

# Early German Settlements in South Australia

GORDON YOUNG

*In this paper Gordon Young, Director of the South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, discusses the considerable impact which a small group of German settlers had on the pattern of early settlement in South Australia. He describes the way of life they brought to the colony from their Prussian homelands and its adaptation to a totally new environment. This traditional lifestyle was maintained up until the First World War because of the homogeneity of their communities and their comparative isolation from those of British settlers. Four of the first German settlements in South Australia have been studied in detail. These are Bethany in the Barossa Valley and Birdwood, Hahndorf, and Lobethal in the Adelaide Hills. The research has been carried out by a multi-disciplinary team of academic architects, geographers, historians and town planners from the South Australian College of Advanced Education and the South Australian Institute of Technology, assisted by external consultants.<sup>1</sup>*

## INTRODUCTION

The majority of the first German settlers, who began to arrive in the colony from November 1838 onwards, were either farmers or farm workers or rural artisans such as blacksmiths and carpenters. They quickly settled on the country sections of some of the state's early magnates (e.g. Angas and Dutton) where they began to practice their traditional mixed farming methods, soon becoming the state's principal market gardeners, supplying the expanding capital city (Adelaide).

Their farmlet villages (*Hufendorfen*) were laid out within the Wakefield grid of land settlement (see note 10). These were composed of small allotments laid out in neat sections, commencing with a kitchen garden adjacent to the house, then an orchard, a small vineyard and finally fields of wheat and barley, (cattle were grazed in the surrounding bushland). Like those of the British settlers, their first dwellings were single-roomed gum slab huts, but these were later replaced by more substantial houses which reflected their east German counterparts.

The hall-kitchen house (*Flurküchenhaus*) predominated. Here, as you entered through the front door you would be confronted with a kitchen in which not only the family meals were prepared but where pork products of all kinds were manufactured. Hams and sausages were hung from walls and ceilings to cure in even temperatures (around 20°C), whilst elaborate devices were employed for smoking these products either in the house cellars, or loft spaces, or in external smokehouses.

Some of the extensive cellars under these German houses (e.g. at Bethany) were used for the preparation and storage of dairy products or for the production of wine for which the Germans soon became famous. Bakeovens were included both within or outside the farmhouses and although wheat was grown as a cash crop, small acreages of rye were sown to provide the farmers with their traditional rye bread. Baking was often a weekly affair, Saturday being the most popular day for it and the bakeovens were made large enough to take up to eight loaves of bread.

The parlours and bedrooms of the German settlers' houses were furnished with items of furniture either brought with them or made by local German carpenters or imported from Germany (e.g. upright pianos). Although these interiors were similar to the rooms in British settlers' houses there were important cultural differences. Thus embroidered bed covers

and wall hangings, with birthday wishes in German, decorated their houses, usually incorporating religious texts taken from their Breslau bibles.

These German traditions were reinforced during the rest of the century by the strong links the South Australian Lutheran congregations had with their German counterparts. In spite of the fact that Lutheran seminaries were set up within a few years of settlement (e.g. the Lobethal seminary in 1843) to offer pastoral training to resident Germans, a steady flow of pastors and missionaries still came out from Germany. The Lutheran pastor was both the leader of his congregation and an important figure in village life, he taught successive generations of German children the German language, history and culture. However, the outbreak of the First World War and the closure of all Lutheran Church Schools in South Australia at the war's end, irrevocably destroyed these cultural links.

## THE SETTLERS' HOMELAND

The majority of the early German settlers who came to South Australia originated from the north-eastern portion of the northern lowlands of Central Europe. This comprises an area which borders the upper Oder and its tributaries and was at the time of their migration the Prussian provinces of Brandenburg, Posen and Silesia (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> These territories had once formed the eastern Marches of the German empire and from the twelfth century onwards they were intensively settled by German peasant colonists moving eastwards beyond the River Elbe.

The Black Death (1347–1351) and renewed opposition from the revived Slavonic Kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland brought to an end this German colonisation. Thousands of farms and cottages and large tracts of land were abandoned, and later absorbed into the estates of more powerful landowners. The loss of land by the peasantry was to be accentuated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by a disastrous series of wars.<sup>3</sup> Peasants were forced into compulsory military service and their lands were confiscated. However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great began to recognise the need for an established and prosperous peasantry. He resettled hundreds of thousands of people, in both the newly acquired province of Silesia and the adjacent provinces of Brandenburg and Posen, in villages of uniform design located in the marshlands of the Oder, Warthe,

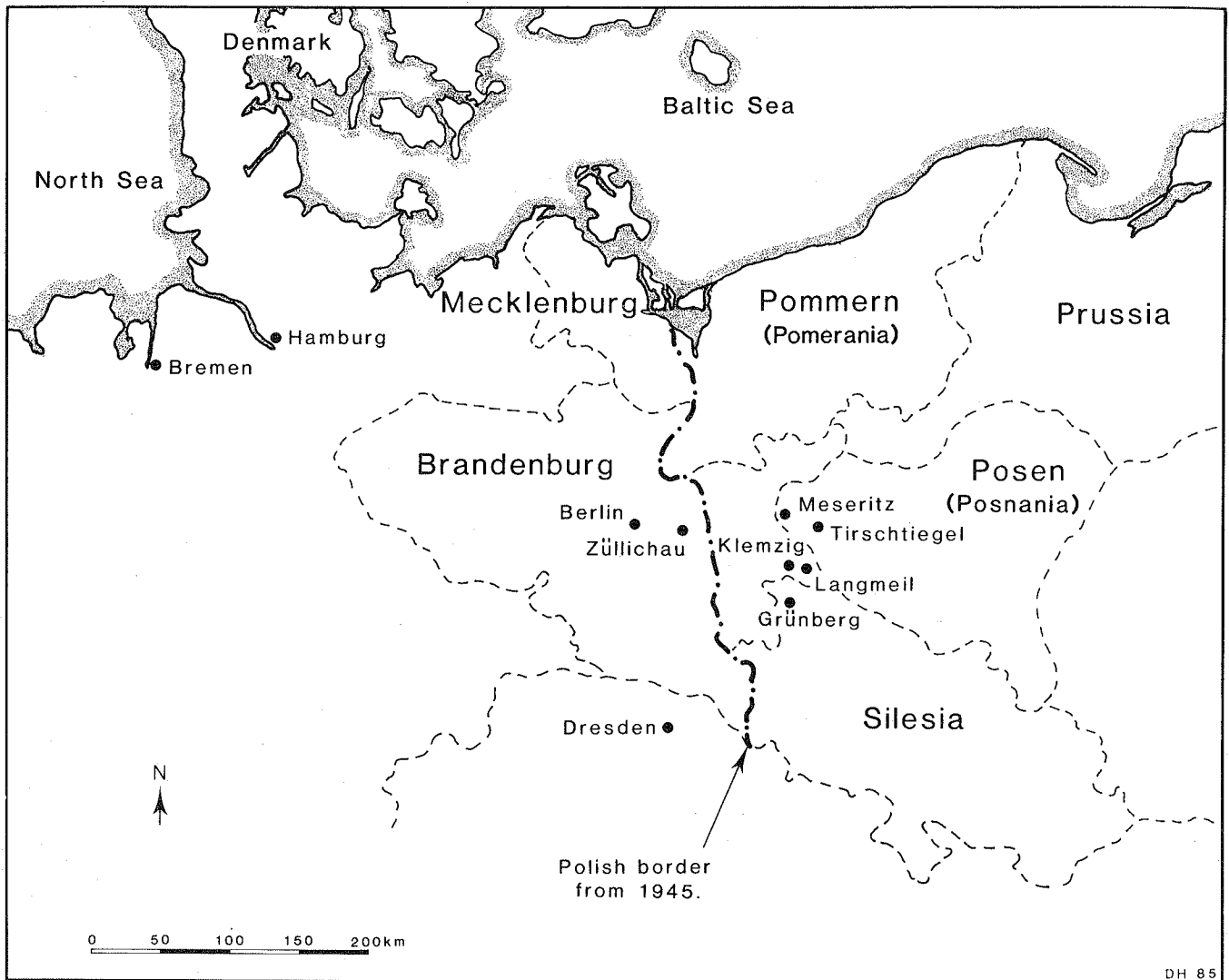


Fig. 1: Map of Central Europe 1815-1857.

and Netze rivers or in the thickly forested uplands. Amongst these colonists were many foreigners such as French Huguenots, who were valued for their skills as craftsmen and were often located in settlements close to large towns, which their home industries serviced.<sup>4</sup>

## REASONS FOR GERMAN MIGRATION TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The principal reason for German migration to South Australia was religious persecution. The majority of the first Germans to arrive in the colony were 'Old Lutherans', who were escaping from the religious harassment of Frederick William III of Prussia who wanted them to acknowledge a revised form of Lutheran church service. The Prussian authorities had closed down their churches, arrested and imprisoned many parishioners and driven the dissenting pastors away from their parishes. Church congregations were forced to meet secretly and with the help of some of the more adventurous pastors, began to plan for their migration to Russia or the United States.

In 1834 August Kavel, one of these pastors, travelled to Hamburg to seek a new homeland for his congregation.<sup>5</sup> He was advised by the city's police chief, Senator Hadtwalcher to go to London and meet George Fife Angas, a leading figure in the formation of the new colony of South Australia and a director of the recently formed South Australian Company. Eventually Angas agreed to support the emigration of Kavel's congregation, who were to settle on his newly acquired lands.<sup>6</sup>

After considerable delays caused by the Prussian authorities not issuing the necessary travel documents and uncertainty about accepting Angas's offer, the first shipload of Germans left Hamburg in April, 1838, arriving at Port Misery (Port Adelaide) in November of that year.

This was the beginning of a steady flow of German migrants to the colony of South Australia and by 1900, Germans and their descendants constituted 10 per cent of the population of the colony.<sup>7</sup>

## EARLY GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The German pioneers who first came to the colony were continuing a long tradition of colonisation and were accustomed to being settled in planned communities. A. Mayhew in his book *Rural settlements and farming in Germany* describes Prussian colonisation in the following manner:

'Both the new settlement forms (in eighteenth century Prussia) and the new field patterns were in general of great regularity. Within the settlements themselves there was often considerable regularity with houses equally spaced out, often the house forms were identical and the fields of regular or equal size. These forms came straight from the drawing board with little amendment in the field.'<sup>8</sup>

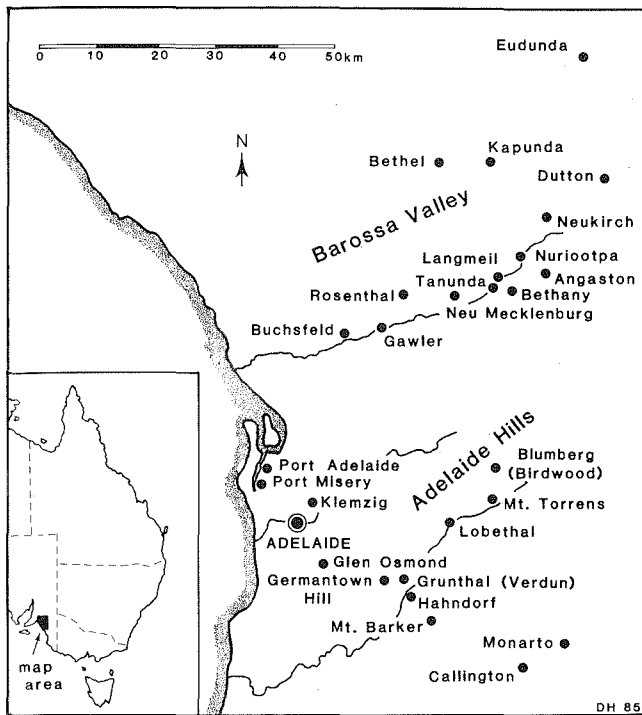


Fig. 2: Spread of German settlements in South Australia.

The Germans first settled on Angas's land at Klemzig, before moving out to Hahndorf, in the Adelaide Hills, and to the Barossa Valley. These were at that time remote locations isolated from Adelaide, which helped the settlers retain their cultural mores, which they began to adapt to their new environment (Fig. 2).

Klemzig, which now exists in name only,<sup>9</sup> was laid out alongside the River Torrens on several of Angas's country sections.<sup>10</sup> It appears from a sketch of it in 1846, by George French Angas,<sup>11</sup> to have been a street-village (*Strassendorf*), creating a closely-knit settlement of small land holdings similar to the ones the Germans had occupied in East Germany.<sup>12</sup> The *Strassendorf* was one of three well-tried village forms used by the Prussian authorities in their colonisation programme. The other two were the long-green village (*Angerdorf*) and the widely used farmlet-village (*Hufendorf*).<sup>13</sup>

The second German village established in South Australia, Hahndorf, was laid out as a flattened U, with its base resting on the main Adelaide to Mt. Barker road. It straddled a series of small creeks whose confluence was to the north of the town's boundary, from where a small stream joined the upper Onkaparinga river.<sup>14</sup> This village was composed of three-acre (1.22ha) house allotments around its perimeter with a scatter of smaller plots of land in its central core which had within it the Lutheran church and manse (St. Michael's). The total size of each settler's land holdings varied from 3.25 to 5.19 acres (1.32 to 2.10ha). The early layout of Hahndorf was similar to an *Angerdorf* but later development, which spread along the opposite side of the Adelaide to Mt. Barker road, created a street-village or *Strassendorf* (Fig. 3).

Most of the early German settlements in South Australia were laid out as farmlet-villages (*Hufendorfen*). These include Bethany and Langmeil, both founded on G. F. Angas's land in the Barossa Valley, (the former in 1842, the latter in 1843). Lobethal, founded also in 1842, lay closer to Hahndorf, in the Adelaide Hills and was a 'classic' *Hufendorf*. This type of settlement had been used by the Franks as early as the ninth century A.D. It provided a suitable village form for colonising newly conquered lands (settlements were located at strategic

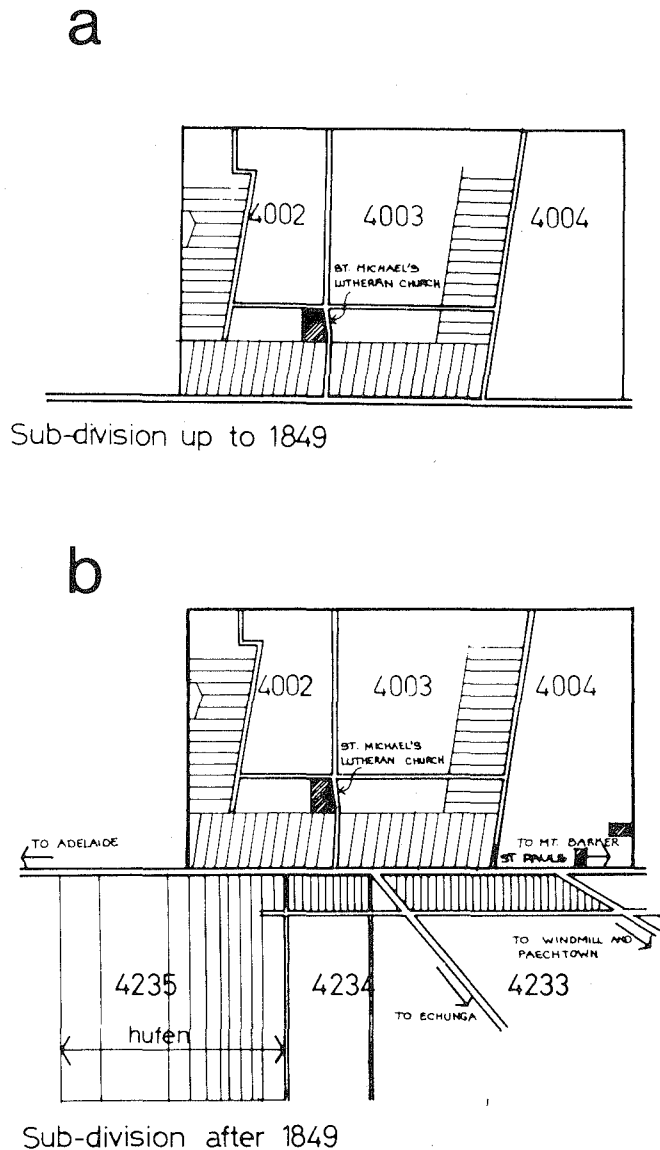


Fig. 3: (a) Hahndorf's original U-shaped village and (b) its later development into a street village (*Strassendorf*).

points on a network of roads). This form of village was later used by German colonists in the Middle Ages, as they moved eastward into the Slavonic lands. Finally it was revised and standardised in the eighteenth century by the Prussian authorities. Two basic *Hufen* village forms emerged, the forest farm village (*Waldhufendorf*) and the marsh farm village (*Marschhufendorf*); as their names suggest these were located in heavily wooded areas where forests were cleared, or in coastal marshlands or river valleys which were reclaimed by dyking. The characteristic *Waldhufendorf* can be described as follows (Fig. 4):

'Very often in hilly country a clearing was made in the forest and a road built parallel to a stream in the valley bottom. The *hufen* or farmlets were laid out in long narrow equal strips and the farmer's cottage and farm buildings were located within them, parallel to the road and watercourse. The land near the stream was used for water meadows and the tethering and pasturing of cattle. Vegetable gardens and orchards grew at the front and backs of the farms and rye or other grain crops beyond. In warmer areas vine was cultivated. The backlands and surrounding forest were used as

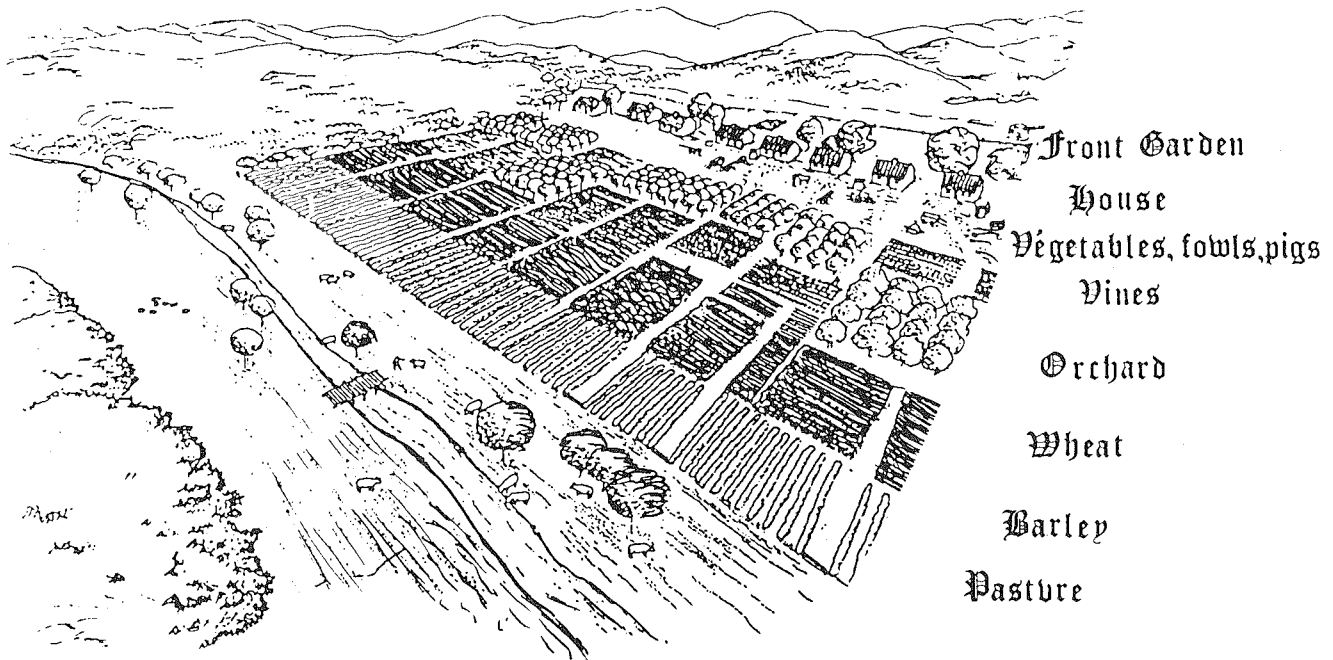


Fig. 4: Reconstruction of a typical German farmlet-village (Hufendorf).

common pasture for the farmers' cattle, goats and pigs. . . This layout kept the farmers' houses closer together and allowed them to assist each other in cases of mishap (e.g. loss of animals, fire or attack by marauders).<sup>15</sup>

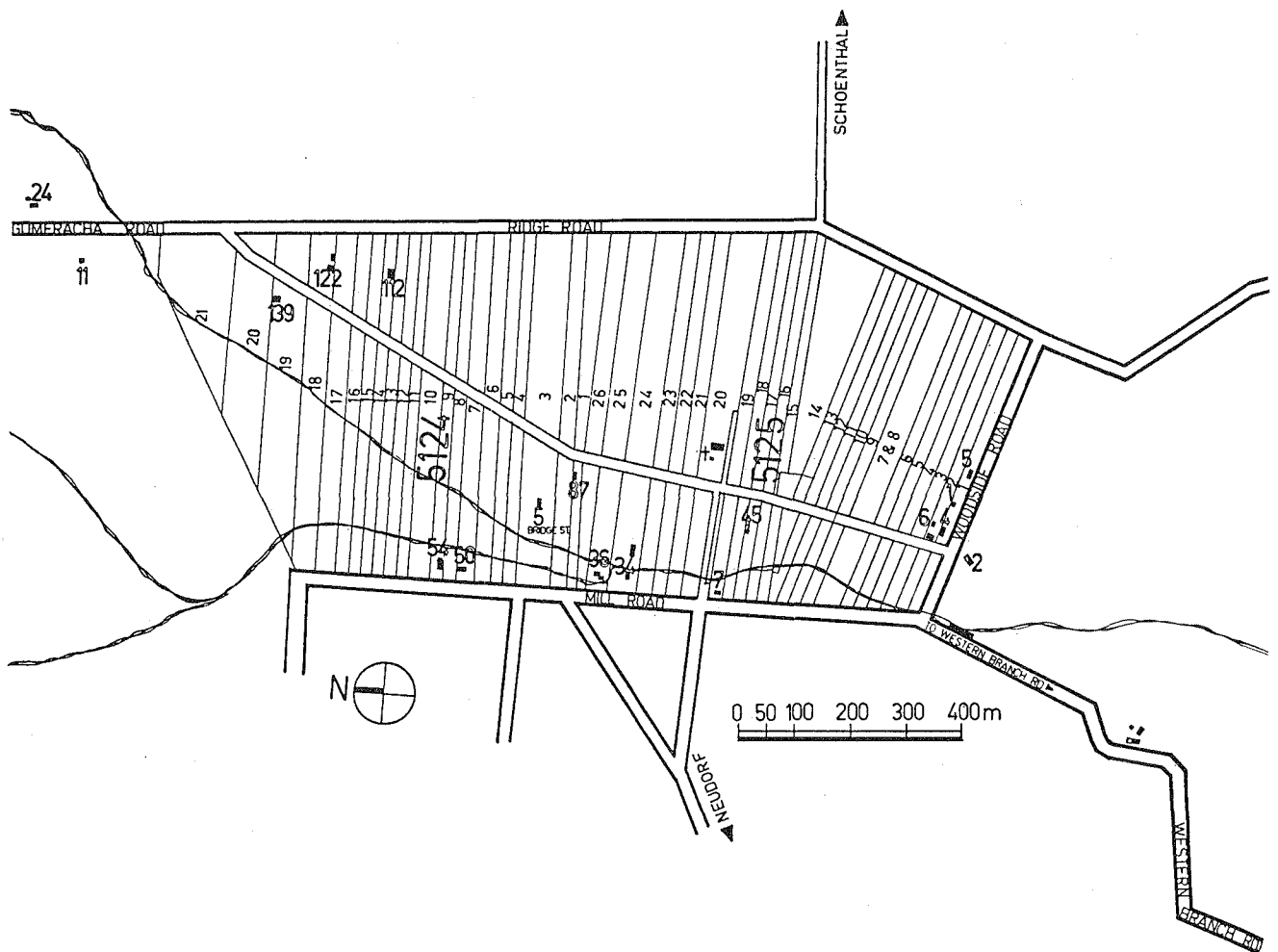
Lobethal's first survey plan prepared in 1855 shows a standard *Hufendorf* layout (Fig. 5). Its forty-seven allotments, the majority of which were 3 acres (1.22ha) in area, were laid out within the two country sections 5124 and 5125. Some of the first settlers' houses were located along Mill Road which ran parallel to the Lobethal Creek. This was intended to be the town's main street. However, its 'switch-back' nature soon led to the more gently sloping bullock track, which cut across the town's allotments in a north-south direction, becoming the main thoroughfare.

South Australian German farmlet villages had to be fitted into the Wakefield System of land sub-division, which was based on an 80 acre (32.40ha) module. Government roads separated the blocks and neither they nor the blocks were laid out to match the natural features of the landscape, such as hills or streams. The greater and better parts of the rural areas were bought up by magnates such as George Fife Angus or by the South Australian Company, who then sold or leased parcels of land back to their tenant farmers.<sup>16</sup> Bethany was an example of this process of land alienation. It was settled by twenty-four German families, from 14 January 1842 onwards, on nine sections of George Fife Angus's land in the Barossa Valley. It lay to the north of the Government road, along which the first farmhouses, a church, a manse and a school were built. At first it may have had equal-sized allotments but by 1857, the date of the earliest surviving survey plan of the village, there were a variety of allotment sizes. These ranged from as small as 3.5 acres (1.42ha) to as large as 39 acres (15.80ha). The long narrow *hufen*, indicated on the plans as cutting across several sections of Angus's land, were suited to ploughing by ox-drawn ploughs which required only a minimum number of turns. The few cattle owned by the Bethany settlers were kept in small paddocks located alongside the Government road. They were taken daily by the village

cowherd to graze on hillside pastures in the adjoining Barossa Range. This common land was provided with stone markers along its end boundaries, which theoretically indicated the owners' strips of commonage.

Due to the virtual collapse of South Australia's economy in the early 1840s, the immigration of labourers and artisans based on free passages ceased for a period of two years. From 1846, with an improving economy, increasing numbers of German migrants began arriving in the colony. Many of them spent some of their time, whilst seeking land or employment, in the half dozen German villages which had by then been created (Klemzig, Glen Osmond, Hahndorf, Lobethal, Bethany and Langmeil).<sup>17</sup> Birdwood or Blumberg as it was then called, was one of the settlements created by this renewed migration of Germans. Unlike the previous tight-knit settlements of Bethany and Lobethal, it was a scattered hamlet located on eight sections of land owned by the South Australian Company in the upper reaches of the River Torrens.<sup>18</sup> The settlers shared the 80 acre (32.40ha) sections creating individual farm holdings of between 20–30 acres (8.10–12.15ha) each. There could be two important reasons for this changed pattern of settlement. Firstly, the migrants' origin. Unlike the earlier groups of East German settlers, many of those who settled at Birdwood were from North-West Germany. This was an area with a less feudal land system and where newer methods of agriculture involving larger land-holdings and a measured rotation of pasturing and cropping were developing. The other factor and probably the more vital one, was the local experience which had been gained by the first wave of German settlers. Within a short while of their arrival and settlement, they had begun to expand their small allotments by acquiring adjacent land-holdings or by moving on to new land sub-divisions and acquiring much greater acreages. Even the larger land-ownings at Birdwood proved insufficient for some settlers, as it was an area of thin topsoils and stony outcrops, more suitable for grazing and wheatgrowing than for intensive cultivation. During the first decade of settlement, several families moved out of the area allowing those who remained (e.g. the Rathjens)<sup>19</sup> to acquire the vacated land and create larger land-holdings similar in size to those employed by British settlers.<sup>20</sup>

From this period onwards succeeding German settlements were based on larger and more scattered land-holdings (e.g. Bethel near Kapunda).



## GERMAN FARMHOUSES

Several basic house-forms or variations which occurred through acculturation, spread from West Germany to the east of Europe. The Lower German House (*Niederdeutsches Haus*) was in its simplest form a single-unit structure, in which Man, his animals and his goods were housed under the same steep and lofty roof. Access to the house was from the gable end. A variation of this house-form was the Franconian (*Frankische*) house which occurred throughout central Germany.<sup>21</sup> In this case access was obtained by front and back doors placed approximately at the centre of the side elevations, leading into a wide cross-passage hall (*Flur*). This gave access to the living rooms on one side and to stables and stores on the other. Its long-house form was similar to that found in the western parts of the British Isles.<sup>22</sup> Eventually the animal byres, hay lofts and granaries were located in separate buildings grouped around a farmyard (*Hof*). The later Franconian house plan was commonly found in the Prussian provinces of Brandenburg, Posen and Silesia. It included a sophisticated arrangement of cooking hearths and ovens, all linked together into centrally located chimneys. This became known as a hall-kitchen house (*Flurküchenhaus*), either with a kitchen as a separate room at the end of the hall or with a cooking hearth in the cross-passage.<sup>23</sup> The new colonial settlements created by Frederick the Great and his successors were sometimes provided with simple timber-framed hall-kitchen houses, which were known as Frederician cottages (*Friderisianische*).

These house-forms were translated to South Australia where they remained in use up until the 1870s. The most common plan found in the larger German farmhouses was

Fig. 5: An example of a South Australian farmlet-village: Lobethal's 1855 survey showing Hufendorf plan.

the through-hall kitchen house, for example the Tscharke house at Bethany, the Paechtown houses near Hahndorf, and the Schubert house at Springhead, near Lobethal (Fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> Closed-passage plans or black kitchens (*Schwarze-Küche*) are more generally found in the Barossa Valley, for example the Keil house at Bethany, and the Schmidt house at Lights Pass.<sup>25</sup> The design of this type of cooking hall stems from the late Middle Ages, when regulations began to be introduced in Germany to control the incidence of conflagrations caused by the use of open-hearth fires. Thatched timber canopies pargetted with clay were built over the hearths to conduct smoke and sparks away into similarly constructed chimneys. Not surprisingly, these regulations became much stricter both in their specification and enforcement at the time of Frederick the Great. Village and fire legislation (*Dorf und Feuerordnungen*) changed the timber canopies and flues to brick vaults and flues which gave rise to the term 'black kitchen'. The Keil home with its central, brick-vaulted black kitchen is a classic example of this type of house (Fig. 7). Its gable end faces onto the main street of the village (Bethany Road) and access to the house is roughly centred on the longer elevation which lies parallel to the *Hufe*. This arrangement allowed for easier access to a small farmyard (*Hof*) at the back of the house, which was surrounded by slab barns, pig-sties, a slaughterhouse, and a smokehouse. Similar farm layouts which were suited to the narrow-fronted, farmlet-village layout have been noted elsewhere,<sup>26</sup> but this layout was not always followed, as the adjoining Tscharke house has its major axis parallel to Bethany Road.

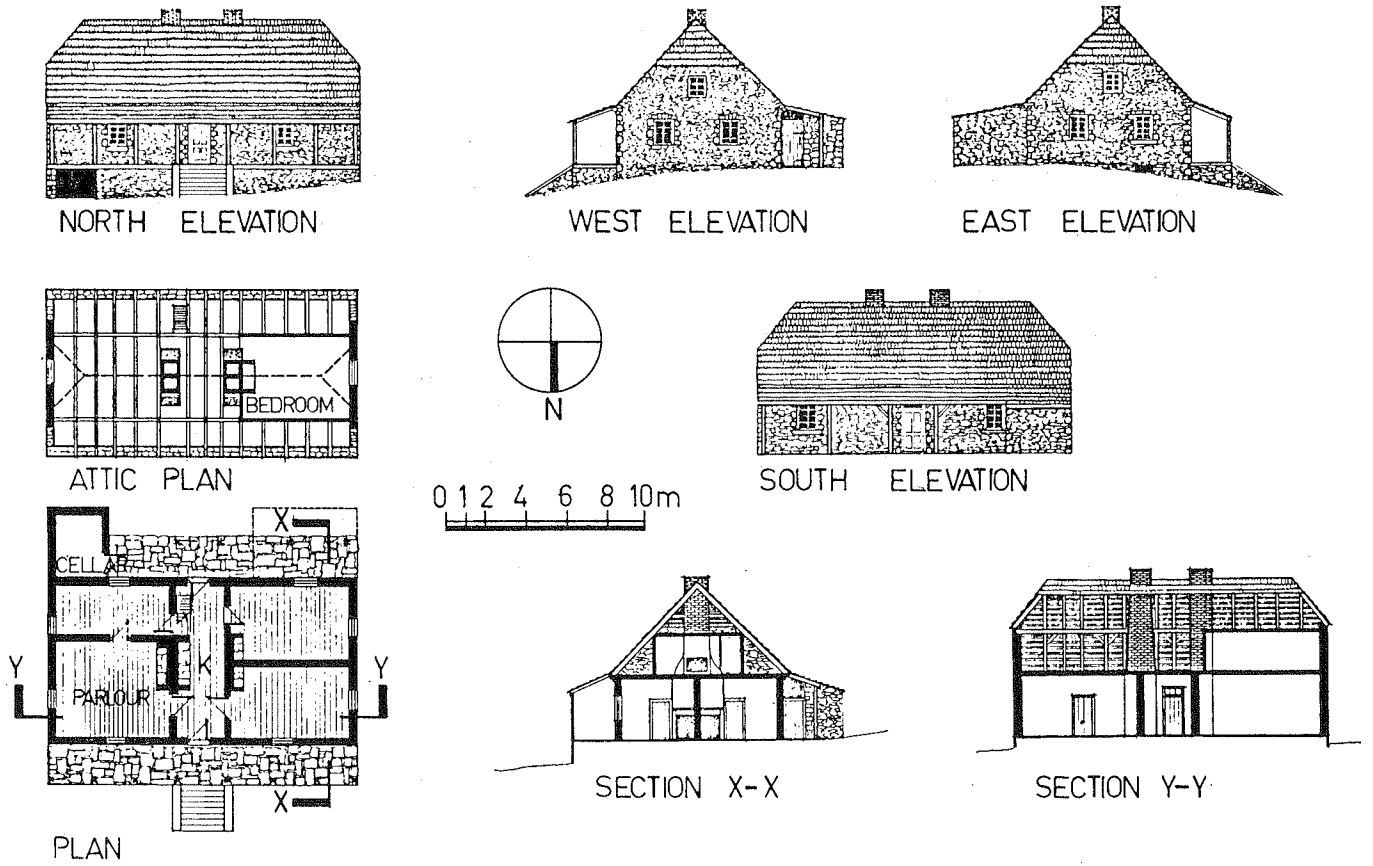
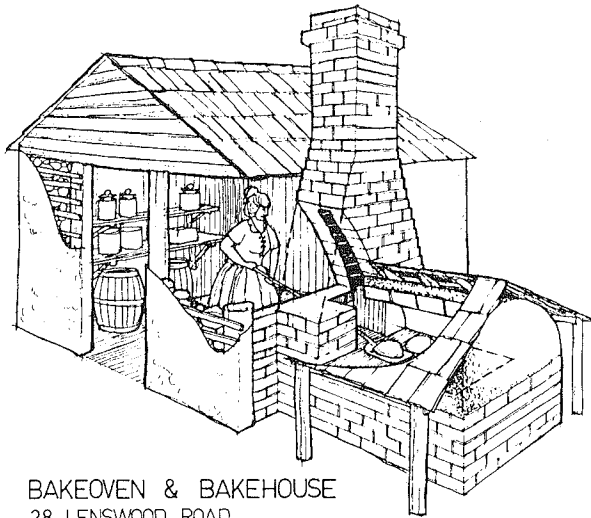


Fig. 6: The Schubert house, Springhead.



Fig. 7: The Keil house, Bethany, showing the large, black kitchen.



BAKEOVEN & BAKEHOUSE  
28 LENSWOOD ROAD



BAKEOVEN & SMOKEHOUSE  
47 WOODSIDE ROAD

Fig. 8: External bakeovens and smokehouse near Lobethal.

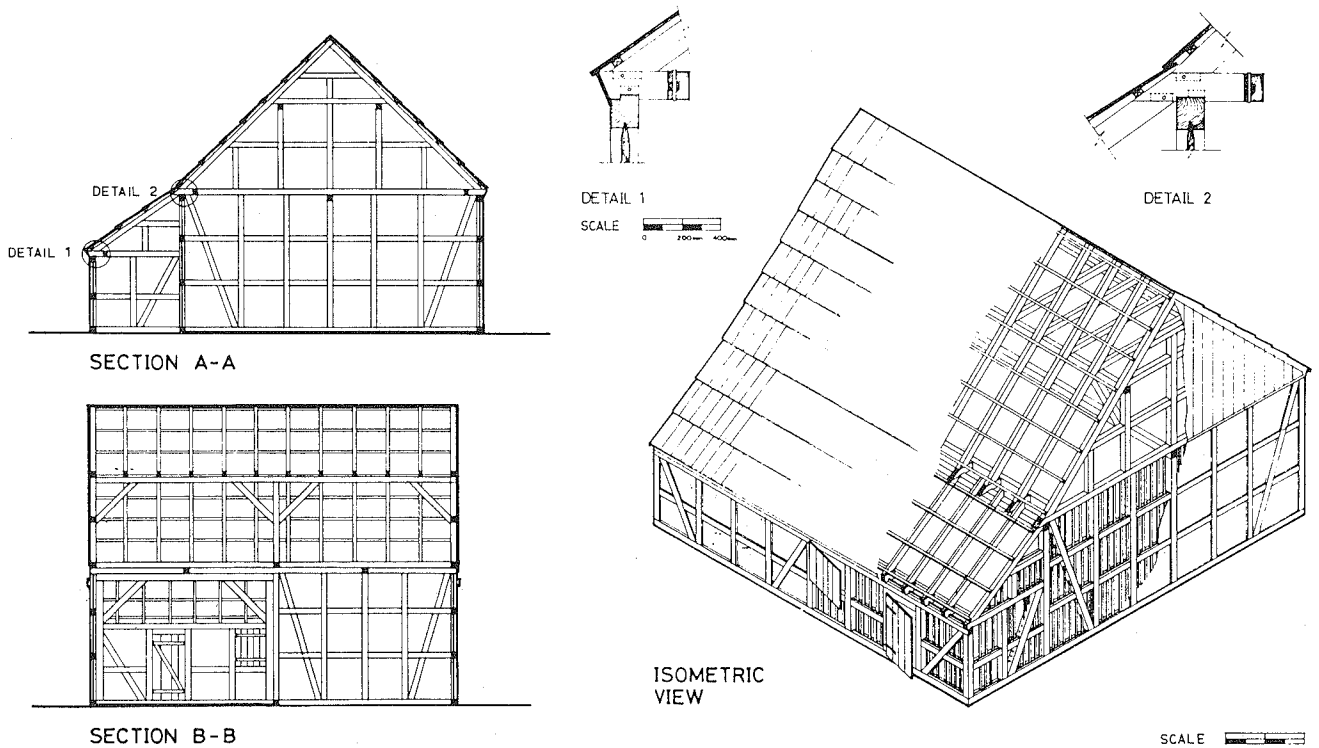
The above-mentioned farmhouses were built well after the German farmers had become established on their new lands. At first, like their British counterparts, they built simple one or two-roomed slab cottages, or sometimes they shared their accommodation with their animals.<sup>27</sup> The usual early German settler's home was a two-roomed cottage with back-to-back fireplaces and a square entrance hall at one side of the fireplace jambs (Fig. 11). This is a baffle-entry house plan, commonly found in British farmhouses between the mid seventeenth century and the late eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> A variation of this type of house, the extended gable house (*Giebellauben*), has been found near Lobethal (Fig. 12).<sup>29</sup>

The ancient Saxon tradition whereby Man, his animals and goods were all housed under one roof, common even in twentieth century Mecklenburg (Fig. 1), is a rare house-form in South Australia. Only one such building, Mooney's Barn<sup>30</sup> near Hahndorf, has been discovered, although others are said to have existed.<sup>31</sup>

A distinguishing feature of the German house is its high roof, below which the 'protective' attic was often used as a sleeping, working and storage place. Cultural ties associated with the roof were still evident in these early Australian German communities. Thus it was considered a bad omen for women in the later stages of their pregnancies to leave the protection of their roofs (once someone was *unter Dach und Fach*, that is sheltered by a roof, he or she could not be harmed by demons!). One of the ancient roof ceremonies, the *Richtfest*, or the topping of the building with the roof, is still celebrated in South Australia (usually by fixing a small pine tree to the ridge).

Cellars were another important feature of German farmhouses. At Bethany many of the houses had extensive basement cellars. Those in the Heinrich house were covered by brick vaults, whilst others had heavy joisted, timber floors sealed with a thick layer of clay pugging.<sup>32</sup> Most of these were approached by an external flight of stairs protected by hinged door flaps or an enclosed verandah. They were used for the preparation and storage of dairy products, smoking pork products, or for storing wine: 'To the cellar we were next introduced where we tasted three sorts of wine, two good, one

Fig. 9: Timber-framed barn (Gething's Barn), Hahndorf.



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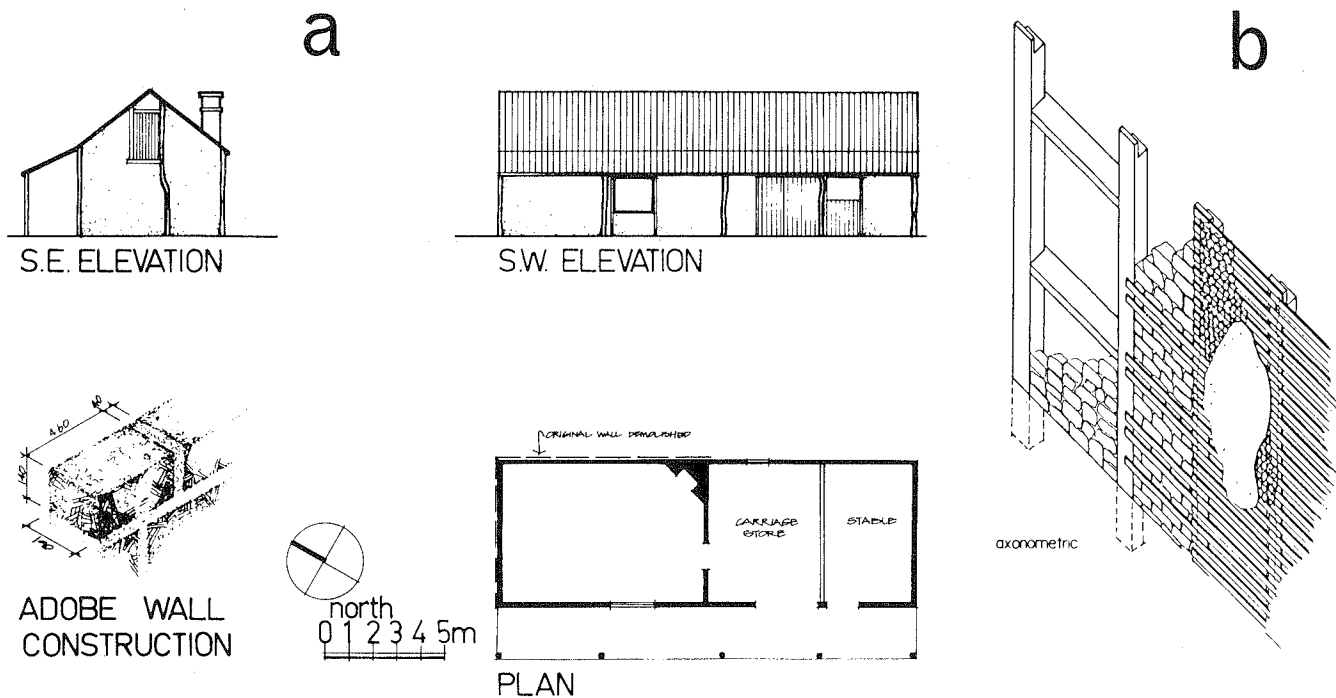


Fig. 10: Earth-fast, post-framed houses: (a) House with mud-brick panels at Hahndorf (b) Axonometric drawing of lath and plaster walling of house near Lobethal.

indifferent'.<sup>33</sup> In other areas (e.g. Lobethal) independent cellars, partly above ground and covered with high roofs and attic stores, are to be found.<sup>34</sup> Similarly in all settlements where no oven facilities existed within the houses, large external bake-ovens and smokehouses were built (Fig. 8).

The German farmyard was completed by a series of barns and other outbuildings suited to the farmer's mixed farming methods. Some of the barns were as imposing as the adjoining farmhouses, as can be seen in Fig. 9.

## BUILDING TECHNIQUES

German settlers employed a variety of building techniques, many of which were of a temporary or semi-permanent nature and not dissimilar in certain respects from those employed by British settlers.

An example is the simple slab hut; although generally alike, there were some different framing techniques used by the Germans. Thus, at Hahndorf we discovered several early houses and barns with external frameworks (i.e. with internal-facing slabs similar to the inside boarding of Queensland timber houses).<sup>35</sup> A carefully framed slab hut found at Lobethal suggested that a well preserved tradition of carpentry skills was available in the German communities.<sup>36</sup>

Both the German and the British settlers used earth-fast post construction, either as framing for their slab huts or as a supporting framework for stone walling. These could be full, half or quarter boles of timber (150–200mm diameter) of storey height, located at the corners and mid-way down the longer sides of a building. Wall panels of timber slab, or mud-brick (adobe) as in Fig. 10, were employed, or the posts were completely buried in the surrounding stonework.

Smaller-dimensioned (100–150mm) timber posts located at approximately 900mm centres, were also commonly used. This was called *lath and plaster* construction. The laths were nailed onto the frames in stages, creating an open formwork which was filled in either with stone rubble set in a crude lime and sand mortar or with a mixture of clay and straw. Afterwards both wall faces were plastered over, the outside face usually being lined out to represent stone ashlar work (Fig. 10).

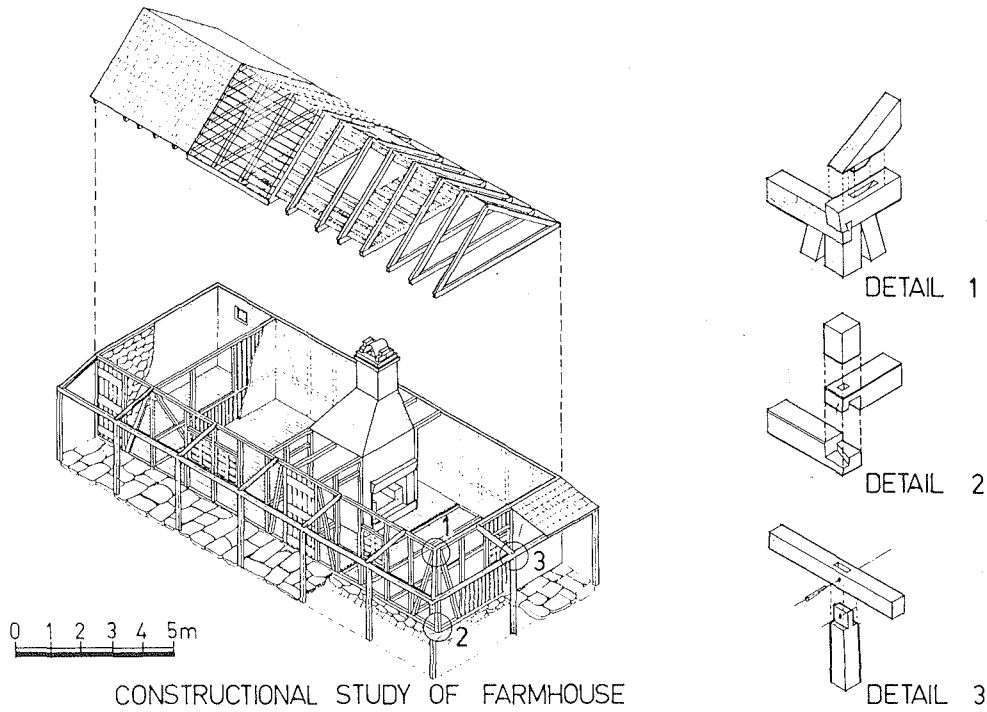
Although we have found examples of sun-dried bricks and adobe blocks (known in East Anglia as clay lump) in German

buildings, there is little evidence to suggest that they made as extensive a use of *pisé-de-terre* walling as British settlers did.<sup>37</sup> Where neither the materials nor the building finance was available to build brick or stone buildings, the Germans generally resorted to building their distinctive timber-framed houses and barns. The surveys of the South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies have uncovered a wealth of such buildings, beautifully crafted and built in the German manner with widely spaced vertical posts, the panels between divided by middle or other cross rails and raking braces (Fig. 11). The posts were mortised and tenoned and pegged at their base into timber sills, (which rested on stone footings) and at their heads to timber wall plates. The latter supported deep ceiling beams which were housed over them and into which the principal rafters were housed with splayed stub tenons. Dove-tailed and pegged lap joints were introduced into the horizontal sills and wall plates to stop the frames from twisting and pulling apart.

The principal rafters were braced across their tops with raking braces. These were housed across them, rising from the centre of the wall plates up to the top of the gables. Larger-spanned buildings required internal support for the rafters, in the form of under-purlins supported by short vertical struts rising from cross-walls or built-up beams laid across the ceilings (Fig. 12). The wall frames could be pre-fabricated in a carpenter's yard, on or off-site and a system of identification employing Roman numerals was used for their re-erection. These are easily discernible where the frames are exposed. In the smaller houses and farm outbuildings, wall panels were made of wattle and daub. However, in the Hahndorf area many of the larger houses had brick panels (e.g. at Paechtown, a hamlet near to Hahndorf, the houses had brick panelling whilst the adjoining barns had wattle and daub panels).

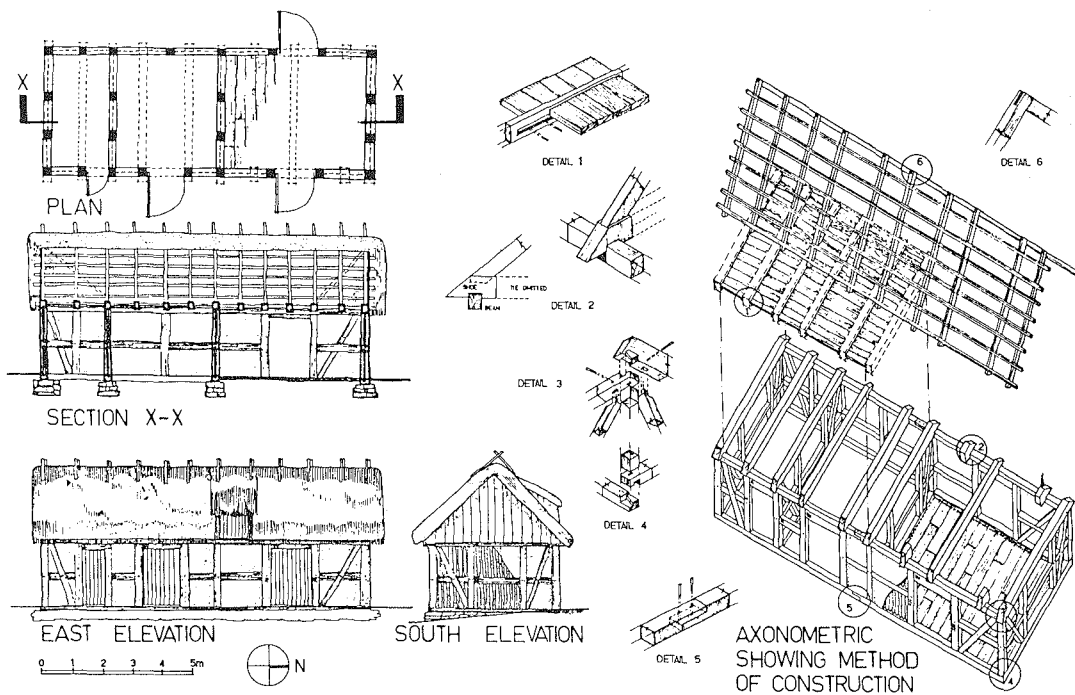
Although a rough form of lime concrete was already in use during the early settlement period, many of the German settlers used earth floors. These were finished with a sand-lime topping mixed with ox blood, which when dried and polished gave a highly attractive finish. The thick (100mm) wattle and daub ceilings which were used, had when set the

a



CONSTRUCTIONAL STUDY OF FARMHOUSE

b



AXONOMETRIC SHOWING METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION

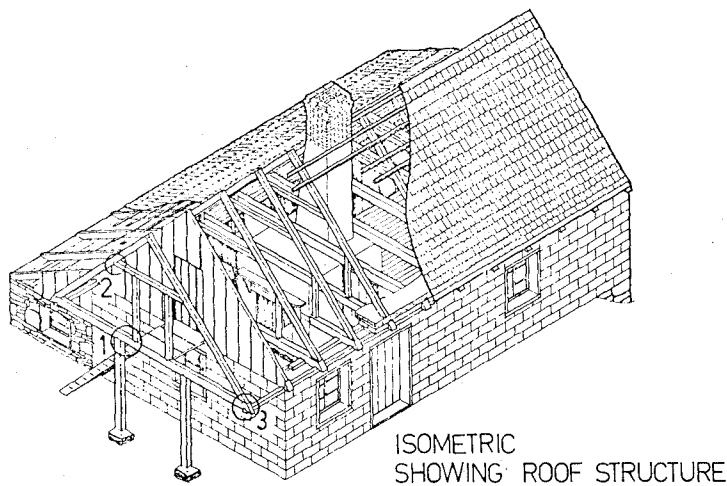
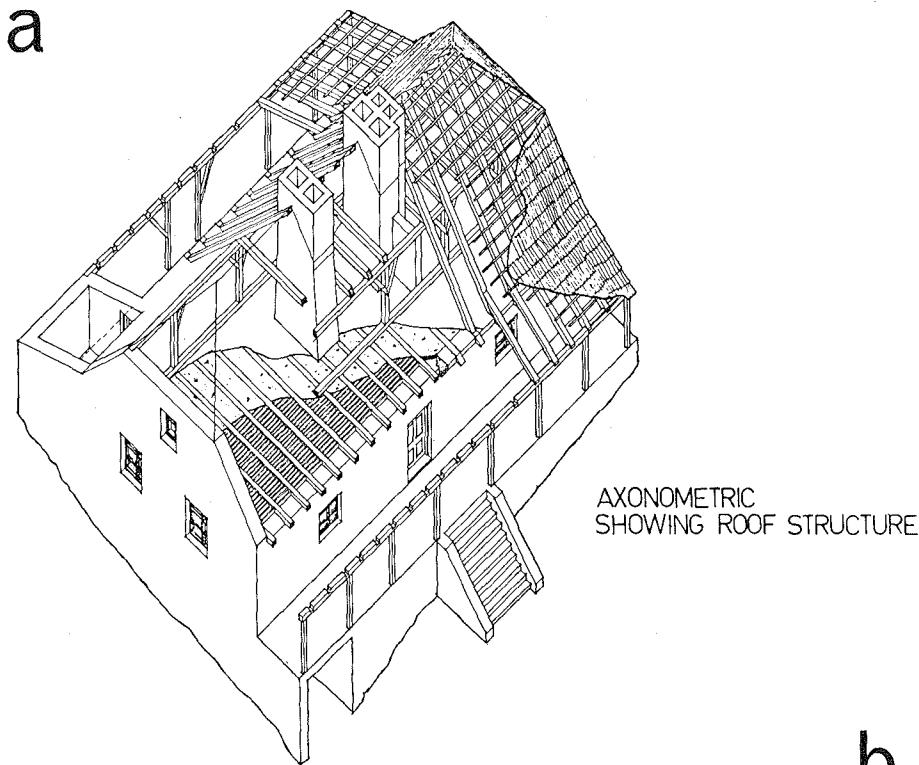
Fig. 11: German timber-frame construction: (a) Constructional study of farmhouse at Neudorf, near Lobethal, and (b) its adjoining barn.

appearance of suspended concrete floors and were useful for the storing of heavy goods in the attic. The trapped air within the dried mixture of straw and clay gave excellent insulation both in winter and in summer.

The high-pitched roofs (sometimes half-hipped) were covered either with straw thatch or timber shingles, and the ridges were capped at times by *roof-trees* as can be seen in the illustration of a barn in Figure 11. Apart from the 'protective' nature of the roofs, mentioned previously, many houses had the protection of house blessings, usually situated over front doors and placing the house in God's care.

## LATER GERMAN SETTLEMENTS AND THE CONTINUATION OF A GERMAN WAY OF LIFE

During the first decades of settlement the German settlers clung to their mixed farming techniques and continued to supply Adelaide with fresh fruit and vegetables, dairy and pork products. Thus on the night before market day it was a common sight to see the German women from Hahndorf and Lobethal wending their way through the Adelaide Hills, carrying wicker baskets filled with farm products to catch the early market. However, the pressing need for greater cash crops and a gradual failure of the soils of their market gardens, particularly in the Barossa Valley where unsuitable horti-



b

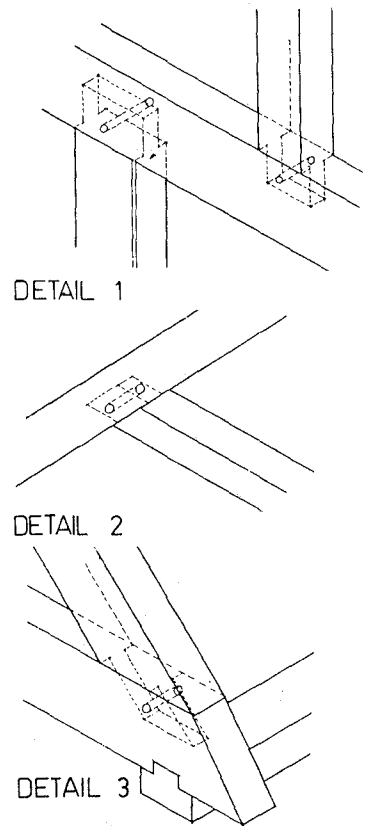


Fig. 12: Comparative roof constructions: (a) Schubert house at Springhead, near Lobethal (b) Extended-gable house (Giebellauben) near Lobethal.

cultural methods brought to the surface an impermeable layer of clay, lead to the growing of larger acreages of wheat and barley. This had an effect on the tight layouts of the Germans' farmlet-villages, which changed their form as many farmers moved away to seek larger land-holdings, whilst others began to combine their small allotments with those adjoining when they became vacant.

From the late 1840s a different kind of German migration to South Australia began. The new migrants coming out to the colony came for political or socio-economic reasons rather than for the religious ones which stimulated earlier migrations. Although many originated from the Prussian states and were coming to join family or friends already settled in South Australia, others were from West Germany (e.g. Schleswig-Holstein). These people represented a much wider cross-section of German society, many of whom were not attracted to a rural way of life and who chose to settle in Adelaide. A small colony of German people developed in East Adelaide, still maintaining a German way of life and culture in the early

years, but gradually becoming absorbed into the dominant British culture which surrounded them. German-owned hotels, such as the ill-fated Aurora Hotel in Hindmarsh Square,<sup>38</sup> and clubrooms were opened (e.g. the German Association still has its clubrooms in Flinders Street, East Adelaide). Those settlers who settled in the rural areas began to change the old German methods of mixed farming, an example of which was the layout of the new settlements of Blumberg (Birdwood) in 1848, and some brought with them different house-forms (e.g. Rathjens farmhouse Birdwood).<sup>39</sup>

From the 1870s the design of the German farmhouse is more and more influenced by the styles of the Adelaide house. New villa-ends were added to the older farmhouses or entirely new villa-type houses built in the German settlements.

Their traditional life-styles, however, changed much more slowly. Family life was an enduring bastion of German traditions—in attitudes, dress, food and amusements.

## GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN VICTORIA AND QUEENSLAND

After 1850, German settlers began to spread into the mid-north areas of South Australia (e.g. around Kapunda) and to the south-east of the state (e.g. to Yahl near Mt. Gambier). They also crossed the border into the western districts of Victoria, where they settled in the Hamilton-Penshurst area. This migration succeeded a brief period of direct migration from Germany to Victoria, via the Port of Melbourne, which occurred in 1849.<sup>40</sup> These settlers first settled at Germantown near Geelong (now Grovedale) and on lands which are now within the greater Melbourne area (at Thomastown, Doncaster and Berwick). Little remains of their metropolitan settlements but there are some important remnants in the Hamilton district. Krumnow originally known as Herrnhut is a case in point. This was settled by a group of Germans from Germantown (Grovedale) and the Barossa Valley in South Australia. They were led by a Lay Pastor, Johann Friederich Krumnow, who had been a controversial figure in the foundation of Lobethal in the Adelaide Hills. He had strong Christian socialist ideals and had tried to put these into practice at Lobethal but had not succeeded. He then moved to Victoria, where he settled near Penshurst with a group of about twenty families who set up a communal settlement. This was totally dominated by him and he controlled all its financial affairs until his death in 1881, after which the community disintegrated. Two unroofed stone buildings and several more ruined structures are all that remain of this settlement.<sup>41</sup>

German settlers from South Australia also travelled up the River Murray in the late 1860s and settled in the Albury-Wodonga district of Victoria and New South Wales.

The first German settlement in Queensland was a Lutheran church missionary station established in 1838 at Zion's Hill, now part of the Brisbane suburb of Nundah. Scattered settlements began to appear in the early 1840s in the Brisbane Valley and on the Darling Downs, and further north of Brisbane in the Maryborough area. Unlike Victoria, to which considerable numbers of South Australian Germans had migrated, Queensland's Germans emigrated directly from Germany. This migration increased considerably after 1861, when a government organised immigration scheme offering assisted passages commenced (it lasted until 1880). By the census of 1891, Queensland had the biggest number of German-born residents in the whole of Australia (14,910).<sup>42</sup>

In 1984, whilst on a brief visit to the Brisbane Valley and the adjoining Darling Downs, I failed to discover evidence of the traditional German farmhouses common to South Australia.<sup>43</sup> Some timber barns were the only farm structures which bore a resemblance to those found in the Barossa Valley or the Adelaide Hills. The late date of German migration to Queensland and its nature, a mixture of family groups and individuals from widely different parts of Germany, would explain the differences in settlement patterns and buildings between the two states. The Germans who first came to South Australia were a coherent group of Lutherans from a small part of the Prussian empire, bringing their traditional rural culture with them intact and settling in comparatively remote areas of the colony. In contrast, many of the German immigrants coming to Queensland may have come from urban backgrounds, where they had lost touch with their rural origins. More important though was the continuing influence the Lutheran Church had on the lifestyles of the Germans in South Australia. This influence diminished in Queensland when large numbers of German settlers joined British non-conformist church congregations, and were rapidly assimilated into the cultural mainstream.

## GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA

German colonists began appearing in North America in the late 18th century but large scale immigration from the German states did not begin until the early 1830s. An important area of early German settlement was in the valley of the lower Missouri River, where thousands of Germans settled from 1832 up until the mid 1850s. This is a time scale which parallels the early migration of Germans to South Australia. Charles van Ravenswaay has researched the arts and architecture of these mid-western settlements.<sup>44</sup> Although he does not describe the type of village layouts employed by the settlers, his description of the farmhouses, their construction and furnishings, indicates a richness of settlement far in advance of that which occurred in South Australia. The Missouri Germans, like those who came later to South Australia and Queensland, arrived from all parts of Germany. Their farmhouses, therefore, reflected a wide variety of German vernacular styles. Ravenswaay shows few house plans in his book and the hall-kitchen plan is not illustrated. However, it is possible to discover some examples of this East German house-type from his photographs. The building techniques employed were, apart from log-wall construction, very similar to those found in South Australia. The timber-framed and panelled house (*Fachwerk*) is particularly noticeable, and these methods were often employed in the large barns erected by the Missouri Germans, which can be compared with those built in South Australia.<sup>45</sup> Since the Second World War much of the evidence of this traditional German culture in the Missouri Valley has begun to vanish.

The agricultural colonisation of the prairie provinces of Canada, (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) began in the 1870s and continued up until 1930.<sup>46</sup> The alienation of land by the Dominion government was preceded by legal land survey. This was a system similar to the Sectional Survey employed in the United States, involving cardinally orientated 160 acre (65ha) blocks, and comparable to the 80 acre (32.40ha) land sections used in the settlement of South Australia. On the whole it led to a distribution of isolated farmsteads, but there were some villages established by the pioneer generation of farmers prior to World War I.<sup>47</sup> Some of these were established in Southern Manitoba in the 1870s by German-speaking Mennonites, who came from Russia. They laid out traditional farmlet-villages similar to those found in early German settlements in South Australia. Like the latter, these were based on a voluntary pooling of land, subsequently re-subdivided into equal lots. These settlements soon proved too small for the modern large-scale farming methods developing on the prairies and, in a similar manner to the changes which took place in the South Australian villages, the farmers began to withdraw from the pooling arrangements and the villages were replaced by block fields and isolated farmsteads. The more orthodox Mennonite congregations, however, retained their villages as religious centres. In 1895 and 1904 two of their colonies were established in Saskatchewan, where they again created villages but employed modern field patterns. Late in the 19th century, the Russian Doukhobors migrated to western Canada and they also created farmlet-village settlements similar to those used by the Mennonites.

The Mennonite farmers who settled in the Rosthern area of Saskatchewan gave their settlements German place-names similar to the ones found in South Australia (e.g. Gruenthal). They usually built timber-framed, weatherboarded barn-houses, with combined living quarters and barns sheltered by a large roof, or with the house and barn linked by a low-roofed connection.<sup>48</sup> I visited this district, which lies north of Saskatoon, in May 1978 and shortly afterwards visited the modern Hutterite colony at Arm River, north of Regina.

The Hutterites are a strict Lutheran sect who practice a communal form of Christianity and who migrated from the Ukraine to South Dakota in 1870 and then moved on to the

prairie provinces of Canada, where the majority now live. They are settled on large communal farms called *Bruderhofs*, where they practice the principle of a strict community of goods, beliefs they have held since 1528.

## CONCLUSION

The detailed surveys the South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies has carried out on these four early German villages in South Australia, has uncovered a wealth of settlement patterns and buildings different from those used by British settlers. Since the end of the nineteenth century, due to the modernisation of farming methods and a general apathy in the community at large towards history and conservation, there has been a widespread destruction of this unique heritage. However, with a rising public concern for the protection of the State's heritage in the last two decades, this trend has been reversed. The promulgation of the South Australian Heritage Act in 1978 increased the State government's involvement in heritage conservation, and in the rural areas some of the District Councils have begun to protect their local heritage through the proclamation of heritage areas (e.g. Tanunda D.C.). Funds have been made available to the Centre from all levels of government to research the built heritage. These have been used to employ professional consultants (e.g. architects and historians) to carry out, in conjunction with academic staff from the two tertiary teaching institutions involved (see note 1), the large scale field surveys required. This research has identified important historical precincts and buildings in the areas of early German settlement, which have now been listed on the State Heritage List.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The information and illustrations in this paper are drawn from four survey reports published by the South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies and available from Techsearch Inc., South Australian Institute of Technology, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia, 5000. The references for these reports will be found in the Bibliography under Young et al.

## NOTES

1. This joint research programme began in 1976 with the commencement of the Barossa Survey. Apart from the assistance of external consultants (viz. architects and historians) the academic staff involved have been drawn from the School of Architecture and Building, South Australian Institute of Technology, and the Department of Geography and History, South Australian College of Advanced Education. A formal research organisation, the South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, was incorporated in 1982.
2. In 1945 this territory became part of Western Poland.
3. These included the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) when the population was decimated, and the War of the Austrian Succession when Frederick the Great wrested Silesia from the Hapsburgs (1740).
4. Young et al. 1980: 92. Some of the earliest German settlers in South Australia titled themselves 'Colonist'. F. Hellwig was a colonist from Friedrichsfelde before migrating to the colony and settling in Hahndorf.
5. He came from Klemzig in East Brandenburg.
6. op. cit.: 55–60. Not all the Germans settled on Angas's land. The second group of settlers to arrive in the colony, on the *Zebra* in December 1838, took up land belonging to W. M. Dutton and Partners in the Adelaide Hills.
7. op. cit.: 51.
8. Mayhew 1973: 168.
9. Today it is a north-eastern suburb of Adelaide.
10. The settlement of the colony was based on the Wakefield System, a scheme of land sales to prospective colonists with means, which then subsidised the emigration of a labouring class. After the South Australian Act was passed in August 1834, a Board of Colonization Commissioners was formed in 1835 and charged to sell 35,000-pound-sterling-worth of land and to deposit 20,000 pounds into the British Treasury before the Act was proclaimed. Eighty acre (32.40ha) country sections, with a corresponding town acre in the proposed capital city, were offered to intending emigrants. See Pike 1967: 52–5 and note 16.
11. George French Angas was George Fife Angas's son, who visited the colony in the mid 1840s, travelling extensively and producing a series of etchings, later published in London. See Angas 1846.
12. In eighteenth century Prussia a new class of farmers emerged; the size of their land-holdings reflected their social standing. Thus a cottager (*Büdner*) was allowed 6–8 *Morgen*, whilst a full peasant farmer (*Bauer*) was allowed 20–30 *Morgen*. (A *Morgen* of land varied between 0.25 and 0.3ha).
13. op. cit.: 40, 41. See also Gutkind 1964: 130.
14. op. cit.: 55–78. The German migrants who arrived on the *Zebra* at Port Misery (Port Adelaide) on 28 December 1838 were assisted by their ship's captain, Dirk Meinertz Hahn, in settling on W. M. Dutton and Partners' newly acquired land at Mount Barker in the Adelaide Hills. The village was later named Hahndorf in his honour.
15. Young et al. 1983: 84.
16. The failure by the Board of Colonization Commissioners to sell sufficient land to raise the necessary 35,000 pounds for the South Australian Act to come into operation, led G. F. Angas in 1835 to propose the use of *Special Surveys*. These were obtainable by those purchasers who paid 4000 pounds in advance, which entitled them to select a survey area of 15,000 acres (6075ha). When the colony was settled and the land surveyed and laid out in 80 acre (32.40ha) sections, the purchaser had the right to select 4000 acres (1620ha) of this land and the remainder became available to other settlers. Angas's proposal to drop the price from one pound to 12 shillings per acre for a limited period was also accepted, thus attracting wealthier entrepreneurs who quickly provided the necessary funds for the colonization act to come into operation.
17. Young et al. 1984: 54. On the death of King Frederick Wilhelm III in 1840 the religious persecution of the 'Old Lutherans' abated, leading to a cessation of the migration of entire church congregations. Afterwards the German migration consisted of families or individuals.
18. A major river in the Lower Mount Lofty Ranges, either side of which (in its lower reaches) north and south Adelaide was located.
19. op. cit.: 71.
20. Although 80 acres (32.40ha) was a basic unit or section under the Wakefield System, many farmers took up 2 or 3 sections of land in the Adelaide Hills.
21. Young et al. 1980: 42.
22. Young et al. 1983: 183.
23. Young et al. 1980: 43.
24. Young et al. 1977: 79; 1980: 179; 1983: 204.
25. Young et al. 1977: 79, 166.
26. Young et al. 1983: 47–9. No. 54 Mill Road, Lobethal, was a similar design.
27. Young et al. 1980: 94. Schneemilch's barn in Victoria Street, Hahndorf, originally had living quarters in it.
28. Brunskill 1981: 105.
29. Young et al. 1983: 220.
30. Young et al. 1980: 191–2.
31. Young et al. 1983: 213.
32. Young et al. 1977: 83.
33. Yelland 1970: 128.
34. Young et al. 1983: 108.
35. Young et al. 1980: 94–110.
36. Young et al. 1983: 56.
37. A walling technique used throughout the colony by British settlers up until the 1920s.

38. This historically important hotel which faced onto the city's Hindmarsh Square was recently destroyed (1983) to make way for a new office block.
39. Young et al. 1984: 180.
40. Meyer 1982.
41. Young 1984.
42. Borrie 1954: 178.
43. Young 1984.
44. Ravenswaay 1977.
45. Young et al. 1980: 213.
46. Schlichtmann 1977, also the publications of the Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, Saskatchewan.
47. op. cit.: 39.
48. Young 1978.

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