

A German Potter in the Barossa Valley, South Australia, c.1850–1883

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Exploratory excavation and artefactual analysis of a pottery site, has indicated the range of wares produced, during the period c.1850–1883, by the immigrant German master-potter, J.G.S. Hoffmann. The author, who is a postgraduate student at Flinders University, shows how the production, glazing and firing techniques of these wares, result from an interaction of Hoffmann's culture and the South Australian environment. Thus, Hoffmann's retention of traditional forms and styles is considered as partly due to his cultural conditioning and partly as a response to a German community which avidly resisted change. Indeed, it is argued that Hoffmann's pots provide further evidence of the German settlers' active preservation of a Prussian culture, as adapted to the South Australian environment. Similarly, the restrained style of Hoffmann's pots, their stability and grace, may be viewed as expressive of the 'Old Lutherans' piety and lifestyle in general.

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological excavation and artefactual analyses of nineteenth-century pottery sites in Australia have, so far, been restricted to the sites of Staffordshire-trained potters of industrial or commercial potteries.¹ Johann Gotthilf Samuel Hoffmann was, however, a pre-industrial, or folk potter, and this paper appears to be the first to describe the kiln site and products of such a potter in this country.

Ceramics are a component of material culture and as such may be viewed as social-economic and other indicators. A recent study of ceramics in South Australia, examines and documents the potters and their pots through a social, environmental, economic, technical, and stylistic approach.² Following archaeological investigation and analysis, approaches for the study of Hoffmann's and other early potters' works, may be derived from the developing methodology of material culture, that is the study of artefacts as indexes of culture.³

Material culture studies of the South Australian German immigrants have concentrated, thus far, on their architecture and furniture. Gordon Young's Barossa, Hahndorf, Lobethal and Birdwood studies (in 1977, 1980, 1983 and 1984 respectively), emphasized their settlement patterns and architectural heritage.⁴ Another study only briefly described examples of furniture made by German settlers in South Australia, whereas Young's work combined historic, geographic, social and architectural studies to produce a comprehensive account.⁵

The significance of the environmental influence in Hoffmann's pottery, extends beyond consideration of resources (clay, water, fuel). First coined in 1965, the term 'ceramic ecology' emphasized the need to relate the potter's resources and technologies to the pots and their function in his culture: the aim was to further our understanding of the cultural context in which the pots were made and used.⁶ Hence the importance of a balanced interdisciplinary approach to such studies.

Hoffmann's pots provide the means to document, over a period of thirty years and within a definable region, the technical and stylistic developments of a traditional craftsman transferred from his homeland to a new environment. Further, the study of these vernacular artefacts

allows insights into the Barossa Lutherans' folklife and culture mostly unrecorded in the usual sources.

At least nine German potters emigrated to South Australia from 1845 onwards, and it is the first such potter, J.G.S. Hoffmann, who is closely examined here. The homeland, background, emigration, and settlement of J.G.S. Hoffmann in South Australia, have already been documented, as have his potting activities, by the present author.⁷ A resume is presented here in order to acquaint the reader with relevant background information.

Johann Hoffmann was born on 11 October 1818 in the town of Bobersberg, situated in the south-east corner of the Prussian Province of Brandenburg. On 25 May 1845, Hoffmann, together with his wife Auguste Caroline Louise, (Fig. 1) embarked on the *Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee Patel* at Bremen, for the voyage to South Australia. The ship arrived at Port Adelaide on 17 September 1845. After a period of about two years residing at the German village of Klemzig, near Adelaide, the Hoffmanns travelled to the Barossa Valley (early in 1848) where they settled on an 80-acre (32.4 ha) portion of land at Rowland Flat (Section 2712, Hundred of Moorooroo).

This area quickly developed as a small farming settlement, though not as closely settled as the nearby farmlet-villages of Bethany and Langmeil. At Rowland Flat, Hoffmann cleared his undulating land of its indigenous vegetation. This consisted of a *Eucalyptus* woodland similar to remnants which still exist to the west of Rowland Flat, bordering the North Para River. Introduced annual grasses and herbage soon replaced the cleared vegetation. Vineyards were planted, as were a selection of fruit trees, including fig, almond, apple, olive and pear trees.

Clearly, the construction of suitable shelter and the speedy establishment of agricultural activities, would have been among Hoffmann's priorities. The first buildings on the site were cottages built of wattle and daub. Fireplaces and chimneys were constructed with stone and whitewashed; roofs were made of thatch. Later, additional cottages were built on the property as Hoffmann's family grew. Thus, by the 1880s the site was occupied by at least four separate cottages. Once these priorities had been met, it is assumed that Hoffmann then turned to establishing a pottery-works, probably some time in the early 1850s. Documentary



Fig. 1: Johann Gotthilf Samuel Hoffmann (1818–1900), with his wife Auguste Caroline Louise and their first grandchild in 1874.

sources and oral tradition affirm that Hoffmann produced pottery on a seasonal basis.⁸ Autumn (after grape picking) and winter, were seasons when farm chores were at a minimum and hence were the most likely periods when pottery was made and fired.

THE EXCAVATION

The reminiscences of George Haese (1888–1985), who grew up in the adjoining (west) farm and who was interviewed on three occasions by the author prior to his death, contributed

much valuable information regarding Hoffmann's potting activities. The kiln appears to have been a relatively small circular updraught model, comparable to those used in Germany from about 1700. Constructed of brick, the location was remembered as being about half-way between the cottages and the creek. As is evident from the ash, other glaze effects on sherds and jars, and oral tradition, fuel to

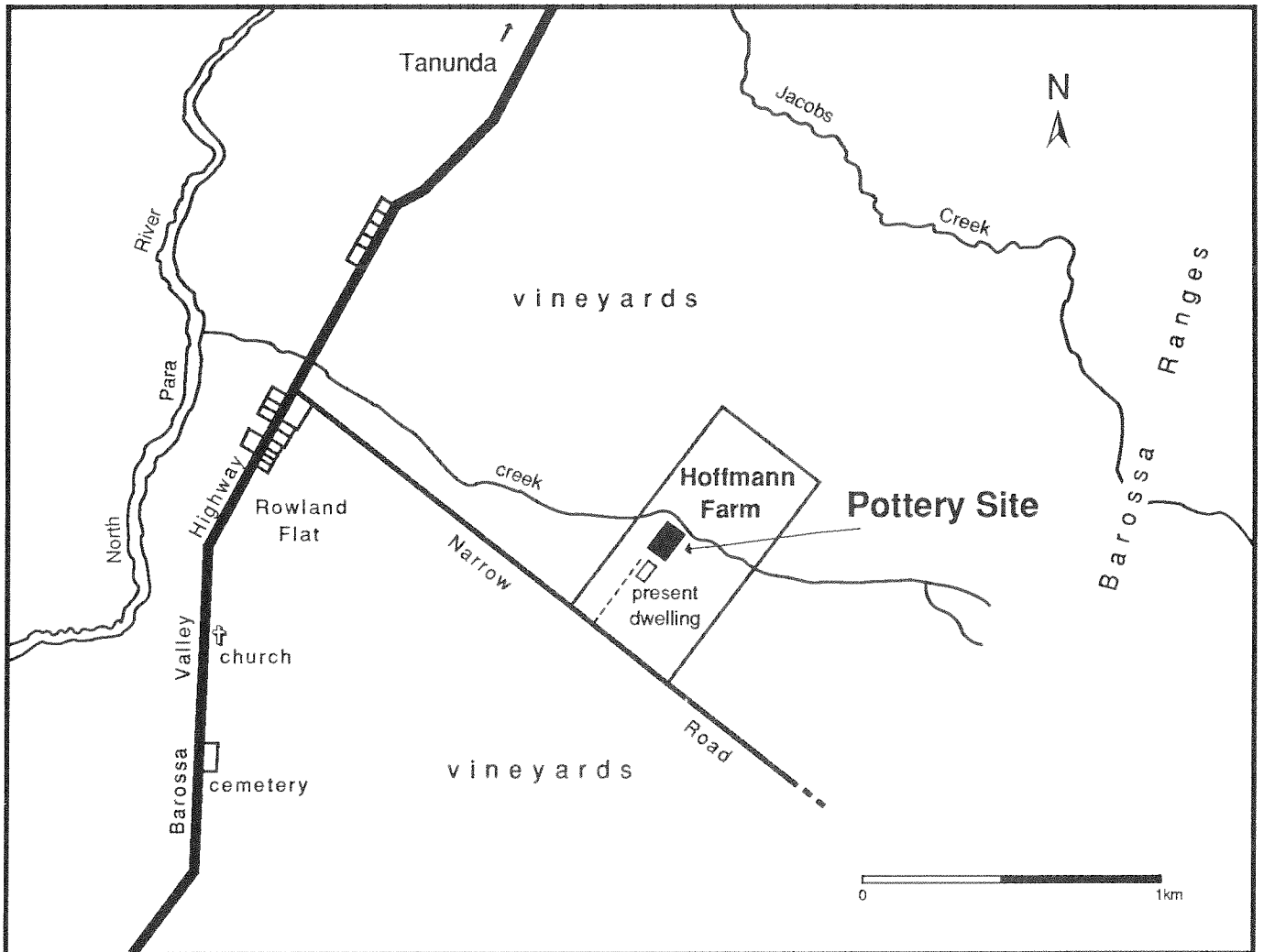
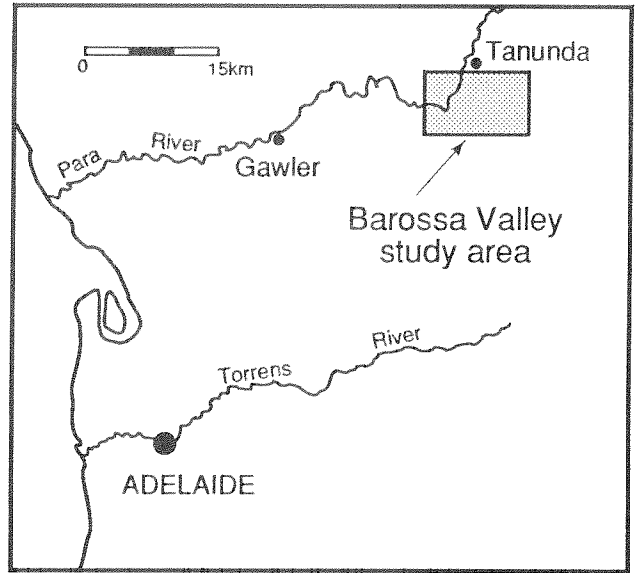
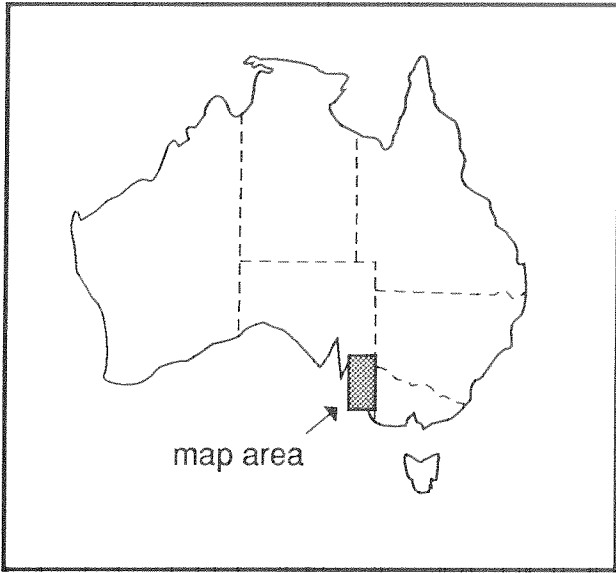


Fig. 2: Location map of Hoffmann's farm-pottery at Rowland Flat, Barossa Valley.

fire the kiln was restricted to the use of wood: mostly from the remnant *Eucalyptus* species.

The purposes of the exploratory excavation were as follows: first, to identify and classify the types of wares produced by Hoffmann at Rowland Flat; second, to reconstruct details of his preparation, throwing, and firing techniques; third, to determine the extent of experimentation in body, glaze and firing carried out by him, and specifically, to determine the accuracy of traditional beliefs that the potter extended his firings into the stoneware range; fourth, to establish whether Haese's suggested kiln location was correct; and, fifth, to generally further the accounts of Hoffmann's activity and life in the cultural context of the Barossa Lutheran community.

The site of the Hoffmann farm-pottery complex lies on the south bank of a creek, which runs in an east-west direction into the North Para River. The property is to the east of the main Rowland Flat settlement, which consists of about a dozen bungalows and a winery straddling the main Lyndoch-Tanunda road (Fig. 2).

Permission to excavate on the site was granted by the present-day owners (R. and J. Liebich). The site of the original farm buildings and pottery is now a fenced pasture (3802 m²), with some of the original fruit and shade trees still present, as are some stone walls and foundations of one of the original cottages. The dimensions of this field were determined and a scale map, together with a grid, was drafted (Fig. 3).

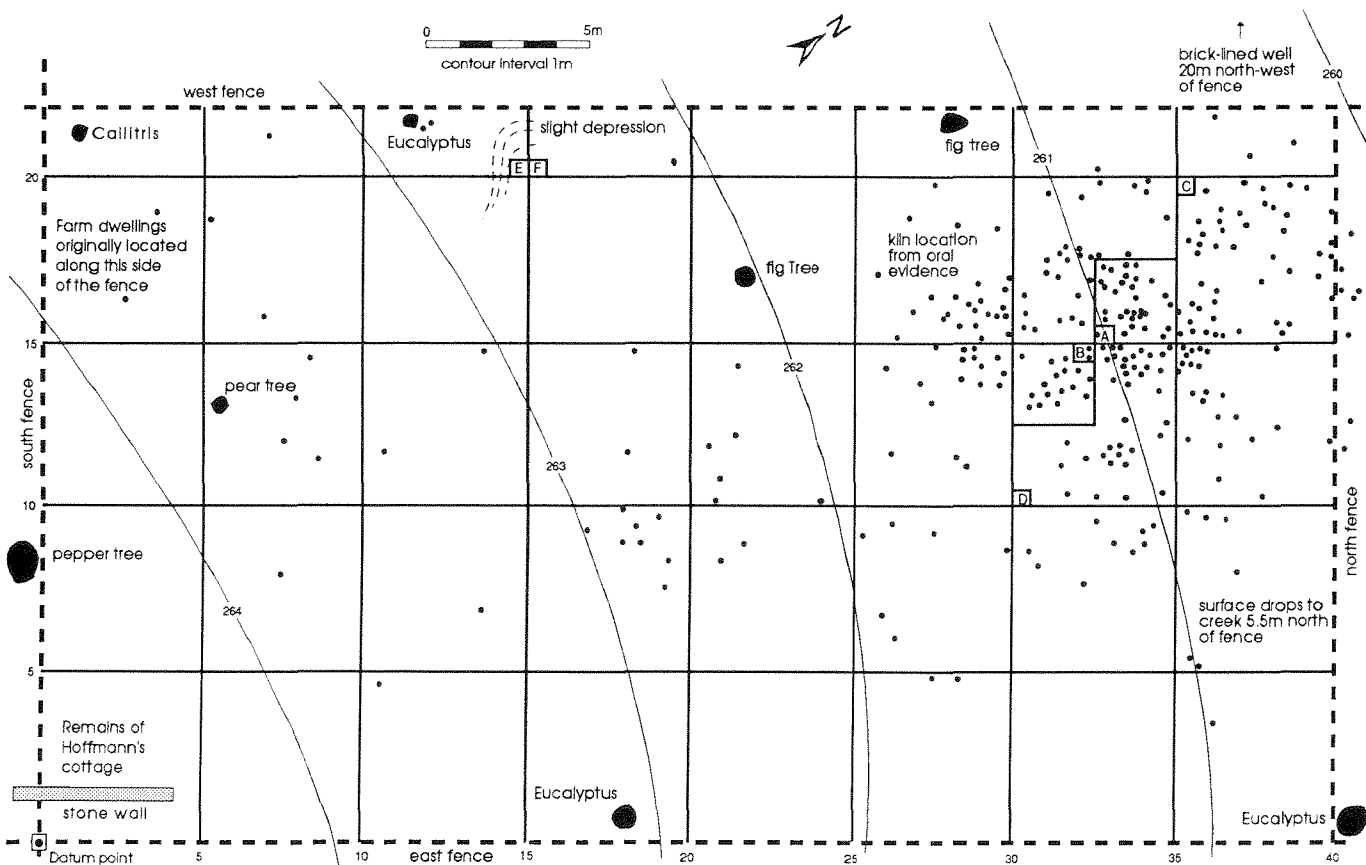
A systematic search for and collection of surface sherds and kiln wasters, was then conducted over the entire field (fifteen visits over a period of two years from 1985). The locations of surface sherds were recorded and plotted on the map (Fig. 3). The greatest density of sherds corresponded to the approximate position of the kiln as given by Haese. Four trial trenches (labelled A, B, C, D), each 1 x 1 m, were excavated at this site (July to early September 1986). Two other trial trenches (labelled E & F) were also excavated to the south-west of the first four trenches.

The soil profile of Trenches A, B, C and D consisted of an 'A' horizon, 54 cm in depth, of a loamy-brown clay soil, over a 'B' horizon, down to 1 m, of a heavy red clay soil. None of these trenches revealed any evidence of past firing activity. Furthermore, sherds were not recovered beyond a depth of 10 cm. The majority of sherds and kiln wasters appeared either at the surface or just below, and there was a lack of apparent stratification.

The presence of large numbers of kiln furniture fragments (shelf setting tiles, clay pugging coils, and stilts), together with slagged brick fragments and kiln wasters, strongly suggests that the location of the kiln was indeed at this site or close by. The failure to discover the kiln foundations or other constructions, such as clay treatment pits, may be because the trenches were excavated in the wrong location. However, oral tradition recounts that the kiln was razed and cleared, just prior to World War I, and agricultural activities necessitated the removal of any bricks or stones used in the kiln construction. These combined activities, over the past seventy to eighty years, could have obliterated much of the evidence of the actual kiln location. Subsequent trial trenches may reveal this location, otherwise the surface sherd scatter will be the only available remaining evidence, together with oral tradition. Nevertheless, the large quantities of sherds (18.7 kg) recovered from the site, provided ample material for subsequent analysis (Tables 1 and 2).

A small proportion of this material came from the excavation of Trenches E and F. This location (Fig. 3) was chosen because of an unusual depression in the surface, which on excavation revealed what appeared to be a

Fig. 3: Plan of the site of Hoffman's farm and pottery. Shown are surface sherd scatter (dots), fences, trees, contour lines in metres, excavation grid and pits (A-F), and remains of the wall of one of the four cottages that occupied the site until about 1917.



household dump. This was suggested by the recovery of rusted metal, glass, a variety of animal bones (including those of chicken and sheep) and charcoal. Among this material were numerous sherds, including some kiln furniture (tile fragments), although the fact that only four of these were recovered, compared with over 100 from the location of Trenches A, B, C, D, suggests that it is unlikely that the kiln was situated there or nearby. Also recovered from Trenches E and F was a quantity of foreign ceramic material, mostly transfer-printed common china of English and Continental origin.

Table 1: Weights of recovered artefacts.

Total weight of all artefacts collected at Hoffmann site is 18.7 kg (16.7 kg of local manufacture).

	grams
Potsherds	7485
Kiln furniture (stilts & shelving)	5050
Slag material (brick base)	3750
Pug fragments	1070
Exotic sherds	930
Other (metal, glass, etc.)	280

Table 2: Weights of sherds from surface and excavations

	Surface grams	Excavations grams
Bases	570	1360
Rims	1010	620
Body — glazed	260	990
Body — thin, unglazed	340	320
Body — thick, unglazed	1350	150
Handles	340	100
Lids	—	75
Kiln furniture: shelves	4480	450
Kiln furniture: stilts	110	10

CLAY SOURCES

The Hoffmann farm-pottery site is situated on an outwash fan of the Barossa Ranges. Below the top horizon of alluvial clay soil is a lower horizon of a pale orange to orange clay. This was easily dug by Hoffmann from one or two sites along the creek which ran through the property. This clay, with its high iron oxide content, produces a strong orange to red colour when fired at 900 to 1000°C in an oxidising atmosphere.

Low-iron, off-white to white clays are also available in the Barossa Valley and were searched for and utilized by Hoffmann.⁹ A detailed survey by the author in July 1986, revealed a large heap of white clay dumped at the side of the old Golden Gate Mine diggings in Flaxman's Valley (some 12 kilometres east of the farmstead), one likely source.

Mr Ludwig S. Obst (b.1914), an inhabitant of Tanunda, recollected that the potter Hoffmann was said not to have been pleased with the quality of the local clay and to have claimed that with a better clay he would have made a better product. Yet Hoffmann was most secretive as to the source of his white clay.¹⁰

THE POTTERY

The fortuitous survival of a number of intact examples of Hoffmann's pottery (forty have been documented), may be attributed to their preservation as family heirlooms or to the frugal nature of the Barossa Lutheran Germans, who handled objects with care and used these pots as recently as the 1930s. Three examples, which show considerable use,

had even been strengthened with wire to extend their life. These surviving pots have allowed a substantial documentation of the potter's activities and skills, especially when combined with the analysis of recovered sherd material.

The available material shows that Hoffmann produced a much wider range of forms and glazes than was originally thought.¹¹ His skills were such that he would throw vessels of a consistently high standard. All his wares are wheel-thrown, with either relatively thick walls or, for smaller hollow wares, relatively thin walls. Turning, to finish wares in the green stage, appears not to have been necessary. Handles are well-shaped and sensitively placed for aesthetic as well as practical considerations.

All pottery produced by Hoffmann appears to be utilitarian, coarse, domestic and farm wares: storage jars, bowls, milk pans, crocks, jugs, dishes and colanders have been seen by the author. There is no evidence to suggest that Hoffmann produced any decorative wares. As the excavations were incomplete (i.e. were exploratory), specific percentages of each of the identified types has not been calculated. This would be a more accurate exercise after more thorough excavations are conducted. Instead, the words 'major', 'intermediate' and 'minor', in brackets after the type number, give a rough guide to proportional occurrence as identified from sherds.

Hoffmann's pottery has been initially classified into two groups, though further work might lead to a revision of this classification.

Group 1: The earthenwares

These form the bulk of the recovered material, as well as of the intact examples.

They may be considered as redware types, as the body varies from a buff through to a light orange to a red colour. The glaze colouration varies from a flat brown through to a shiny brown, orange-brown and to a red; a black glaze was also produced in reducing conditions. Numerous sherds also revealed a glassy-green glaze, and this has been noted as, mostly, applied to the interior surfaces.

Another glaze type appears as a rich, lustrous to metallic brown, comparable in appearance to the iron-rich, salt-glazed industrial wares of the mid-nineteenth-century English Midlands. Finally, a small number of sherds and wasters reveal the use of an off-white glaze. The clay body is consistently of a high quality, homogeneous with large inclusions such as limestone or quartzite particles being rare. Bloating or blistering of extant examples, as well as of recovered sherds, is infrequent, suggesting skilled control of kiln firings by the potter.

The glaze used most commonly is a compound of lead: either galena and/or lead monoxide as litharge. The majority, if not all, of the wares, were dipped into a liquid mixture of this glaze as evidenced by the dip-line. The addition of iron compounds to lead glaze also resulted in the lustrous, chocolate brown glaze of high quality and uniformity on some of the wares. The glassy-green glaze was possibly produced by making up a slip using white clay together with the addition of copper salts, or by using the lead glaze as a base with such salts.

A smaller number of unglazed terracotta examples was also identified; some of these show a thin natural wood-ash-and-salt glazing, produced by the wood-fired kiln.

Type 1 (major): Two-handled storage jars (Table 3). This is a principal form with a distinctive appearance, readily identifiable as Hoffmann's work (Fig. 4). Ten intact examples have been documented by the author. Table 3 shows some measured dimensions, and the analysis of these, together with additional dimensions to determine

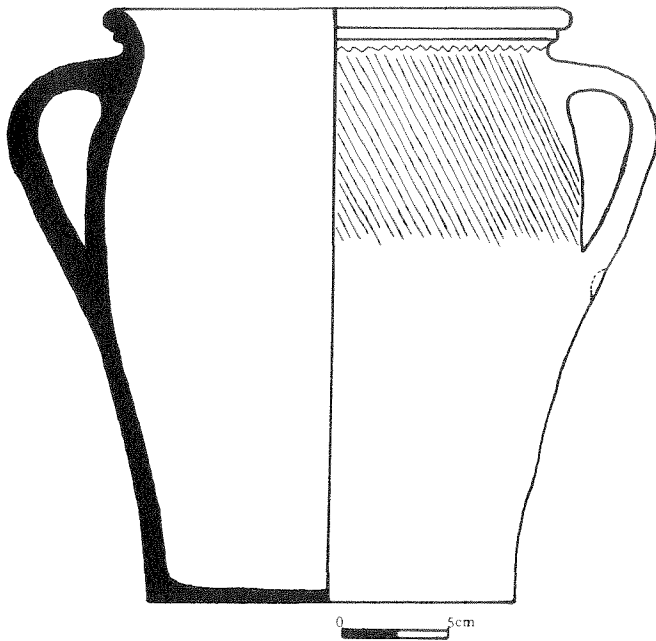


Fig. 4: Group 1, Type 1: Two-handled, lead-glazed, earthenware jar.

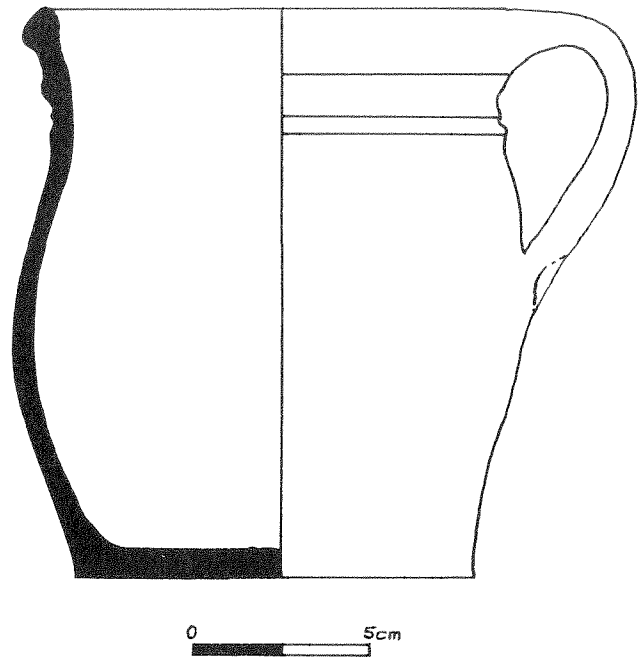


Fig. 6: One-handled, lead-glazed, earthenware jar.

proportional ratios, is in progress. Fragmentary remains of Type 1 jars were recovered from all the excavated trenches and from the surface of the site. A variant of this type is considerably more elegant, due to the vertical extension of the form, a modification of the handles, and the flattening of the rim (Fig. 5).

The proportion of extant Type 1 jars to the total number of extant Hoffmann specimens is high (1:3). However, caution should be exercised when drawing the conclusion that these

were Hoffmann's most produced form: Type 1 jars are thick-walled, well-thrown jars, and are more robust than his thinner-walled jugs or colanders. Hence the higher survival rate of Type 1 jars may account for their present high proportion. Sherd recovery seems to support this latter contention, as the number of Type 1 sherds recovered is considerably below a third of the total, comprising indeed less than 10 per cent of the total. Though, again, the incompleteness of the excavations precludes a more definite statement.

Type 1 jars were used for storage: the rim is constructed in such a way as to allow the tying of paper or cloth round the mouth. Oral tradition reports the use of the jars in the home for food storage: gerkins, sauerkraut and jam have been noted. Another recorded use was on the farm, where they



Fig. 5: Group 1, Type 1: Variant two-handled jar: Ht. 33.1; rim diam. 24.7; base diam. 18.8 (cm).



Fig. 7: Lead-glazed, earthenware bowl or pan. Note multiple sawtooth roulette pattern on inner surface.

Table 3: Dimensions of intact Type 1 examples.

Specimen	Height (cm)	Base diameter (cm)	Rim diameter (cm)
1	22.9	17.9	22.1
2	23.3	13.7	18.6
3	25.8	17.0	22.5
4	25.7	15.4	20.5
5	26.0	15.6	22.6
6	26.1	16.1	22.1
7	28.9	17.5	22.5
8	29.1	16.5	23.1
9	29.3	19.6	24.5
10	33.1	18.8	24.7

Dimensions of rim diameters of recovered Type 1 sherds vary from 26 to 32 cm. That these rim diameters are beyond the top end of the range shown above, may reflect the small sampling due to the incomplete nature of the excavations.

were employed for the storage of copper sulphate solution, an early wheat fungicide. One extant example still has detectable quantities of copper salt crystallizing out of the porous body (where the glaze has worn away).

Type 2 (intermediate): One-handed jars. Similar to Type 1 jars but with a single handle which is attached to the rim and the body. Five intact specimens have been documented. Figure 6 (TM/4) shows an example. It has an orange body

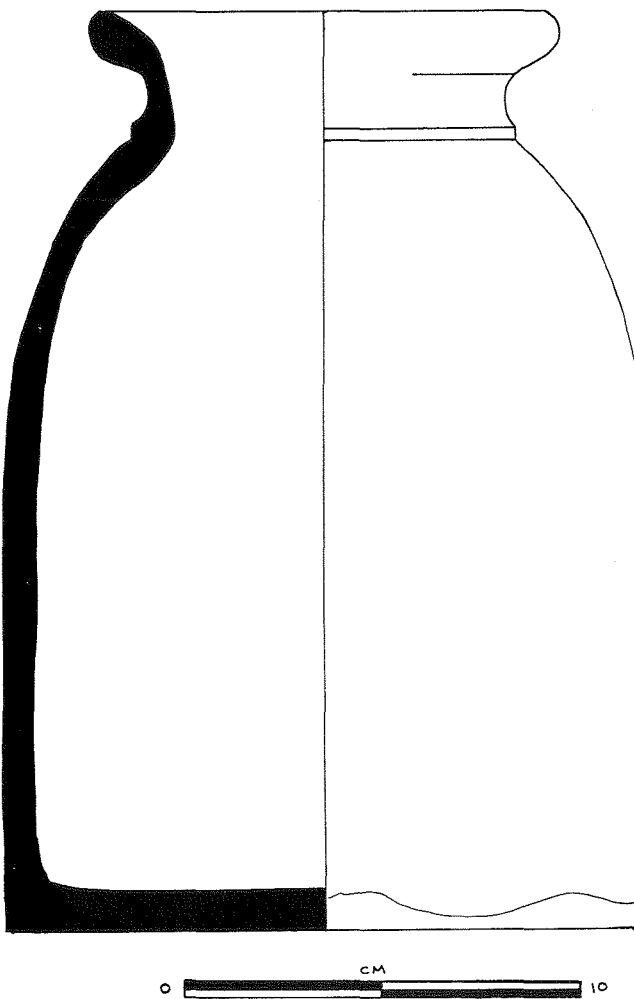


Fig. 8: Lead-glazed, earthenware jar.

and deep brown lead-glaze both inside and outside. It also has tooled groove decoration and a thumb-imprinted handle. Its base is wire-cut.

Type 3 (intermediate): Milk pans. Two intact examples have been documented. Figure 7 (HB/8) shows one of them. Its fabric is pale orange to orange. Its glaze is dull-brown to pale green (inside only). The inside surface also has multiple tooled decoration in a sawtooth pattern. The base is wire-cut. Height is 14 cm, base diameter 18.7 cm, and rim diameter 33.8 cm.

Type 4 (minor): Crocks.

Type 5 (intermediate): Storage jars. These occur in a variety of sizes and forms. Figure 8 (PP21) shows an example. It has a pale yellow-orange fabric with an intermediate quartz content. Inside and outside, the dipped glaze varies from lustrous deep brown to apple green.

Type 6 (intermediate): Colanders. Two intact examples have been documented. Figure 9 (H/11) shows one of them. It has a buff to pale yellow body with an intermediate quartz content. The inside and outside has an orange to apple-green (in parts) lead-glaze. There are three handles which are thumb-impressed. There is tooled groove decoration. The vessel has punched drainage holes and a wire-cut base.

Type 7 (intermediate): Dishes. Figure 10 (TM/1) shows an example. It has an orange body, with a green-yellow inner and outer glaze. It has a disc-base which has been wire-cut.

Type 8 (intermediate): Jugs. Four intact examples have been documented and two of these can be seen in Figure 11. Figure 11a (LC/1) has a pale yellow to orange fabric with a brown to red glaze on the outside and a pale yellow glaze on the inside. There is a thumb-impressed handle and a disc-

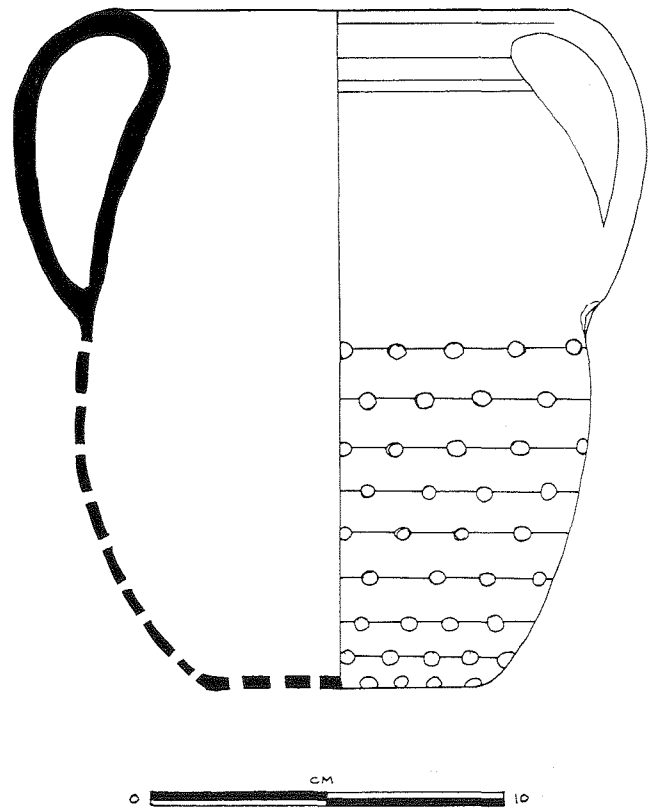


Fig. 9: Lead-glazed, three-handled, earthenware colander.

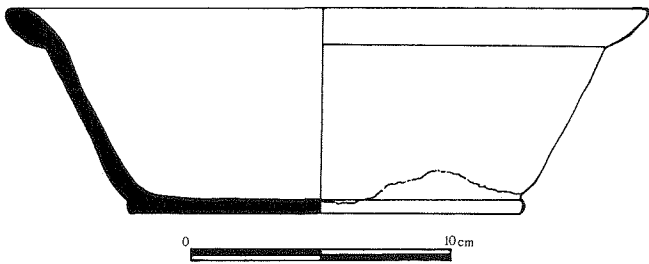


Fig. 10: Lead-glazed, earthenware platter or dish.

base which has been wire-cut. Figure 11b (TM/3) shows a possible cream-jug. It has a buff-orange body with a deep brown lead-glaze on the inside and outside. There is a thumb-impressed handle and the base has been wire-cut.

Type 9 (intermediate): Miscellaneous. Course hollow vessels of indeterminate form but probably a variety of jars and bowls.

Group 2: The stonewares

This group of wares was more highly fired (at least to 1200°C) and may be considered as within the lower to

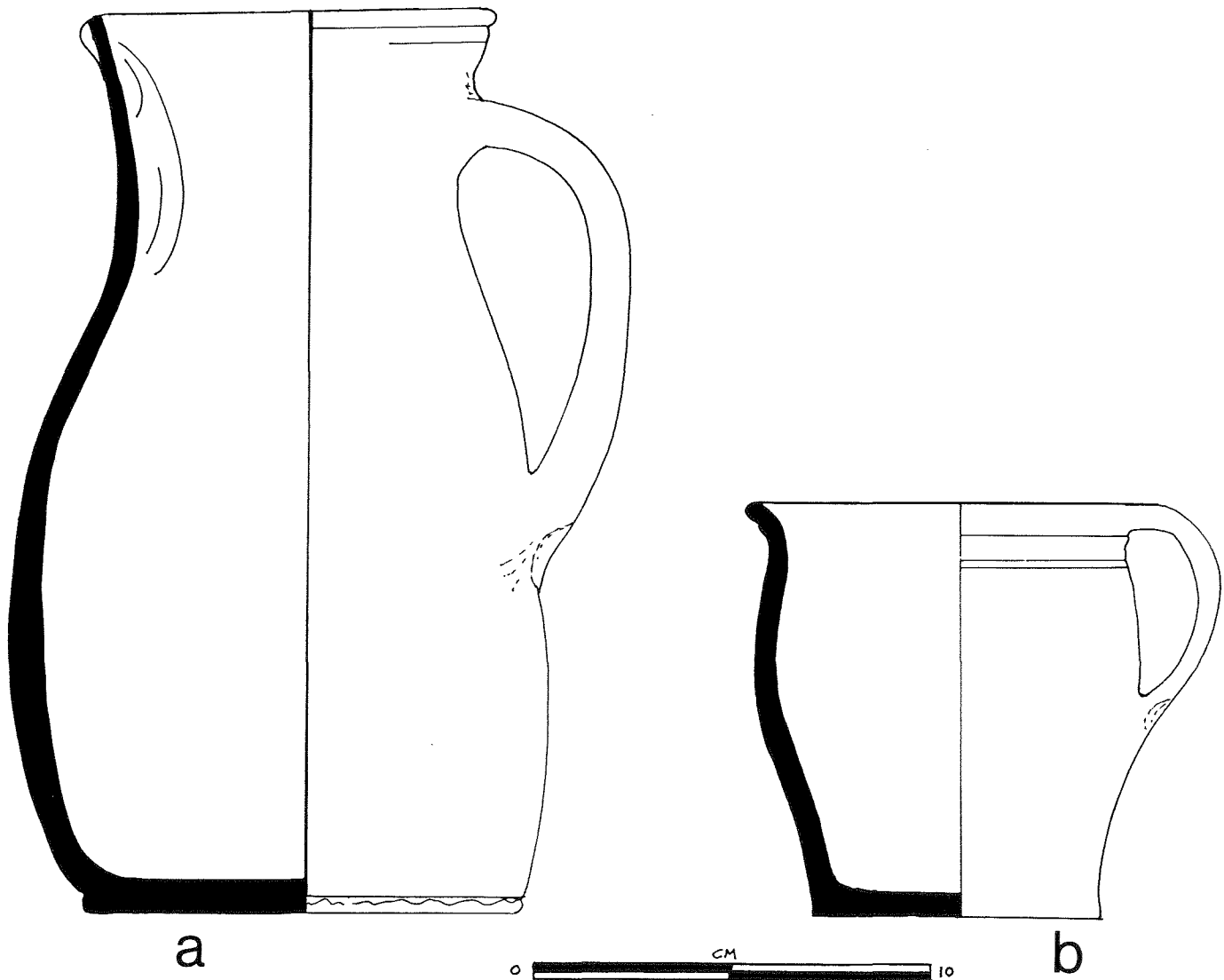
middle firing range of the stonewares, that is of a vitrified body.

Type 1 (minor): Crocks. Figure 12 (M52) shows an example. Its fabric is white to buff, with some quartz content. Large quartzite inclusions (up to 12 mm) are, in fact, visible in the body. A thin lead-glaze wash is on the inside surface. The outside has a natural wood-ash and light salt-glazed surface. There are thumb-impressed handles (horizontal type). There is also tooled groove decoration.

Type 2 (intermediate): Storage jars. Figure 13 shows two examples. Figure 13a (M1S9) has a pale orange-buff vitrified body, which is towards the lower end of the stoneware range. It has an iron-rich, rusty-brown, lustrous glaze. The rim is flattened, the base is wire-cut, and there are finger-marks at the dip-line. Figure 13b (M134) has a buff to grey-white dense body, which is highly-fired. It has an iron-rich, deep brown, metallic sheen, dipped glaze. The base is wire-cut and there are finger-marks at the dip-line.

Type 3 (minor): Bottles. Only one intact example has been documented and this is shown in Figure 14 (TM/5). This is possibly a carrying bottle. It has a buff to grey body, and is

Fig. 11: (a) Lead-glazed, earthenware jug or pitcher. (b) Lead-glazed, earthenware milk jug.



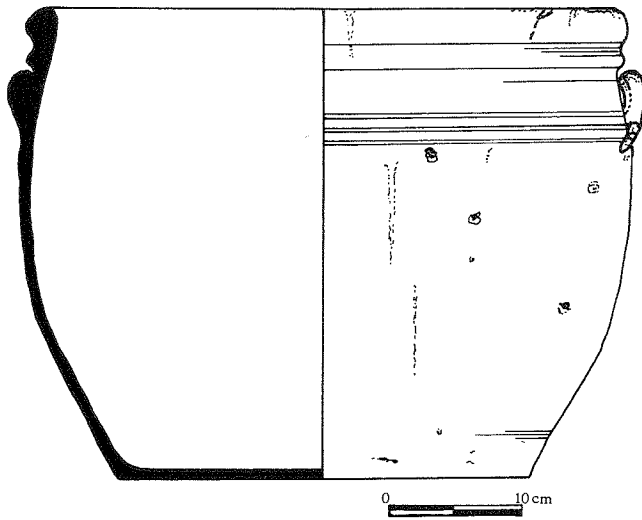
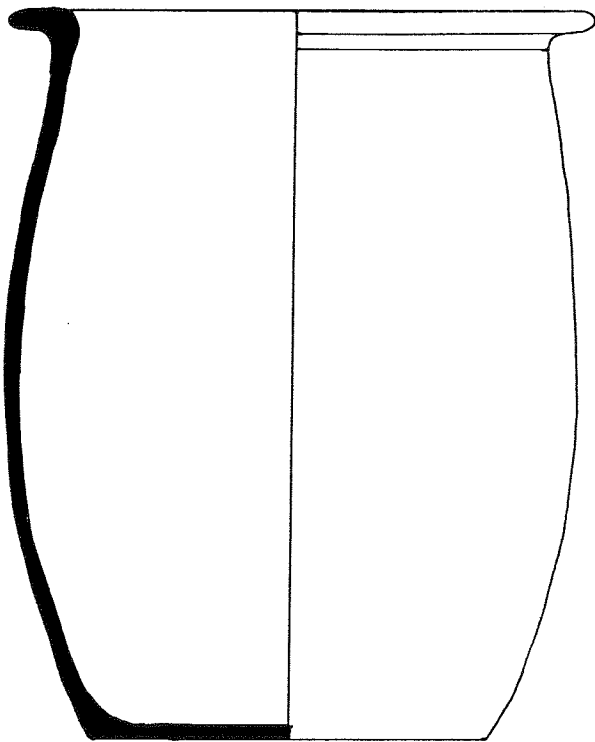
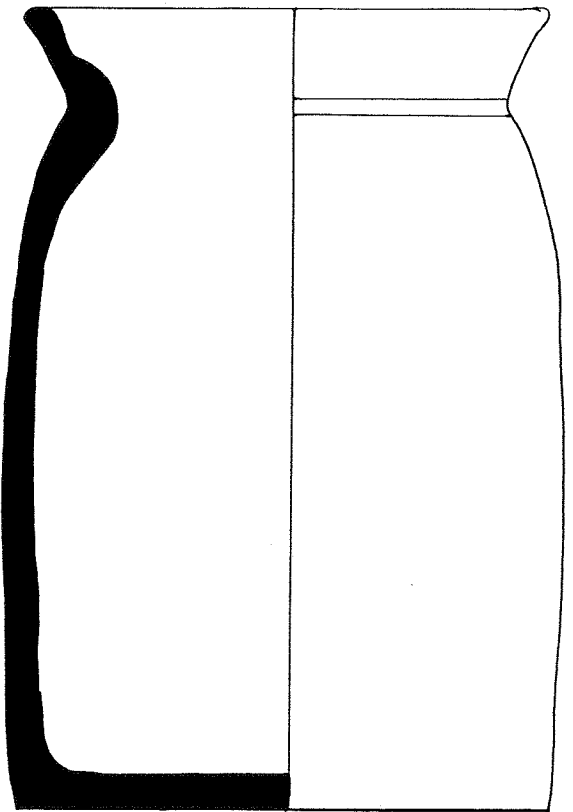


Fig. 12: Ash-glazed, two-handled crock with inner lead-glaze.

Fig. 13: (a & b) Small lead-glazed, earthenware jars.



a



b



double handled on two sides. The glaze on the outside is a lustrous iron-rich brown. The glaze on the inside is grey-green, with the mouth and rim of the jar also similar. There is multiple tooled-groove decoration and combed decoration. The base is wire-cut. The vessel belongs in the lower stoneware range.

KILN FURNITURE

Stilt fragments

The fabric of these varies from pale orange to orange. They have a high quartz content. The support points are hand-formed and the arms are bevel-cut with a knife (Fig. 15). A number of these stilt fragments have glaze dripped onto them. This varies from a thick glassy green to yellow to brown. Some are also covered in a light, natural wood and salt glaze. All stilt fragments were found in surface locations adjacent to Trenches A, B and C.

Tile fragments

The fabric of these varies from a vitrified dense grey (rare) to a pale orange to red. The quartz content is high. The largest fragment measures 7.5 cm in length. Tile fragment thickness varies from 8.5 to 16.7 cm, with an average of

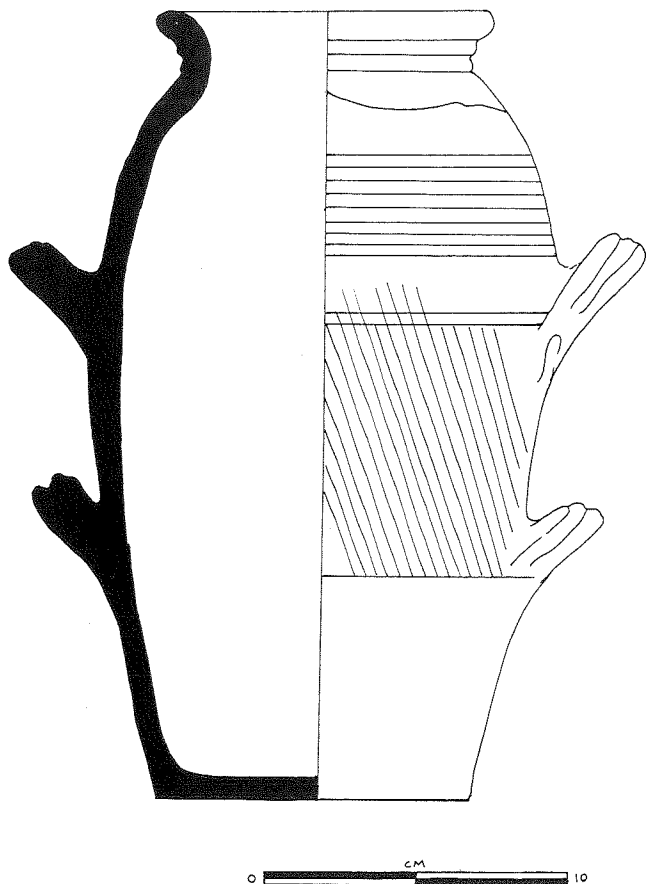


Fig. 14: Stoneware bottle with two sets of handles.

11.9 cm. A number of these fragments have intact, rounded right-angle corners. All the fragments have incised surfaces (upper and lower). The incisions form varying patterns, including diagonal and criss-crossed. Some surfaces have indents, suggesting that stilts or similar sharp objects rested on them. Most tile fragments have partial or full-surface glazes on one side, with some glaze occasionally run partially over the other side. These vary in appearance and colour from a thick caramel-like glaze, to white opaque, yellow, black, green to metallic, or glassy olive green to brown. A large number of tile fragments are covered in a distinctive metallic-grey glaze, suggestive of reducing conditions. A number of tile fragments have semi-circular scars, in the form of a glaze outline or rough clay-body. Curvatures of these scars vary from 8 cm to about 30 cm.

All these characteristics strongly support the suggestion that the tiles acted as shelf supports within the kiln, and/or as an aid to the stacking of wares, that is as 'setting tiles'. Certainly, the incised surfaces meant that less area came in contact with running glazes, hence the fired piece could be more easily broken off the tile.

CONCLUSION

Though the use of trial-trenching has been criticised as of little value, the nature of the project and the site demonstrated this means of excavation as the most suitable.¹² It is apparent that further trial or exploratory trenches might indicate the precise kiln location and master dump or, at least, lead to the recovery of more sherds.

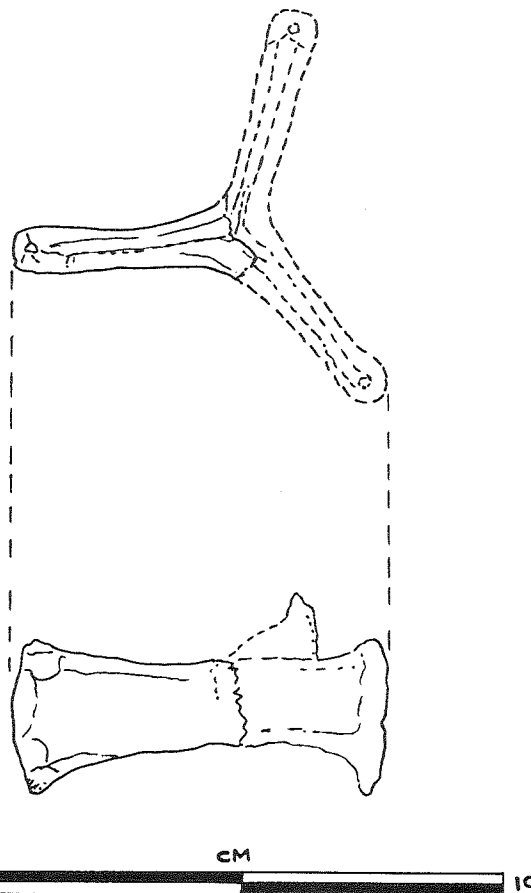


Fig. 15: Hand-modelled earthenware three-pointed stilt.

Of the sherds already recovered, further examination could be conducted in the future. For instance, representative sherds selected from the type series could be thin-sectioned and examined microscopically to determine the clay composition, the individual minerals, and the proportion and size of those minerals. This might allow the precise identification of Hoffmann's clay sources. In addition, refiring tests could be used to reveal the temperatures achieved in Hoffmann's kiln. That is to say, selected sherds would be re-fired in a thermostatically controlled electric kiln, individual sherds being removed at intervals and compared with the original material. Also of value would be the firing of test sherds, made from clay thought to have been used by Hoffmann. By this means, the original firing conditions might be determined.

Johann Hoffmann was a skilled potter who produced a large variety of coarse hollow wares, on a seasonal basis, for functional purposes in home and farm. He covered his wares in a variety of lead glazes. Most of the firings were in the earthenware range, with a small proportion in the lower to middle stoneware range. Though this confirms traditional beliefs, white-bodied stoneware jars claimed to have been made by Hoffmann are yet to be confirmed, as identifying sherds of such a group have not been recovered. (However, the form of these jars, their provenance, and their combed surfaces, suggest Hoffmann as the possible maker. On-going excavation may support this contention.) The use of a high proportion of sand (quartz) in the clay mixture, was Hoffmann's chief tempering material.

The combination of extant examples together with recovered artefacts, has allowed the documentation of an adequate sample of his wares. Despite the absence of formal

maker's stamps or marks, Hoffmann's particular clay sources, glaze formulae, and forms, have allowed firm identification of his wares. His penchant for the use of thumb-impressed handles and wire-cut bases, and the use of certain decorative motifs, has further aided identification. Decoration of wares by Hoffmann was mostly restricted to the use of three surface-incised motifs: parallel grooves about the body, usually immediately below the rim; a simple potter's roulette (roller-stamp) impression of sawtooth pattern; and the use of fine body combing.

The aesthetic wholeness of Hoffmann's pots is striking. This was achieved by the combination of simple, robust forms with precisely placed handles and minimal surface decoration (Fig. 4). The latter acted to reinforce the poise or balance of the forms, as well as to relieve otherwise monotonous surfaces. Finally, the glaze covering heightened these effects, adding a burnish or lustre to the form.

This lack of exuberant, excessive surface decoration, as seen in eighteenth to nineteenth-century German slip-decorated earthenwares, can be attributed to Hoffmann's religious beliefs, or more broadly may be considered as a reflection of the somewhat restrained and gentle culture of the immigrant Germans in South Australia. The heightened degree of sophistication, as seen in the variant jar of Group 1, Type 1 (Fig. 5), suggests a change in taste from the more robust appearance of the usual type (Fig. 4). This change in style may be attributed to the use of the variant jar type as a gift; a suggestion reinforced by the author's documentation of oral tradition that, at times, jars were used as gifts. Hoffmann's intentions and cultural attitude towards his pots and surroundings, may be further revealed by extended analysis of these jar types and is the basis of on-going research. Similarly, the values that the Barossa Lutherans attached to their material objects, may also be indicated by such things as the three cracked jars strengthened with fencing wire, a process that considerably extended their utility.

These early Barossa Lutherans came mostly from the south-east corner of Brandenburg and adjacent provinces of Posen and Silesia. The story of these 'Old Lutherans', their persecution, subsequent migration to South Australia, and their piety, has already been recounted.¹³

Hoffmann learnt and practised the manufacture of pottery in his hometown of Bobersberg, Prussia, and was twenty-eight years of age when he arrived in South Australia. His pottery skills and experience would have already been considerable when he established his pottery. Hoffmann was the first master potter to transfer the skills of the early German tradition of lead-glazed earthenwares to South Australia. His pottery forms, notably those of the distinctive Group 1, Type 1, are strictly traditional, including the placement and style of handles, and use of groove decoration. Group 1, Type 1 jar forms have been noted as common in seventeenth through to mid-nineteenth-century North Germany, and in Breslau, a centre of pottery production some 100 kilometres south of Hoffmann's hometown.¹⁴ The Hoffmann variant of the Type 1 form (Fig. 5), has been noted as a traditional form also produced in Breslau.¹⁵ It is suggested that the use of an improvised potter's roulette for his sawtooth pattern, may have been a local adaptation emulating the English industrialized potteries' use of similar (but commercial) coggle patterns: perhaps as a means of expanding his traditional market. The author has yet to find such patterning on German-made jars of this type. Another adaptation to local conditions, may be considered to be his use of iron-saturated lead glazes: an area to be further explored.

Trewenack's and the Hindmarsh Pottery, both located in Adelaide, were certainly two commercial potteries trading their wares in the Barossa Valley from 1855 and 1867 respectively. As well as these, Hoffmann's wares also had to

compete with the imported English and Continental wares. The farmer-potter's advantages included the relative isolation of the Barossa Valley from Adelaide, hence increasing cartage costs, as well as the expected penchant of the German settlers to purchase, from a fellow German, wares which appeared familiar and which were probably cheaper.

The mostly German-populated Barossa Valley and outlying towns, provided Hoffmann with a large market for his wares. Oral tradition is firmly documented regarding his method of trade.¹⁶ When farm duties allowed, and when a supply of wares had been made and fired, Hoffmann carted these about the Barossa in his German wagon. Hoffmann's wares have been documented by the author in the following locations: Rowland Flat, Tanunda (Langmeil), Bethany, Gomersal, Gnadenfrei, Nuriootpa, Eden Valley, Moculta, Lyndoch, Rosenthal, Sedan, and Bethel. Hoffmann sold his wares readily, despite commercial competition. Oral tradition (Haese, interviewed 1983) affirms that 'he had no trouble selling them'. This preference for things of a distinctly German appearance provided a means by which the Lutheran settlers could actively indicate their community values and attitudes, re-affirm their origins and display their cultural identity. Hence Hoffmann's role as a master potter of the Barossa Valley can be seen to have extended beyond merely economic considerations: he maintained his sense of identity and self-esteem, and produced and disseminated wares that not only had practical value in the village and farm kitchen, but also conveyed and reinforced particular Lutheran values and attitudes. From this perspective we may consider Hoffmann's pottery as having, at the time, an intrinsic cultural, as well as strictly utilitarian function. Hoffmann's potting activity ended between 1880 and 1883, some thirty years after he had commenced at Rowland Flat. He died in 1900 at the age of eighty-two years.

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NOTES

1. Anon. 1968; Bickford 1971; Birmingham 1968.
2. Ioannou 1986.
3. Prown 1982: 5; Bronner 1985.
4. Young et al. 1977, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1985.
5. Fahy et al. 1985.
6. Matson 1965: 205.
7. Ioannou 1986: 18-27. Of the other German potters who emigrated to South Australia in the nineteenth century, only G. Zoerner worked at his trade for a period comparable to that of Hoffmann.
8. Assessment Books, 1860 to 1880, District Council of Barossa (Lyndoch); interview with G. Haese, 1983; Also compare with the pioneer farmer-potters of eastern Pennsylvania, U.S.A., who made pottery seasonally, Guiland 1971: 15-16.
9. Ioannou 1986: 33-5. White clay could be used to produce a creamy slip, which, with the addition of galena, resulted in a 'toned-down' glaze. Alternatively, some white clay was mixed in

with the local red (terracotta) clay, to form a more suitable body mix.

10. Ioannou 1986: 34. Descendants of Hoffman still repeat stories of the potter's treks into the Barossa Ranges, to his 'secret source'.
11. Ioannou 1986: 32.
12. Higginbotham 1985: 11-12.
13. Gerber 1984; Harmstorff and Cigler 1985; Ioannou 1986: 27.
14. Kaufmann 1979: 93; Ravenswaay 1977; Müller 1986.
15. Müller 1986.
16. Ioannou 1986.

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