the river, together with other less permanent crops.<sup>50</sup>

Technological development continued. The smaller hand separator (or farm separator) replaced the earlier and larger powered separator in the late 1890s and small farmers could separate their own milk and despatch the cream without having to take milk to a creamery.<sup>51</sup> Milking machines were demonstrated at the Brisbane Exhibition in 1891.<sup>52</sup> Their acceptance was slow and only among the larger dairies. In 1909 it was reported that milking machines were not used to any great extent in Queensland.<sup>53</sup> In Bethania C. Goll carted cream for the Moreton Butter Co. Gustav Holzheimer was a representative of the Lowood Creamery Co. and collected cream from 107 farmers. He qualified as a cream tester in 1905. A South Brisbane Co. and a Q.M.E. Co. were also represented in the area.<sup>54</sup> The cream was apparently sent by rail to the companies' butter factories. In 1905 it was reported that in the Logan all butter was made by

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44. *ibid.*, 1 June 1889, p. 1039.

45. E. B. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

46. *ibid.* p. 25.

47. E. B. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Essex Evans, *Dairying*, Qld. Tourist Bureau, Brisbane, 1909 pp. 9, 12.

48. *Queenslander*, 14 August 1896, p. 330, 14 November 1896, p. 957, 29 September 1900, p. 697.

49. *ibid.*, 13 July 1901, p. 95, 8 November 1902, p. 537, 31 March 1906, p. 31.

50. *ibid.*, 9 April 1904, p. 9.

51. *ibid.*, 8 May 1897, p. 1043.

52. *ibid.*, 15 August 1891, p. 309.

53. *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Vol. XXII, July 1909, pp. 20-2.

54. *Beaudesert Despatch*, 15 October 1904, 31 January 1905, 24 October 1905.

farmers, but that did not take account of cream sent out of the district.<sup>55</sup>

The small scale of dairying at Bethania was typical of most of the industry in Queensland. There were some larger dairies in the 1890s such as that of Smith at Christmas Creek who milked 100 cows or Waldron at Tambourine with eighty.<sup>56</sup> However, of the 576 dairies in the Brisbane district in 1901 only one third had more than ten cows, and the remainder were almost evenly divided among those who had one or two cows, those who had three to five cows, and those with six to ten cows.<sup>57</sup>

The dairying industry was brought under greater government control by the *Dairy Produce Act* of 1905 which replaced regulation under health legislation and by local authorities. It set out the conditions for registration of dairies and provided for inspections of dairies and for the grading of butter for export.<sup>58</sup> The earliest butter factories were owned by private companies, but with government assistance the number of co-operatives increased. The movement for a co-operative factory in the Logan passed over Bethania Junction and chose Kingston as the site, four miles closer to the city, on the railway line and close to fresh water. The butter factory of the Southern Queensland Co-operative Dairy Co. was opened in June 1907.<sup>59</sup> The company's 818 shareholders were mainly farmers from the Logan, and included A. Noffke, E. Richter, F. Schilling, M. Schneider and C. Willert from the Bethania area.<sup>60</sup>

Pests increased as farming became established and assistance was required from Queensland and local governments. The cattle tick was believed to have entered Queensland from the Northern Territory in the 1880s and moved south.<sup>61</sup> In 1898 ticks were reported south of Brisbane, and in 1904 the government's attempt to halt the spread of ticks with a quarantine line along the Logan River was abandoned.<sup>62</sup> Ticks were not devastating to the dairy industry in the Logan, but inoculations against 'tick fever' or 'redwater' were recommended.<sup>63</sup> and regular dipping became a part of cattle management. In 1904 the Waterford Dip Company led by W. Richter built a cattle dip

55. Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Stock 1904-5., in *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, 1905, Vol II, p. 458.

56. *Queenslander*, 4 November 1893, p. 869, 5 May 1894, p. 822.

57. *ibid.*, 16 February, p. 329, 25 May 1901, p. 1019.

58. *Queenslander*, 4 February 1905, p. 27; *Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, 4 October 1904, pp. 159-67, Secretary for Agriculture.

59. *Queenslander*, 15 June 1907, p. 31.

60. *Queenslander*, 8 February 1907, p. 31; Southern Queensland Co-operative Dairy Co., List of Shareholders (undated).

61. *Queenslander*, 6 April 1907, p. 16; J. A. Gilrush, 'The Introduction and Spread of the Cattle Tick,' *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, October, 1912, Vol XXIX, pp. 351-7.

62. *Queenslander*, 16 July 1898, p. 131, 3 April 1904, p. 9.

63. *ibid.*, 14 June 1899, p. 80, 26 August 1899, p. 457.

on a site 'near the main road at the Waterford Bridge.'<sup>64</sup> The plant pests, nut grass, water hyacinth and lantana also appeared about the early 1900s.<sup>65</sup> Nut grass became a permanent nuisance in cultivated areas along the river or the creeks. From about 1900 water hyacinth choked dams and water holes but did not grow in tidal waters. Birds spread the seeds of lantana which was damaging in other parts of the state but no great problem in the Bethania area. Prickly pear was scarcely known.

German tradesmen practised their crafts in Bethania and Waterford providing services for farmers in the area. The first reasonably complete list of tradesmen was given in the *Post Office Directory* of 1892. For Bethania it showed Christopher Willert, butcher, and John Holzheimer, wheelwright. For Waterford the Directory listed:

Blacksmiths	Traugott Schneider, Charles Tesch;
Bootmaker	Christian Roll;
Carpenters	John Holzheimer, Wilhelm Richter;
Sawmills	Ludwig Bergann, August Radke, J. G. Schneider, Carl F. A. Tesch, Christian Willert;
Wheelwrights	Ferdinand Lietzow, John Radke, Ludwig Tesch. <sup>66</sup>

By 1892 the only tradesmen listed for Bethania or Waterford were German. It is not clear who had their own businesses or were employees. All of the tradesmen other than the sawmillers were in activities to provide services for the local population. Apart from farm produce, timber was the only product sent out of the area. In addition to his smithy and the post office store, J. G. Schneider established a saw-mill near the Waterford railway station, and this was the largest enterprise in the area. It had its own railway siding and photos indicate it may have employed five or six people. Gottfried Tesch commenced the Waterford Hotel in 1880, across the bridge from the existing hotel, but in 1882 it was in other hands and known as the Waterford Arms Hotel.<sup>67</sup>

During the nineteenth century and into the twentieth small scale agriculture with a mixture of saleable crops and a substantial subsistence element provided the wherewithal for the Bethania Germans to continue as a distinctive community. Their agriculture was properly described as mixed farming while cotton and sugarcane in their turn tended to dominate production and provided brief periods of relative prosperity and then gave place to the production of cream. The smallness of their enterprises was emphasised in a 1907 report.

64. *Beaudesert Despatch*, 26 November 1904.

65. *Queensland Agricultural Journal*, Vol. XXX, June 1913, pp. 362-7.

66. *Queensland Post Office Directory 1892*, pp. 7A and 192A.

67. *Logan Witness*, 20 December 1879, 23 April 1881, 2 April 1882.

The small farmer is the chief factor ... in the whole of the valleys of the Logan and Albert rivers. The individual area is small, but the aggregate acreage under cultivation is large. The cultivation is intense. A living area is as low as twenty acres, and no land capable of cultivation is allowed to remain unutilised. Probably more is taken off the land here than from any similar area in the State. ... The German element is dominant among the farmers and the prosperity that is seen everywhere is largely the result of the energy of the men of that nationality.... The cream supply is steadily increasing, and its volume month by month is greater this season than in any former year. The industry is not on the scale of some dairying centres in the State, but almost every farmer has a few cows. ...A better type of dairy animal is being gradually introduced.<sup>68</sup>

The production of the area was to change, mixed farming was to disappear, and dairy production become more specialised. The requirements for the supply of whole milk to Brisbane were to dominate the economic life of the community in the twentieth century.

In their closely settled area members of the Bethania German community provided most of the services required, but they could never be anything approaching a closed community. This interaction with the wider community tended to make the Bethania community less distinctive and less 'German' particularly in language, points to be developed in a later chapter. At the same time their church and the efforts of the church to retain the German language tended to keep them apart from fellow colonists.

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68. *Queenslander*, 6 April 1907, p. 10; *Brisbane Courier*, 29 March 1907, p. 2.

## Chapter 8.

## CHURCH AND LANGUAGE

The German language in addition to the compact nature of their settlement tended to make the Bethania Germans a community distinct from the British settlers in the district. So too did the adherence of most of them to the Lutheran Church. Church and language went together. German was the language of the Lutheran Church throughout the nineteenth century. The Church sought to retain the German language alongside the English required for life in the colony and endeavoured to maintain its own schools to do so.

The Lutheran Church was the only denomination among the Bethania Germans until the arrival of the Apostolic Church in the late 1880s. There were English churches among the English settlers but none of them tried to establish a presence among the German settlers. A German Baptist church in Queensland was not represented in Bethania, and only one Catholic family was referred to among the Bethania German settlers. Theile refers to 'religious fanatics who were trying to gain access to the pulpits of the Lutheran Churches,'<sup>1</sup> but there is no other evidence of these.

No contemporary account of the beginnings of the Lutheran congregation at Bethania has been found, and apparently no written records of its earliest years were preserved. An account of the early congregation included in Köhnke's 1909 history was written by Theile, and there was a handwritten 1914 history of the congregation and another in 1922 of the church building. Theile's 1938 work is regarded by Lutherans as the authoritative history of the Lutheran denomination in Queensland and has nearly five pages on the Bethania congregation. Theile first became acquainted with the congregation as its pastor in 1901. His 1938 account of the origin of the congregation was similar to those in the 1909 and 1914 histories and appears to have been derived mainly from oral sources. In Hebart's history of the Lutheran Church in Australia, also published in 1938, references to the origin of the Bethania congregation were similar to those in Theile, and were probably derived directly from Theile or from the same sources. So too were the references to Bethania in Brauer's 1940 article. Theile's description was of a strictly confessional Lutheran congregation from its very inception. (The attempt to draw a parallel with the immigration of Old Lutherans to South Australia under a recognised leader has been referred to in a previous chapter). Theile was married to a granddaughter of Hellmuth, the first resident pastor. He played down the part of Hausmann who introduced the settlers to Bethania and formed the first

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1. F. O. Theile, *One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland*, United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, Brisbane, 1938, p. 176.

congregation, but was not regarded as strictly Lutheran.

According to Theile the nucleus of the party of Germans who settled at Bethania was formed by eleven families from Greiffenberg in the Uckermark, who had been members of the Lutheran Free Church of Prussia, and belonged to a parish in Angermunde where Rev. Witte had been their pastor.

'They were fully conscious of their Lutheran faith. This group has had perhaps a quiet, but very decided and far-reaching influence on the development of the Church among the German immigrants toward a more clearly defined Lutheran confessionalism.'<sup>2</sup>

Hebart refers to these as 'a small band of strict Lutherans, who hailed from the same Lutheran movement from which the South Australian Lutherans came.'<sup>3</sup> Theile and Hebart did not state their sources and it has not been possible to check their statements. In his reminiscences Kleinschmidt stated that his family was associated with Ebert who belonged to a so-called Old Lutheran congregation and attended church services in Günterberg.<sup>4</sup> Members of the Holzheimer family were associated with an evangelical church in Polssen apparently in the parish of Angermunde referred to by Theile.<sup>5</sup> Kleinschmidt does not state so specifically but seems to indicate that some other Uckermarker migrants were Old Lutherans. In an article on migration Hans Wendt referred to a number of 'Separatist' or 'Old Lutheran' movements in the Uckermark,<sup>6</sup> and it seems probable that other Uckermarkers were associated with a number of separatist organisations and some with the State Church of Prussia. Apart from the Uckermarkers, the Lotz and Goll families were from Hesse-Darmstadt which was regarded as a Lutheran state while Hesse-Cassel was Calvinist. According to Brauer it was agreed that the congregation should be based on 'the confessions of the orthodox Lutheran Church,' and Kleinschmidt stated that after several meetings those who had been members of the Prussian State Church declared themselves and their families ready to accede to the pure Lutheran Church.<sup>7</sup>

There was no organised denomination or mission organization among German Lutherans in Queensland in 1864. Some time after the missionary activities at German

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2. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

3. Th. Hebart, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia*, Lutheran Publishing Depot, North Adelaide, 1938, p. 114.

4. C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 4 Juni, 1938, p. 21.

5. Holzheimer family history records.

6. Hans Wendt, (Wallmow), *Uckermaerkische Migration*, English translation, source not identified.

7. A. Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross, History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1956, p. 335; C. R. Hennings, 'Ein deutsches Schicksal in Queensland,' in *Die Brücke*, 2 Juli 1938, p. 22.

Station had been abandoned a Lutheran congregation among the German settlers was organised in 1856 under Pastor C. Gerler at Zion's Hill, later Nundah.<sup>8</sup> Pastor C.F.A. Schirmesiter had established a congregation in Brisbane in 1858 and the congregation built a church on Wickham Terrace in 1861.<sup>9</sup> Pastor Hausmann's congregation in South Brisbane was established in 1862. There was a congregation in Toowoomba with its own pastor.<sup>10</sup> Some of these had loose associations with Lutheran bodies in South Australia and Victoria, but there was no organization in Queensland. Hebart stated, 'Each congregation was left to itself. There were no leaders to organize the acitivity of congregations, and so each congregation had to depend on its own resources in securing a pastor.'<sup>11</sup>

In addition to arranging their settlement and land transactions, Hausmann visited the Bethania settlers as pastor, and organised a congregation. 'At first he held these services in the houses of the farmers and frequently at the residence of Messrs. Hinchcliffe. For two years being the only minister he conducted the services partly in German and partly in English as his congregations were mixed.'<sup>12</sup> In 1864 Hausmann reported to a former associate Pastor Goethe in Melbourne: 'Down on the Logan River, about 20 miles from here, a new German settlement has sprung up. Amongst it there are a good number of truly converted people.'<sup>13</sup> According to Theile, in January 1865 the congregation decided that Pastor Hausmann should not come again, as the members wished to remain Lutherans and they maintained that Pastor Hausmann was not really a Lutheran.<sup>14</sup> Theile's account does not appear to be correct. There is another report that Hausmann had been visiting the area 'nearly monthly' at least until July 1866 and that his ministry had been equally divided between the English and the Germans as he could preach in both languages. 'Not infrequently has he had a mixed congregation at one place, and his discourses have been all the more interesting by being delivered in both languages.'<sup>15</sup> The last transfers of Hausmann's land were recorded in February 1867, to Radke, Willert, Mollenhagen and Schilling.<sup>16</sup> Further, in November 1869, after his successor Hellmuth had arrived at Bethania, Hausmann was entrusted with the list of subscribers for a national school in the area. Hausmann's separation from the Bethania community was not as early or as complete as Theile indicated.

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8. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 257.

9. *ibid.*, pp. 154, 185.

10. *ibid.*, p. 10.

11. Th. Hebart, op. cit., p. 112.

12. *Logan Witness*, 31 May 1884.

13. A. Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, p. 336.

14. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 176.

15. *Brisbane Courier*, 13 July 1866.

16. Certificates of Title, 13901 (Radke), 13902 (Willert), 13903 (Mollenhagen), 13904 (Schilling), also referred to in Chapter 3.

Hausmann had been sent out by Gossner who was associated with the union church in Prussia and had been trained and ordained by a Presbyterian, so his credentials as a Lutheran minister were suspect. Conducting services in the two languages probably did not please all the Germans. Hebart commented on the situation at that time: 'Thus there were in the Logan district two distinct trends side by side ... the one soundly Lutheran, the other indifferent to the Confession. A similar position arose in most of the German settlements in Queensland.' He also referred to the 'indescribable confusion' and 'frequent schisms' among the Lutheran churches in Queensland.<sup>17</sup> The Bethania congregation was probably not as united as Brauer and Kleinschmidt appeared to indicate. Not only did some members remain in touch with Hausmann after the arrival of Hellmuth but there were also divisions among members on the question of schools which are referred to below. However, it did remain one congregation and avoided a permanent division such as occurred in some other congregations. Even the small town of Beenleigh four miles away had two Lutheran congregations, both split-offs from other congregations.

His work at Bethania was probably terminated by Hausmann himself. His main congregation was at South Brisbane, and he travelled to Rockhampton and Maryborough in addition to his visits to Bethania. In 1866 Hausmann relinquished his work in South Brisbane to form a missionary settlement for Aborigines at Bethesda on the Albert River near Beenleigh. He returned to the purpose for which he had come to Australia, work among the Aborigines. The mission followed the principles of Gossner. It sought not only to convert the Aborigines to Christianity but to involve them in useful occupations, growing various crops, brick-making, working cattle and later developing a sugar plantation and so on. Hausmann also gathered the settlers in that area into a Lutheran congregation. The mission did not get the support it needed, and it had little influence on Aborigines. Its business ventures failed, and its property was taken over by creditors in 1884. Hausmann retired from active involvement in the business of the mission in 1881, but he continued as a minister, and established a congregation in Beenleigh which bought and converted a hall for its church in 1884. Hausmann remained at Beenleigh until his death aged ninety in 1901.<sup>18</sup>

During the time of Hausmann the congregation was organised with the name *Bethanien*, the German form of the name of the biblical town which in English is 'Bethany.' According to Theile, the first elders were J. G. Schneider and Christian Berndt. Under the leadership of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt, a carpenter (*Zimmermann*)

17. Th. Hebart, op. cit., p. 114.

18. Janette Nolan, 'Pastor J. G. Hausmann, A Queensland Pioneer, 1838-1901,' B. A. (Hons) Thesis, U. of Q., 1964, pp. 94-9; F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 156.

the congregation built its first church on a part of Ebert's block which also had space for the cemetery. The church was of 'rough-hewn slabs and shingle-roofed,'<sup>19</sup> and was also referred to as the school as it served both purposes.

Christian Berndt left Bethania and in 1879 was ordained as a minister by Pastor Hausmann. Although Theile regarded his ordination as irregular and his ministry as controversial, Berndt ministered to congregations at Minden and Rosewood.<sup>20</sup> Described by the editor of the *Logan Witness* as of 'a simple and earnest faith,' he returned to the Logan in 1893 and died a few weeks after his return.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from establishing their church congregation the Germans had to deal with the question of language and provide for the education of their children. The language problem faced by the Bethania Germans and other German communities in Queensland was defined by Theile:

From the very inception of German Churches and congregations in Queensland, the language question was a problem, which was of utmost importance. ... The German congregations were being established in an English country, in which the official language was English, and in which all business was conducted in that tongue. It was therefore necessary that the newcomers should acquire that language, in order to enable them to transact their business to the best advantage. ... The Church had to provide the religious instruction for the youth, in order that parents and children might worship together. ... According to the understanding of the time, the solution of the great problem lay in making the growing generation bilingual.<sup>22</sup>

Apparently only Thumm and Eppinger among the Bethania migrants had any knowledge of the English language. Instruction in English was provided by the Hinchcliffe sons at evening classes. Introduction to the English language is referred to again in a later chapter.

In 1864 there was no national school in the Bethania area. The date of commencement is uncertain, but some children of British settlers received instruction from John Beetham, who had a selection on the Agricultural Reserve, and who became the first postmaster in 1867.<sup>23</sup> This school was probably too far away for Bethania residents to send their children had they been disposed to do so. The Germans appear to have begun their congregational school before plans for a national school developed. In April 1866 it was reported that the Germans were building a slabsided and shingle-

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19. F. O. Theile, op. cit., pp. 176-7.

20. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p.16; *Logan Witness*, 23 September 1889.

21. *Logan Witness*, 13 May 1893.

22. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 86.

23. *Waterford State School Centenary 1869-1969*, p. 3.

roofed school and had a schoolmaster.<sup>24</sup> Later in 1866 the Germans did not support a subscription list for a national school, and the local residents were not able to raise the £100 required to attract an additional £200 from the Education Board needed for establishment of the school, and there was no prospect of the school being built 'owing to the indifference of the Germans.'<sup>25</sup> Theile states a parish school was in the charge of a teacher named Arnold, who was succeeded by J. G. Gross and H. Fien, but gives no further information.<sup>26</sup> Given the short time the teachers had been in the colony it is probable that the instruction was exclusively in German. In July 1866 it was reported that the school at German Station was conducted by a German and between thirty and forty children attended, but 'most unfortunately these Germans have had a religious difference among themselves, and split into two parties with the intention of having two schools.'<sup>27</sup> These arrangements for a church school were apparently short-lived as in 1869 the Germans joined the British settlers in meetings and petitions for a national school.<sup>28</sup>

Pastor C. G. Hellmuth arrived in 1867 and became the first resident pastor of the Bethania Lutheran congregation. Theile stated that his services were obtained through the good offices of Pastor Auricht of Tanunda, South Australia.<sup>29</sup> Hellmuth had received his training at the Seminary for Missionaries at Hermannsburg in Hanover. In 1862 with his wife and family he had arrived in South Australia where he had been stationed at Lobethal.<sup>30</sup> Thus in contrast to Hausmann, Hellmuth had a strictly Lutheran background and theological training. He was also a homoeopathic medical practitioner. The congregation set aside forty acres of land for the pastor, and in 1872 Hellmuth acquired from Martin Fels one of the five-and-a-half-acre blocks of arable land in the original settlement.<sup>31</sup> According to a family story he expected confirmation students to do some farm chores on his land. The Germans from down the river who had earlier attended church services at Bethania had established two congregations and built their own churches, 'Philadelphia' at Eagleby and 'Elkana' at Alberton. These two congregations were also served by Hellmuth and together with Bethania constituted the parish.

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24. *Brisbane Courier*, 27 April 1866.

25. *ibid.*, 14 April 1866; 6 July 1866.

26. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

27. *Brisbane Courier*, 6 July 1866.

28. *Brisbane Courier*, 26 June 1869; Queensland State Archives file EDU Z2867 school file Waterford 1869-1938, petition to Board of Education 10 November 1869.

29. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

30. *ibid.*, p. 172.

31. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Certificate of Title 22695, Vol. 163, fol. 191.

30 and 31 deleted

During the pastorate of Hellmuth at Bethania the congregation built its second and permanent church building in 1872.<sup>32</sup> This building was of bricks with a wooden shingle roof, and was designed to seat 250 worshippers. It was built under the direction of Andreas Holzheimer and the bricks were fired in the kiln set up by Carl Lindow. The building was a plain rectangular shape with a vestry at the western end and a porch at the eastern end. There was no sanctuary as such, and the pulpit above and behind the altar had to be entered from steps in the vestry. The building, now with a corrugated iron roof, plaster over the originally open brickwork, and a different porch, is still used for regular Sunday services.

In attempting to re-establish the congregational school Hellmuth encountered competition. The part played by Bethania Germans associated with Pastor Hausmann in setting up a national school at Waterford from 1869 is considered in the next chapter. Hausmann was sympathetic to national schools and induced other Germans to co-operate with a national school in Beenleigh.<sup>33</sup> There are only two accounts to show that Hellmuth had some success in having the congregation provide education for its children. In January 1872 the teacher of the Waterford school wrote to the Department of Education that Hellmuth had the German children removed from the school 'because they did not receive religious instruction from their own catechism,' and when they did attend it was only on two days of each week.<sup>34</sup> In November 1872 another teacher of the Waterford school wrote: 'the Germans have got a good school of their own in the "Pocket" with German teachers.'<sup>35</sup> It has not been possible to determine who these German teachers were. According to the diary of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt, in November 1876 'a meeting of the congregations on the Logan up at Bethania' divided on whether to maintain congregational schools or retain state schools. Kleinschmidt's comment, that 'many on the Upper Logan prefer the State school,' probably referred to Bethania, the congregation farthest upstream. Kleinschmidt also stated: 'the Rev. Hellmuth remained true to his principles (congregational school) and resigned his charge.'<sup>36</sup> Hellmuth was probably a difficult person to deal with. He sued the lessee of the Yatala ferry in 1871 for the right of his people going to a place of worship on Sunday to be put across free of charge,<sup>37</sup> a proceeding no other minister, British or German, found necessary, and in 1884 he unsuccessfully sued members of his

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32. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

33. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 April 1870.

34. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z2867, School File, Waterford, 1869-1938, letter dated 19 January 1872, from T. Fraser to R. Macdonnell, General Inspector.

35. Queensland State Archives, file EDU Z2867, letter dated 19 November 1872 from John Weaver, to R. Macdonnell, General Inspector.

36. Diary of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt 1876-92, handwritten, copy in Oxley Library, 6 November 1876.

37. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 January 1871.

Maryborough congregation for payment of his stipend.<sup>38</sup>

Hellmuth left the Bethania congregation in 1876 to become the pastor of the Maryborough Lutheran congregation and it was three years before the Bethania congregation had another permanent pastor. When the congregation did not have its own pastor some services were conducted from time to time by visiting pastors, but most were conducted by lay readers, usually congregational elders. A church council of the representatives of the three congregations dealt with the 'proper and orderly management of all Church matters,' and Theile attributes the upholding of Lutheran principles to the activity of the council and the influence of its chairman,<sup>39</sup> although the council was not able to hold the three congregations together.

After Hellmuth's departure the Bethania congregation endeavoured unsuccessfully to obtain a pastor from the Lutheran Free Church of Prussia. Its new pastor came from America. Pastor M. Eberhard who had been born in Germany but studied in a Lutheran seminary in the United States came to Queensland in 1879 and became the pastor for the parish including Bethania, Eagleby and Alberton.<sup>40</sup> The trustees of the parish acquired from Schneider and Radke thirty acres of the former Pendlebury block near the junction of the road to the German pocket with the road from Waterford to Beenleigh.<sup>41</sup> During the pastorate of Eberhard a new school and residence were erected on this block.<sup>42</sup> This block was to remain the site of the parsonage (manse) and the school. Eberhard was with the Bethania congregation for only four years. Theile stated that Eberhard was of a domineering character and expected perfect obedience from his congregation.<sup>43</sup> A strong denunciation of state schools in August 1880 was said to have cost him some support in the district.<sup>44</sup> As a result of his attempt to introduce 'auricular confession' and 'other romanising customs' he had to leave Bethania in 1883.<sup>45</sup> However Eberhard retained the congregations at Eagleby and Alberton until 1889 when he left the district.<sup>46</sup> The Bethania congregation was then joined by a small congregation being established at Pimpama Island and another small body which had seceded from Eagleby and became the 'To the Cross' congregation in Beenleigh.

38. *Maryborough Chronicle*, 24 April 1884; *The Lutheran Church in Maryborough Q'ld*, 1867-1967, p.7, (no publication details).

39. F. O. Theile, *One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland*, p. 176.

40. *ibid.*, p. 177.

41. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 177, Certificate of Title 38427, Vol. 261, fol. 179.

42. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

43. *ibid.*, p. 177.

44. *Brisbane Mail*, 14 August 1880.

45. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 182.

46. *ibid.*, p. 177.

Heinrich Mondientz is not mentioned by Theile as a teacher of the Bethania school. His record with the Education Department shows that he had no professional training and was admitted to the Department's teaching service in May 1884 after he had taught at the German school at Waterford for about eight years.<sup>47</sup> It was during his tenure at Bethania that the pupils transferred to the new school on land adjacent to the manse. In June 1880 Pastor Eberhard and Mondientz and the children of the German day school at Bethania took part in the loyal display at Beenleigh in honour of Queen Victoria's sixty-fifth birthday.<sup>48</sup> The statistical returns of the Waterford national school are available only from 1877. The return for 1877 includes a comment that 'the Germans have their own school.' The 1882 return refers to forty Germans 'who do not attend any school,' and the 1885 return to 'about fifty German children whose English education is neglected.' The statistics show an increase in the number of enrolments at Waterford from forty-eight in 1882 to seventy-four in 1883 and then 108 in 1884, about the time Mondientz left Bethania.<sup>49</sup> The enrolments at the national school remained at a level which would indicate the Germans did not again have their own school until 1904.

The Bethania Germans then attempted to obtain a government school which would also provide religious instruction in the German language. In March 1884 a 'Building Committee' of J. G. Schneider, W. Sommer and C. Hinze wrote to the Minister of Education asking for a provisional school at 'Bethanien.' They stated that the people of 'Bethanien' had had a private school for about twenty years, but had to give it up as they were unable to obtain an efficient teacher. They then had to send their children to the Waterford school at which there was not sufficient room. 'As the inhabitants of the village of Bethanien without exception are Germans, all belonging to one church, they are desirous that their children should learn not only the English language, but also may receive from the schoolmaster religious instruction in the language of their parents before or after prescribed school hours.' They had a school house and teacher's dwelling, and asked for a teacher 'competent to teach in both languages.'<sup>50</sup> There were schools in 'German areas' for which the Department supplied a teacher who could speak German, but the Bethania application was unsuccessful and a national school was never established at Bethania.

The number of Lutheran congregations and pastors in Queensland increased with German immigration and the spread of settlement but a central organization did

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47. Queensland State Archives, Index of Teachers, EDU/V5, Z36, V61.

48. *Brisbane Mail*, 5 June 1880.

49. Queensland State Archives file EDU/AB 130, Waterford State School Statistical Returns 1877-1967.

50. Queensland State Archives file A/16049, No. 1505, 14.3.84.

not develop. The Lutheran denominations in Germany did not follow their emigrant members or seek to establish branches abroad. The Lutherans in South Australia and Victoria had organised themselves into several synods none of which sought to incorporate Queensland Lutherans, although some Queensland pastors were associated with particular synods. Among Queensland Lutherans there was a continual shortage of pastors and a variety of church practices. Pastors and also congregation members came from different backgrounds in Germany with different ideas on the need for confessionalism. Congregations obtained pastors from whatever source they could and in 1883 for instance, through the good offices of one Hermannsburg pastor in Queensland, four of its graduates landed in Brisbane, and through Hausmann's Victorian connection the first Basel pastor came to Queensland.<sup>51</sup> In the words of Hebart, the shortage of pastors permitted many 'sectarian abuses' to enter the Church, 'much irregularity contrary to good church order' happened in connection with the ordination of ministers, 'laymen preached and even women offered prayer in the services.'<sup>52</sup> As Theile explained: 'The Lutheran Church holds that the preaching of the Word is the duty of the ordained pastor and, only as an exception to the general rule, does it permit a layman to preach to its congregations.' Only if no pastor was available would one of the elders conduct the service and read the sermon.<sup>53</sup>

On the recommendation of some of the young pastors from Hermannsburg then in Queensland the Bethania congregation called Pastor A. Suelmann. He had been trained as a pastor of the Prussian State Church, but became a pastor of the Free Church of Hanover, and for a time was a lecturer at the Seminary for Missionaries in Hermannsburg. For sixteen years from September 1884 Suelmann was the pastor of the parish of Bethania, Beenleigh 'To the Cross' and Pimpama Island.<sup>54</sup> He was to have a part in forming an organisation of the Lutheran congregations in Queensland.

Various attempts to establish one united body of Lutherans in Queensland failed until with partial success two bodies were formed in 1885 during the time Suelmann was the pastor in Bethania. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Queensland was formed by Pastors Schirmeister, Hausmann and four other pastors in June 1885 and included six pastors of different backgrounds and twelve congregations with Schirmeister as president.<sup>55</sup> In August 1885, at a meeting in South Brisbane, six German pastors including Suelmann and Hellmuth, all from Hermannsburg Seminary, two Danish pastors, and twenty-six lay delegates representing congregations, formed the

51. Th. Hebart, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia*, p. 115.

52. Th. Hebart, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

53. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 78.

54. *ibid.*, p. 142.

55. *ibid.*, p. 21.

United German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod with Sueltmann as Superintendent.<sup>56</sup> According to Theile the Hermannsburg pastors 'felt themselves bound by a strict confessionalism.'<sup>57</sup> The title of the denomination was retained when the Scandinavians seceded after five years. The Bethania congregation was a foundation member of the Synod. J.G Schneider who had attended the meeting with Sueltmann became a member of the Church Council, a position he retained until his death.<sup>58</sup> The Lutheran congregations in the Logan district were split, with Sueltmann and the Bethania and associated congregations in one synod, Hausmann and his congregations in the other, while Eberhard with the Eagleby and Alberton congregations had joined neither. Some congregations in Queensland changed between synods, but Bethania with Beenleigh 'To the Cross' remained in the same synod under Sueltmann and his successor Theile until the two synods united in 1921.

A further division was to appear among the churches in the Logan district. The Apostolic Church began in Queensland when an evangelist H. F. Niemeyer arrived from Germany in 1883. The Apostolic Church did not have a 'professional' clergy, and its office-bearers were expected to have occupations which provided their livelihood. Niemeyer established his headquarters at Hatton Vale, and in 1886 was made an Apostle of the Church by the leaders of the Church in Germany.<sup>59</sup> He arranged the migration and settlement of members of the Church in Queensland, but not in the Bethania area where all usable land had been taken up. Niemeyer first visited Bethania and Alberton in 1887. The church building at Bethania was on the property of C. Sempf, and in 1907 it was moved to the property of E. G. Spann in Waterford. In 1907 Priest H. Dargusch bought land at Waterford and served for ten years.<sup>60</sup> The Church attracted a small number of converts from among the Bethania Germans, but the Waterford Community remained quite small. It did not have its own school and in 1903 and 1904 four Apostolic children attended the state school.<sup>61</sup> Theile stated that 'the German language was vigorously upheld,'<sup>62</sup> and until the World War the denomination was known as the 'German Apostolic Church.' An Apostolic community in Norewell farther south in the Logan district became larger. With only small numbers the Waterford Community of the Apostolic Church had little impact on the identity of the

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56. *ibid.*, p. 22.

57. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

58. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

59. *A Review of 68 Years of Labour by the Apostles and Their Helpers of 'The Apostolic Church,'* Queensland, 1951, pp. 10 - 20.

60. *The Apostolic Church of Queensland and Hatton Vale Community Centenary 1883-1983*, History and Souvenir Booklet, pp. 38-9.

61. Queensland State Archives file A/48967, Z2087, Admissions Register Waterford State School.

62. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Bethania Germans as a community or on the use of the German language.

The Bethania Lutheran congregation appears to have 'settled down' while Sueltmann was the pastor and to have been unaffected by the various denominational divisions among the Germans of the Logan. Confessional differences do not appear to have been a problem within the Bethania congregation during that time. Sueltmann held the congregation within the Lutheran Synod, in spite of a few defections to the Apostolic Church. In the congregation it was a quiet time about which almost nothing has been written. There is only a little evidence of a congregational school during Sueltmann's pastorate. In the 1888 report of the Secretary for Public Instruction the list of schools included Bethania Junction (Lutheran) while the 1889 report stated the school at Bethania was not in operation.<sup>63</sup> Theile refers to a time when Pastor A. Mohr was the parish teacher at Bethania, before he became the pastor of the Logan Reserve congregation when it separated from Bethania and built its own church in 1898.<sup>64</sup> It has not been possible to find any other reference to Mohr as a teacher at Bethania. In 1900 Sueltmann resigned from the Bethania and Beenleigh congregations but retained Pimpama Island until 1907.

The first Australian-born pastor of the Bethania congregation was Friedrich Otto Theile. Theile was a South Australian and became the pastor of Bethania and Beenleigh 'To the Cross' congregations in 1901 soon after completing his theological studies at the Seminary for Missionaries at Neuendettelsau in Germany. In 1904 the Eagleby congregation joined the parish. He was to be the pastor of the parish until 1923, and was secretary of the Synod from 1903 until the amalgamation of 1921.<sup>65</sup>

The congregation again established a parish school, and in 1904 J. F. W. Schulz was appointed teacher. He had received his training in the college conducted by the Lutheran church at Point Pass in South Australia and had taught for several years at the parish school at Light's Pass in South Australia.<sup>66</sup> Schulz conducted a bi-lingual school at Bethania four days a week, and taught the German language in Beenleigh on Fridays and at Eagleby on Saturdays. Records of the congregational school have not been kept but the statistics of the Waterford school indicate the size of the enrolment. 123 pupils were enrolled at the Waterford State School in 1903 including sixty-five Lutherans in twenty-seven families. In 1904 the enrolment had fallen to ninety including twenty-eight Lutherans in thirteen families, and in 1905 the enrolment of eighty-five included

63. *Queensland Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, 1889 and 1890, Annual Reports of the Secretary for Public Instruction, 1888 p. 63, 1889 p. 93.

64. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

65. *ibid.*, p. 149.

66. *ibid.*, p. 178.

thirty-two Lutherans in seventeen families.<sup>67</sup> An enrolment of about forty pupils in the Bethania congregational school is confirmed by photos of the school children in 1906 and 1907 which show thirty-five and forty-four pupils respectively.<sup>68</sup> Schulz resigned in 1909 and returned to South Australia. The statistics of the Waterford school for 1906 to 1918 were destroyed but the 1909 register of the Waterford school shows thirty-nine new enrolments with German names, most of whom had attended school previously.<sup>69</sup> Thus during its six years the congregational school was attended by about forty pupils and at the same time there were about thirty Lutheran children from the Bethania area who did not receive instruction in the German language as part of their regular schooling. Early in the twentieth century nearly half of the Lutheran families in the area did not support the maintenance of a bi-lingual congregation when they had the opportunity to do so. This was the last time the congregation had a full time school teaching the German language. When Schulz resigned the congregation was unable to obtain a replacement teacher. Pastor Theile aided by his wife gave German lessons and religious instruction one day a week in each of the three congregations, Bethania, Beenleigh and Eagleby.<sup>70</sup> This arrangement was to continue until interrupted by the war.

The experience of the Bethania Germans in trying to maintain a church school and teach the German language was similar to that of Queensland Lutherans generally. While Lutheran congregations at Bethania and elsewhere in Queensland had difficulty in obtaining pastors they had even greater difficulty in obtaining qualified and capable teachers, and continual changes in teaching staff discouraged parents.<sup>71</sup> Where there was no congregational school the pastor would if possible have a German school on one day a week, or in conjunction with confirmation lessons.

There does not appear to have been any interest among the Bethania Germans in education above the elementary or primary stage. There is no record of any attempt to have any of the young men trained as teachers, or to set them on an education or instruction path which would have led to the ministry. Nowhere is there any reference to women as teachers, or potential teachers, or teachers' assistants.

For at least its first fifty years in Queensland the Lutheran Church among German settlers identified with the German language. According to Glenn L. Williams

67. Queensland State Archives file EDU/AB 130, Waterford State School Statistial Returns 1877-1967.

68. Photos held by Ken Bizzell reproduced in Margaret Jenner (ed.), *Bethania the Early Years*, Bethania 125 Committee, Bethania, 1989, pp. 52, 59.

69. Queensland State Archives file A/48967, Z2087, Admissions Register Waterford State School.

70. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

71. *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

in his study of the German language and the Lutheran Church, most Lutheran pastors held the view that the purity of Lutheran faith was dependent on its being expressed in the German language.<sup>72</sup> Theile stated: 'Many staunch Lutherans honestly believed that the loss of the German language meant the loss of the Lutheran faith, because they could not understand how the Lutheran faith could be rendered and expressed in the English language.'<sup>73</sup> Retention of the German language was necessary as very few of the Lutheran pastors who served in Queensland in the first fifty years were able to use the English language fluently.<sup>74</sup> Pastors Hausmann and Theile at Bethania were exceptions. Until 1895 the German language was still used exclusively in all Lutheran congregations in Queensland.<sup>75</sup> Services in the English language commenced in two congregations in Queensland in 1896, and identification of the Lutheran Church with the German language was weakening.<sup>76</sup> However, the view persisted that it was necessary for the Church to continue teaching the German language, as expressed in a statute of the Combined German and Scandinavian Lutheran Synod in 1907: 'The Synod recognises that for the preservation of the Lutheran church in this country the establishment and maintenance of German congregational schools is urgently necessary.'<sup>77</sup> In spite of its statute the denomination was unable to maintain full-time schools and two years later the last full-time church school at Bethania was to close. The Bethania congregation persisted with the German language and in 1911 became an incorporated body under its German name '*Die Evangelische Lutherische Kirche zu Bethanien.*'<sup>78</sup>

The language of the Lutheran Church was High German (*Hochdeutsch*), the official language of most of the German states and from 1871 of the German Empire. The early settlers at Bethania as their first languages spoke German dialects. The *Plattdeutsch* of the Uckermarkers was the most common, but there were at least three other dialects in the area, including one dialect which other Germans could not understand. Thus German children at Bethania and at other Lutheran congregations in Queensland were in effect taught High German as a second language, or if one counts their school English, possibly as a third language.

High German was used for confirmation, that rite of passage in the Lutheran Church by which at about fourteen or fifteen years of age after a period of instruction a

72. Glen L. Williams, 'The German Language and the Lutheran Church in Queensland,' in *Queensland Heritage*, Vol. 2, No. 8, 1973, p.32..

73. F. O. Theile, op. cit., p. 89.

74. Glen L. Williams, loc. cit.

75. *ibid.*

76. F. O. Theile., op. cit., p. 89.

77. Quoted in Glen L. Williams, loc. cit.

78. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 June, 1911, p. 4.

person became a full member of the church. The purpose of confirmation instruction was explained by Theile: 'It aims at imparting to the young candidates for Confirmation a complete knowledge of Christian Lutheran teaching; it tries to lead them to recognise their responsibility for a Christian walk in life and to awaken in them a deep love for their Church.'<sup>79</sup> The teaching experience was difficult for the pastor where he had candidates varying from those who had learned High German at school to those with no German exposure. Confirmation classes in High German in some cases also required instruction in that language, and for some candidates explanations in English were necessary. Some 'understood very little and learned their German Confirmation lessons by rote.'<sup>80</sup> In 1899 Pastor Sueltmann 'expressed it as his considered opinion that the children, who understood German but imperfectly, should receive their religious and Confirmation instruction in the English language.'<sup>81</sup> However confirmation instruction at Bethania continued in High German.

The difficulty of maintaining German as a separate language in an English-speaking environment was indicated in the diary Ferdinand Kleinschmidt wrote partly in English and partly in German in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>82</sup> His work with a punt on the Logan River and as a farmer necessitated the use of English when dealing with English speakers, but in conversation with German speakers he used German. In his analysis of the language of the diary Glen Williams drew attention to the 'transference' of words. Kleinschmidt's references to punting and farming contain a high proportion of 'transference items,' the adoption of English elements into the written German of the author, such as the use of English words 'punt' and 'cattle,' and of part English word forms, such as 'der Kälberpaddock' instead of the German 'das Kälbergehege,' 'die Stockyard' for 'das Viehhof' and 'der Sweep' for 'das lange Ruder.' Where he normally used German, such as in relation to family or church, no transference occurred.<sup>83</sup> The German language when useful only within the church and family tended to deteriorate in the wider world especially when the Germans met new situations in business and the community for which their previous vocabulary was not adequate.

That the teaching of German was not derived from nationalist ideas and had no political object was stressed by Theile.<sup>84</sup> Writing after the experiences of Germans in Queensland during the First World War, Theile might be expected to deny such

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79. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

80. Glen L. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

81. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

82. Diary of Ferdinand Kleinschmidt 1876-92, handwritten, photocopy in John Oxley Library.

83. Glen L. Williams, 'The Diary of Ferdinand R. F. Kleinschmidt, 1876-92, including some lexical aspects,' M. A. thesis, Uni. of Queensland, 1967, pp. 119-125.

84. F. O. Theile, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.

objectives, but for the Bethania Germans there was nothing else to suggest that the teaching of German was for anything but church purposes. As stated in an earlier chapter, there were no German nationalist or cultural associations in the district, and it appears that none of the Bethania Germans were among the small number of members of such associations in Brisbane. The study of the German language for church purposes was limited to the literature of the church, bible, catechism, hymn book, and church publications. It did not extend to a wider study of German literature, history or culture. There were German-language church publications from South Australia such as *Der Australische Christenbote* and the *Kirchen und Missions Zeitung*, but their circulation in Bethania is not known. German-language newspapers were published in Brisbane, such as the *Nord-Australische Zeitung* from 1876 and the *Queenslander Herald* from 1895, but it is not known to what extent they were circulated among the Bethania Germans. The German language had no commercial purpose. While German settlers might talk to a local tradesman in German, their business dealings with the wider community, and with government offices, had to be in English. Theile suggested bi-lingual schooling was a disadvantage: 'children passing through a parish school and acquiring two languages were not able to compete in English - the language of the country, of its business, of its officials - with those children who are taught in English only.'<sup>85</sup>

The church and the language also served a social purpose. The church was a meeting place for the settlers where the opportunities not only to worship in German but also to socialise generally and exchange news with fellow Germans were important for those cut off by language from the English-speaking community. Besides meeting for Sunday worship they came together at the church for the festivals of the church year, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, each with observances over some days. The Germans also met at church for the family celebrations of christenings, marriages and funerals. Such observances were generally not shared with other members of the population who were not members of the church and did not understand the language.<sup>86</sup> The church and the language made the Germans a distinctive community somewhat separate from the wider population of the colony and state.

The Lutheran Church in Queensland was successful in retaining German as its official language and almost its only language until the First World War, but in doing so it was ministering only to those of its adherents who were German-born and educated and those Australian-born who understood High German. The Church was much less

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85. *ibid.*, p. 88.

86. Glen L. Williams, 'The German Language and the Lutheran Church ...', p. 32.

successful in teaching German to the young. It lost numbers of young people who left the Church when they could not be fully involved because they could not speak German fluently.<sup>87</sup> This effect was more noticeable among those who migrated to the cities than among those who remained in rural areas such as Bethania. The Bethania Germans also retained German as the language of the Lutheran congregation, but after nearly half a century they were teaching German to only some of the children of the congregation.

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87. *ibid.*, pp. 32-3.