

Hahndorf Volume I

A survey carried out
for the Australian
Heritage Commission

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HAHNDORF VOL. 1

A report of a joint research project by the
School of Architecture, S.A. Institute of
Technology and the Department of History,
Adelaide College of the Arts and Education,
for the Australian Heritage Commission.

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Ian Harmstorf
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<u>CONTENTS</u>	<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>
VOLUME 1			
Preface	2	PART 4 Rural settlements, farm houses and building techniques.	30
Introduction	3	L. Brasse	
Recommendations 1. Basic recommendations	6	<u>CHAPTER 2 German Migrations and Emigration to South Australia</u>	
2. Recommendations for the formation of a Hahndorf Heritage Trust.	9	PART 1 The history of German migration and the reasons for emigration to South Australia: Economic, Political, Religious.	47
B. Harper		I. Harmstorf	
G. Young			
<u>CHAPTER 1 Original Environment in Eastern Germany</u>		PART 2 The Arrival in South Australia.	52
PART 1 The physical environment:	14	I. Harmstorf	
Topography, climate.		PART 3 The First Special Survey, W.H. Dutton and the Hahndorf Contract.	55
A. Marsden		L. Brasse	
PART 2 The Social history:	18	PART 4 The Development of German Villages in South Australia.	62
The eastward movement of Germans from 800-1500 A.D., Prussianization of the area in the 18th century, Frederick the Great's land settlements, and the changing status of the colonists.		G. Young	
A. Marsden		<u>CHAPTER 3 The Settlement of Hahndorf</u>	
PART 3 Rural life in the early 19th century:	24	PART 1 The Hahndorf District: Geology, topography, climate, soils, vegetation and agricultural land use.	69
Industry and agriculture, schools and education, religion and the pastor.		R. Smith	
A. Marsden		PART 2 The German Village at Hahndorf: The settlement, original land tenure and early expansion.	78
		L. Brasse	

<u>CONTENTS</u>	(Cont'd)	<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 3</u>	<u>The Settlement of Hahndorf (Cont'd)</u>			
PART 3	Some remnants of the early settlement: Victoria Street (originally North Lane) and Rodert's farm complex, 20 Main Street. G. Young	93	PART 3	Half-timbered houses in Hahndorf. 172
PART 4	Hahndorf: an example of cultural transfer. F. Gale	113	PART 4	Half-timbered houses in Paechtown. 178
			PART 5	Mooney's barn. 188
			PART 6	German barns at Hahndorf. 194
			PART 7	A comparison with German barns along the Missouri River, U.S.A. 212
				L. Brasse G. Young
<u>CHAPTER 4</u>	<u>Hahndorf in the 19th Century: Development and Daily Life</u>			
PART 1	Development: early difficulties, economic growth with agricultural expansion and service businesses, the milling and wattlebark industries. A. Marsden	122		
PART 2	Daily Life: the role of the church and education, newspapers, social and family life. A. Marsden	142		
<u>CHAPTER 5</u>	<u>Hahndorf in the 19th Century: House Form and Construction</u>			
PART 1	Plan types and spatial organisation.	152		
PART 2	Construction techniques: wattle and daub, stone, brick, half-timbered.	156		
			<u>VOLUME 2</u>	
			<u>CHAPTER 6</u>	<u>Hahndorf in the 20th Century: Stability, External Influences, and Conflicts in Land Use</u>
			PART 1	1900-1950's: 214 A continuity maintained despite the disruptions of war and depression. A. Marsden
			PART 2	1960's-1970's: 227 Changes in the economic bases of the town, the character and the lifestyle. A. Marsden R. Smith

<u>CONTENTS</u> (Cont'd)	<u>Page</u>		<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 6</u> <u>Hahndorf in the 20th Century:</u> <u>Stability, External Influences,</u> <u>and Conflicts in Land Use(Cont'd)</u>		<u>Appendices:</u>	
PART 3 Towards the 1980's: 240 The need for sympathetic planning of leisure activities in and around Hahndorf. R. Smith		A. Figs. and Tables related to 328 Chapter 3, part 1 and Chapter 6, part 2. R. Smith	
<u>CHAPTER 7</u> <u>The Historic Ambience of</u> <u>Hahndorf's Main Street</u>		B. Documents related to 341 Chapter 2, part 3. L. Brasse	
A synopsis of the character of 254 Hahndorf, with a detailed description of properties numbered 2-108 on the east side and 1-91 on the west side of the main street. L. Brasse I. Harmstorf A. Marsden G. Young		C. Documents related to 345 Chapter 3, part 2. L. Brasse	
Glossary 315		D. 1. A History of St. Michael's 369 Lutheran Congregation 1839-1859. A.L. Fox	
Bibliography 319		2. Oral History Guide. 375 A. Marsden	
Acknowledgements 325		3. Family recipes. 379 A. Marsden	
Drawing Credits 326		E. Detailed documents related to 381 Chapter 5. L. Brasse	
Graphic & Photographic Credits 327			

List of Illustrations, Figures and Tables.PageVOLUME 1

Location of Hahndorf	1
Hahndorf: Proposed Historic Precinct	8
Map of Central Europe 1815-1857	15

Chapter 1.

Photographs of Western Poland in 1977 (originally eastern Germany)	36
Old Lutheran Churches Poland 1977	37
Typical villages and farmhouses Poland 1977	38
Details of Half-timbered building Poland 1977	39
Comparisons of German Villages	40-41
Comparative Plans of East German farmhouses	42
Cooking Halls and Black Kitchens	43
Timber Framing Techniques	44
Block Bau and Roof Construction details	45
Door details	46

Chapter 2. (Part 3)

The First Special Survey.	61
---------------------------	----

(Part 4)

Spread of German Towns in S.A.	66
Hufendorf layouts in S.A.	67
Reconstruction of a Hufendorf Settlement	68

Chapter 3. (Part 1)

The Hahndorf District	76
Historic Localities	77

(Part 2)

Location and Topography of Hahndorf area	87
F.R. Nixon's Special Survey Plan of Mt. Barker showing the German Village	88
Land Holdings of Original Settlers	89
Development of Hahndorf	90
Homeland of Original Hahndorf settlers	91
Plan of Original Settlement	92

(Part 3)

Remnants of Hufen Settlement in Victoria Street	95
Small Silesian Farmhouse similar to those built in Victoria Street	96
Schneemilch Barn Lot 2, Victoria Street	97-98
Schneemilch 'New House' Lot 3 Victoria Street	99
Griffith's House Lot 5 Victoria Street	100
Post House Lot 7 Victoria Street	101
Post House Lot 7 photograph of barns	102
Post House Lot 7 House and barn plans	103
Post House Lot 7 Elevations	104-105
Post House Lot 7 Framing details of barn	106
Timber framed house Lot 9 Victoria Street	107
Details of house Lot 9	108
Hennig House Lot 11 Victoria Street	109
Photograph of Hennigs barn	110
No. 79 Main Street Hahndorf	111
Perspective of Rodert's House.	112

(Part 4)

Early Hahndorf 1857. (Land ownership)	121
---------------------------------------	-----

<u>List of Illustrations, Figures and Tables.</u> (Cont'd)	<u>Page</u>	<u>Chapter 5. (Part 2) (Cont'd)</u>	<u>Page</u>
<u>Chapter 4. (Part 1)</u>		Details of half-Timbering, wattle and daub panels, and windows	170
Land clearance and early settlers cottage	134	Door Details	171
Pioneer German family outside their slab sided cottage	135	(Part 3)	
A German waggon	136	Curved bracings in early settlers half-timbered cottage	175
Rural Industries: A wattle bark stripper	137-138	Haebich's half-timbered house	176
The Wind Mill		Comparative Framing Techniques	177
Wool Shearing		(Part 4)	
Bringing in the Wool Clip		Locality Map (Hahndorf, Paechtown, Friedrichstadt).	180
The Union Hotel	139	Map of Paechtown	180
The Institute Hall	140	Paechtown House 1	181
The Hahndorf Academy	141	Paechtown House 2	182
(Part 2)		Paechtown House 2 (details)	183
Table 1. German born surviving in S.A. in 1861	146	Paechtown House 3	184
Hahndorf family dressed formally	150	North-west view of Paechtown House 3	185
Outside Bakeoven to House No. 2 Paechtown	151	East elevation of Paechtown House 3	186
		Paechtown House 4	187
<u>Chapter 5. (Part 2)</u>		(Part 5)	
Properties Surveyed	161	Mooney's Barn (circa 1900)	190
Comparative Plans of German Farmhouses in S.A.	162	Mooney's Barn (Plans and Sections)	191
Farm Layouts	163	Mooney's Barn (Elevations)	192
House on Lot 278 Sect. 4003 Hd. Onkaparinga	164-165	Mooney's Barn (Axonometric view)	193
Victoria Street cottage showing mud brick walls and slab construction	165	(Part 6)	
Outbuildings on Sect. 433 Hd. Kuitpo	166	Gething's Barn	198
House on Sect. 433 Hd. Kuitpo	167	Gething's Barn (Plans and Elevations)	199
Stone walled farmhouse, Sect. 2967 Hd. Onkaparinga	168	Gething's Barn (Sections and Isometric)	200
Tie Rods to Stone walling (St. Michael's Church)	169	Paechtown Barn (Free standing barn)	201

<u>List of Illustrations, Figures and Tables.</u> (Cont'd)	<u>Page</u>
<u>Chapter 5. (Part 6) (Cont'd)</u>	
Paechtown Barn (Plans, Sections, Elevations)	202
Paechtown Barn to House No. 3	203
Paechtown Barn showing half-timbered construction	204
Friedrichstadt Barn (Plans, Sections, Elevations)	205
Friedrichstadt Barn Interior photograph	206
Friedrichstadt Barn Isometric	207
Barn on Section 3819 Hd	208
Barn on Section 3819 (Plans, Section, Elevation)	209
Construction Details of Timber Barns	210-211

VOLUME 2

<u>Chapter 6. (Part 1)</u>	
Table showing percentage of resident families with German names 1844-1974	216
Building of Detmold in 1906	222
Thiele's shop in the 1920's	223
Shop fronts in the 1950's	224
Opening of the Pioneer Memorial in 1939	225
A Hahndorf Cottage (by Heysen) in 1908	226

<u>Chapter 6. (Part 2)</u>	
Fig. 8 The Hahndorf District, Land Use Photographs of the Hahndorf district in 1979	230 231-238
A newspaper cartoon of a future Hahndorf 1978	239

<u>Chapter 7.</u>	<u>Page</u>
Hahndorf's Main Street before World War 1 and in 1979	257-258
An older Hahndorf	259
Historic Landscapes	260
Townscape photographs	261
Drawings of Main Street buildings	263-298
Plans of Main Street buildings	299-304
Detailed drawings of No. 34, 36, 51, 71, 73, 75, 98 Main Street	305-314

Appendix A

Table 1. Temperature Data - Mt. Barker S.A.	329
Table 2. Temperature Data - Stirling S.A.	330
Table 3. Frost Data - Mt. Barker and Stirling	331
Table 4. Frost Days - Mt. Barker and Stirling	332
Table 5. Changes in number of rural holdings & in Hahndorf District	333
Table 6. 1970-1978	334
Fig. 2. Geology of Hahndorf District	335
Fig. 3. Geology of Adelaide Hills and Sections	336
Fig. 4. Mount Lofty Ranges Water shed	337
Fig. 5 & 6 Soil Profiles	338-339
Fig. 7. Vegetarian Clearance in Mount Lofty Ranges	340

Appendix B

The Hahndorf Contract	342-343
Documents related to Langmeil Land Purchase	344

Appendix C

Returns for Hahndorf in 1844	346-348
Occupations in Hahndorf 1850-1914	349-354
Original Land ownerships	355-368

<u>List of Illustrations, Figures and Tables.</u>	<u>Page</u>
---------------------------------------------------	-------------

(Cont'd)

Appendix D

The Development of St. Michael's Church	374
-----------------------------------------	-----

Appendix E

Timber framing techniques	382
Framework of a Fachwork House	383
Half-timbered construction techniques	386
Timber bracings	388
Timber roof frames	389
Standard eaves details	390
Roof framing and shingles, No. 34 Main Street Hahndorf	391

PREFACE

This Survey was made possible through funds provided by the Australian Heritage Commission. It succeeds a similar survey of German settlements in the Barossa Valley of South Australia which was also funded by the Commission. The survey techniques employed in the Barossa survey, that is the use of a wide variety of experts co-ordinated by a small directorate have also been used at Hahndorf. We feel it is important to carry out historic and conservation surveys in such a manner, as it achieves a suitable balance of disciplines. The results can then escape, to a degree, some of the criticism that has arisen of more superficial surveys (e.g. photographic). It is not only important to measure buildings and compare their plan characteristics and constructional details, but also to try and understand how they were used and from where some of these design characteristics originated. Daily life and house form needs also to be set within a wider physical and historical framework in which an attempt is made to understand the mainstream of ideas and activities which motivated early Australian settlers.

This report attempts to do just this. It is written from a general historical and geographical point of view which leads into more detailed considerations of the settlement and life patterns which were found in Hahndorf in the 19th Century. With this background knowledge an attempt is made to summarise the main historic features remaining in the town and the effects which future development may have on these. Finally suitable controls are suggested in order to retain a reasonable body of the town's historic fabric for the enjoyment of future generations.

INTRODUCTION

Hahndorf, its past, present, and future, has become a subject of considerable interest for many South Australians in recent years. A very active local branch of the National Trust of S.A., conservationists in general, and the S.A. Tourist Bureau have all highlighted its problems both in press releases, seminars and publications.¹

Since the mid nineteen-sixties the number of South Australian visitors and interstate tourists has increased considerably and the township has been transformed into an important tourist and recreational centre. This has had a marked physical impact on the centre of the town, supplementing the traditional hostelries with new tourist restaurants, cafes and bakeries, as well as the inevitable tourist gift shops. The sad thing about some of these developments is that they are beginning to overwhelm the true character of Hahndorf and are replacing it with a pastiche environment. Therefore this once quiet, attractive hills town, with vestiges of a different past than the adjoining towns, has now come under considerable threat.

To carry out an historic survey of Hahndorf we

1 e.g. Hahndorf Its past, present and future Papers given at a seminar on Hahndorf 16th Oct. 1976 conducted by the Department of Continuing Education, University of Adelaide.

have attempted to identify the true German characteristics of the town and its district. This has involved a study of the original environment and history of those parts of eastern Germany from whence came the first groups of Lutheran settlers. We have discovered that these were a people who were used to a considerable amount of government direction. They also had had a long experience of colonisation, a tradition which extended back into the early Middle Ages. Either themselves or their families may have been the new colonists of Frederick the Great (1712-1786) and they would have held still fresh memories of a recent colonial existence.² The unusual circumstances which brought about their migration to South Australia ensured that they came out as fairly cohesive congregations representing a good cross section of east German rural communities. If Pastor Kavel had not been put into contact with George Fife Angas in 1836 it is doubtful if there would have been a large scale movement of east Germans to S.A.

That they came to settle in the only successful

2 "At his death it has been estimated that one-third of the population of Prussia consisted of colonists, or the descendants of recent colonists." Mayhew, A. Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany p. 164. Four of Hahndorf's first settlers still titled themselves colonists.

free colony in Australia whose foundation was conceived as a model state where dissenters of all kinds could freely express their opinions was, therefore, pure coincidence. The creation of the colony depended on the co-operation of an unusual mixture of English business men, dissenters, monarchists and republicans motivated by the new idealisms which were apparent in early 19th century England. At this time an important body of opinion was discussing the need and nature of ideal towns and colonies.³ These theories had been influenced by the liberal philosophies of the late 18th century postulated at the French and German courts. Frederick the Great befriended Voltaire and, although a royal despot, was imbued with an admiration of the French philosophers and planned his colonization programmes with a similar vision of idealism as befitted a progressive ruler of "The Age of Enlightenment".

Therefore, although the founders of South Australia and the new Prussia were politically poles apart, the methods of ideally planned settlement were adopted by both governments. South Australia was no doubt conceived on the drawing boards of the South Australian Land Commissioners surveyors in

-
3. Helen Rosenau The Ideal City. Part Three e.g. The work and theories of Jeremy Bentham, Robert Owen and A.W.N. Pugin. Later in the 1850's the proposals of J.S. Buckingham for an ideal town "Victoria" and R. Pemberton's "Happy Colony" in New Zealand quantified these ideal theories.

London just as Frederick's bureaucrats drew up in Berlin the plans for his new colonies with which he and his successors recolonised large areas of Prussia in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

The first German settlers came out to the new colony in close-knit groups, relying heavily on their pastors to act as their agents and interpreters when arranging their settlement on the land sections owned by the colonial landowners. After an attempt to settle on Angas' land at Klemzig they moved first to Hahndorf and the Adelaide Hills and then into the Barossa Valley. These were all rather remote locations which helped to maintain their isolation from the colonial English. This guaranteed that the mores of their rural east German background could be retained and adapted to rural South Australia without absorbing the more urbanised characteristics of the other settlers.

We have found fundamental evidence of this translation of a rural culture in both the Barossa Valley and at Hahndorf. South Australia has the distinction of containing village layouts, farm buildings, and artefacts of an entirely alien culture to that transported from England: a German cultural colonial heritage spanning back over a thousand years to the time of Charles the Great.

This report places Hahndorf in its special place within this unique pattern of colonization. Its early layout and buildings were copies of colonial

villages and farmhouses in east Germany; above all the many half-timbered houses which were built distinguished it in its South Australian setting. That important fragments of its early history still survive, and what is more significant, that there is still an atmosphere about the town which differentiates it from the early English colonial towns, continues this uniqueness into the present day.

We think a major effort is needed to preserve this different cultural heritage and to present it in an interesting and informative manner to both the local public, state visitors and tourists.

G. Young.

BASIC RECOMMENDATIONS

HERITAGE AREAS

- A) Hahndorf should be proclaimed an historic town. The actual historic precinct is shown on the adjoining map and includes the subdivisions previous to and subsequent to 1849.
- B) The group of farmlets known as Paechtoun and shown on map (precinct to be defined)
- C) The group of farm buildings and cottages known as Friedrichstadt and shown on map (precinct to be defined)
All A and B items are nominated for inclusion on the S.A. Register of Heritage Items.

HISTORIC BUILDINGS AND OUTBUILDINGS

Within the above precincts, properties are graded A, B, C and D. A and B properties are those of importance historically and architecturally and should be retained so as to preserve the area's historic character. C properties are important elements in townscape terms and should only be altered or removed in a controlled manner. D properties are buildings or structures of any age whose scale or character detracts from the area's historic nature and should be modified, removed or replaced with buildings more sympathetic to the environment.

HISTORIC OPEN SPACES, TREESCAPES AND ARTEFACTS

Areas of streetscape, including private gardens and fences, which form an essential element of

the total historic townscape of Hahndorf. (see Chapter VII).

PROPOSED NEW CONSERVATION AND PLANNING CONTROLS

- 1. The historic pattern of land use along Hahndorf's main street should be maintained (i.e. residential and small scale commercial).
- 2. Existing large scale commercial development and any new commercial development should be directed away from the main street into an adjacent newly defined commercial area and/or to a light industrial estate.
- 3. The remaining residential areas in the main street should be retained and historic properties rehabilitated. D rated buildings should eventually be replaced with more suitably designed buildings.
- 4. Large scale development, either residential or commercial, should not be allowed inside or adjacent to the precinct (e.g. large shopping centres).
- 5. All building and planning proposals should be controlled by a proposed Hahndorf Heritage Trust, acting in conjunction with the Mt. Barker Council and State Government Departments. (see further recommendations)

DESIGN CONTROLS

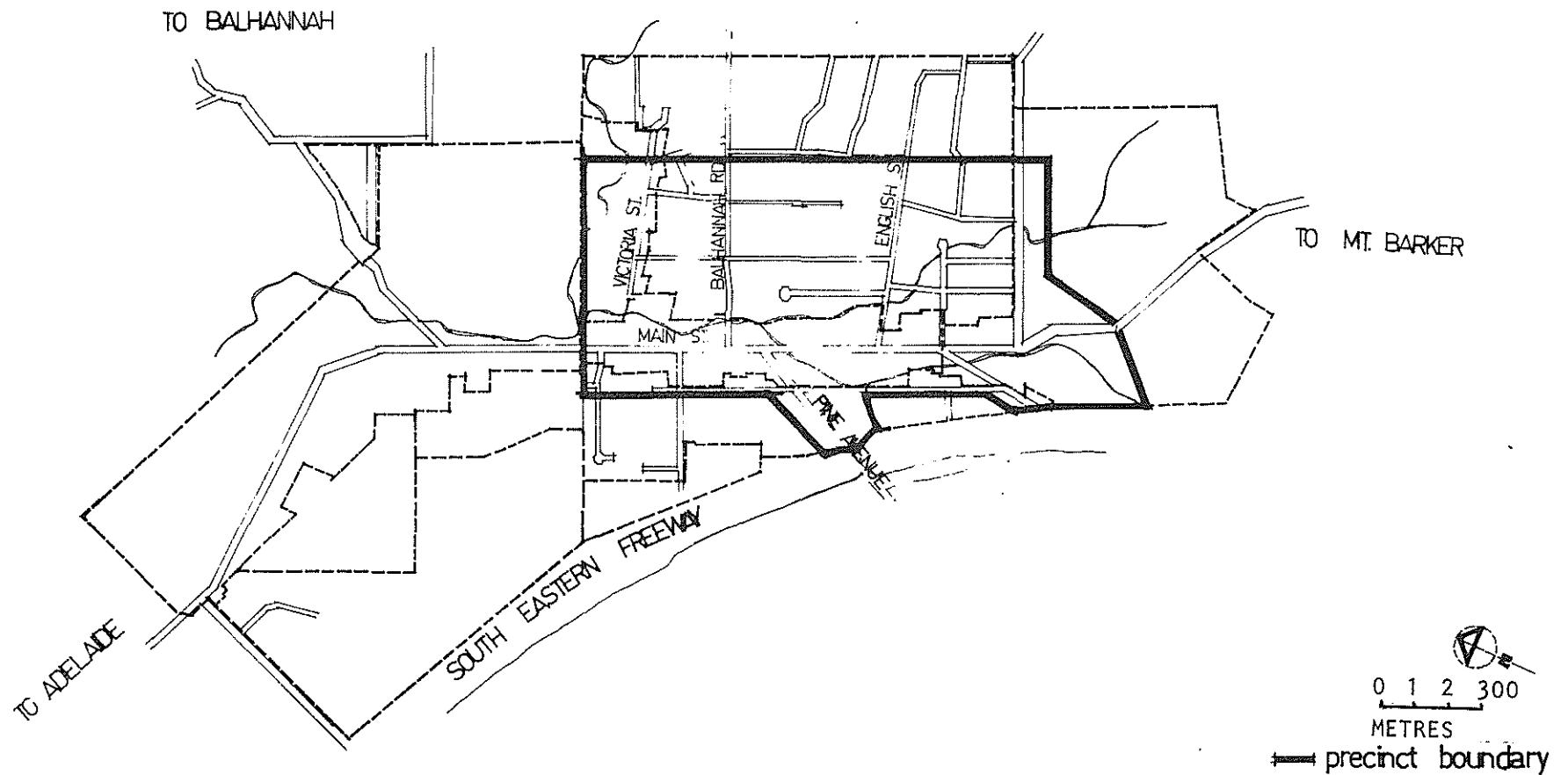
6. An Action Plan to retain and rehabilitate historic buildings and places should be prepared by the Heritage Unit of the Department of the Environment and Planning in conjunction with the above mentioned Trust and the Mt. Barker Council. *
7. A Design Guide should be published for the guidance of building owners, developers and their architects.
8. In the more sensitive conservation areas, Design Briefs should be prepared by the Heritage Unit (e.g. Main Street streetscape requirements).
9. Proposal Applications and Drawings
Any new structures or alterations to existing buildings must be controlled by planning and building controls designed to retain and enhance the town's historic fabric.

TOURISM AND RECREATION

10. Both the increase in population in Hahndorf and the surrounding hills farms plus an increasing number of day visitors and tourists are having a vivid impact on

Hahndorf. The nature of these activities and the requirement for special facilities (e.g. tourist information centres, farmhouse accommodation, historic trails) is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

* It is our belief that the Department of the Environment's Heritage Unit should be the principal government department involved in the future development of historic towns and heritage areas.



HAHANDORF: SHOWING PROPOSED HISTORIC PRECINCT

RECOMMENDATION FOR THE FORMATION OF A HAHNDORF HERITAGE TRUST.

The Planning and Development Act and the Heritage Act, are primarily concerned with physical planning and the preservation of cultural artefacts. The two Acts cannot be seen to be adequate in the preservation and development of historically significant settlement areas such as Hahndorf and its immediate farming community. The preservation of its cultural heritage depends as much on the socio-economic well-being of the community as on the restoration of buildings and appropriate physical planning measures.

Hence the following recommendations and models are suggested as the basis for the consideration of new legislation appropriate to the needs of historic towns in South Australia and to Hahndorf as a particular and urgent example.

RECOMMENDATION ONE. Legislation for the declaration of Hahndorf as an Historic Town and for the formation of a Hahndorf Heritage Trust.

Policy: The future of Hahndorf and its residents, and the future development of the township and adjoining pioneer farmlands, as a State and National heritage concern, must be invested in the declaration of the pioneer settlement areas and in a controlling body that properly represents the interests of

- . the local people, urban and rural, as residents and businessmen.
- . their immediate elected representatives in the form of the local council.
- . specific interest groups, not resident in the area, to include persons with a birth-right interest in Hahndorf, and groups with interests in heritage items of the nation.
- . government instrumentalities which have a defined role in the establishment of policies, development actions and control supervision.

The Hahndorf Heritage Trust. (Suggested Model).

Role:- A management function to initiate, recommend, supervise, execute and monitor various action programmes designed to achieve preservation, conservation and development objectives.

- through their own agency when appropriate, and through established local, state and federal instrumentalities.

Membership:- representatives from

- | | | |
|------------------------------------------|---|------------|
| . local residents group |) | elected |
| . local businessmens group |) | by the |
| . 'Friends of Hahndorf' group |) | groups. |
| . Mt. Barker Council |) | |
| . Department of Environment and Planning |) | nominated |
| |) | by the |
| . Department of Tourism |) | Government |
| . Heritage Commission |) | |

Process of Formation

1. Publishing and circulation of the Australian Heritage Commission Survey of Hahndorf.
2. Appointment of a Steering Committee to include members of the existing Advisory Committee of residents and businessmen.
3. The Steering Committee to initiate the formation of
 - . Local Residents Group
 - . Local Businessmens Group
 - . 'Friends of Hahndorf' Group
4. Declaration of the Hahndorf Heritage Trust by the Government and membership of the Trust constituted.

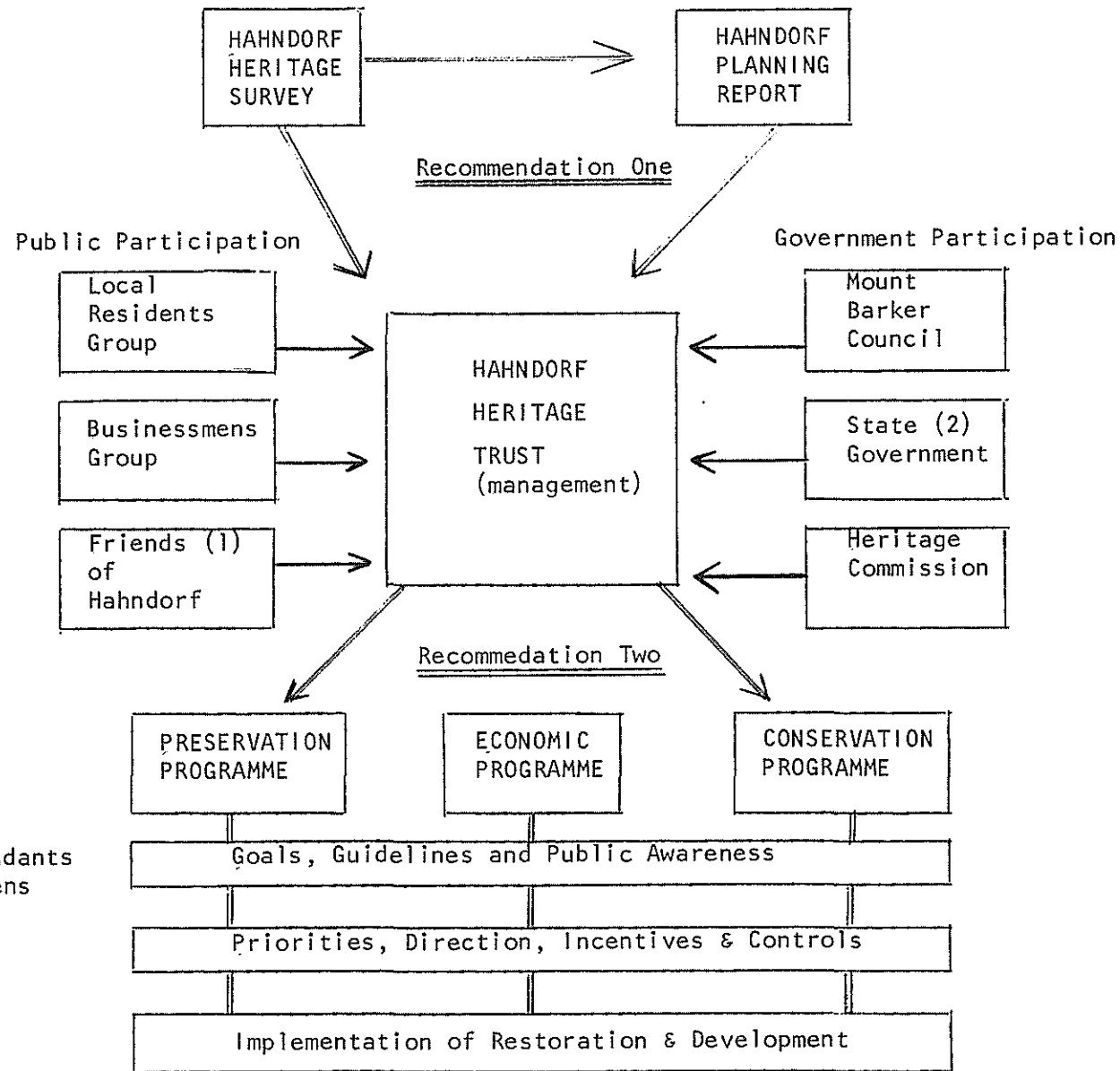
RECOMMENDATION TWO

Basic Action Programmes by the Hahndorf Heritage Trust

The document 'Hahndorf Planning' Oct. 16, 1979, contains a confusion of concepts and of policies. A number of policies have conflicting goals; priorities for the establishment of policy goals have not been declared; the economic viability and realistic implementation of some policies must be questioned.

It is necessary to clarify the distinct concepts of 'preservation; and 'conservation' which are used as synonyms in the above document -

- Preservation is concerned with keeping in the existing or original form, the artefacts and environments of pioneer culture that founded the settlement.
 - . this concept admits of no change except in terms of restoration and maintenance.
 - . it may limit the range of contemporary and economic uses to which pioneer artefacts and environments can be put.
 - . the measures of preservation programmes are relatively inflexible.
 - . equity is mainly in terms of the perceived heritage value on a local, state and national basis.
- Conservation is a key concept in the management of resources for present and future uses, known and unknown.
 - . this concept admits of a deployment of land and other resources to meet changing needs over a period of time
 - . it may be concerned with equity for the people and activities placing a pressure demand on given resources
 - . the measures of conservation programmes must be flexible
 - . conservation measures are necessarily subservient to preservation measures once the public have defined their priorities for preservation.



- (1) included:-
 National Trust
 Civic Trust
 Conservation Society
 Non-residential descendants
 Non-residential citizens

- (2) includes:-
 Dept. Environment and
 Planning
 Dept. Tourism

MODELS OF BASIC ACTION PROGRAMMES BY THE HAHNDORF HERITAGE TRUST.

1. PRESERVATION PROGRAMME. (Suggested Model).

Goals:- The preservation of the artefacts and environments created by the pioneer culture of Hahndorf environs; the rehabilitation, restoration and maintenance of heritage items; the removal of obtrusive non-heritage items; control over additional items adjacent to pioneer artefacts or within pioneer environments.

Programme Outline:-

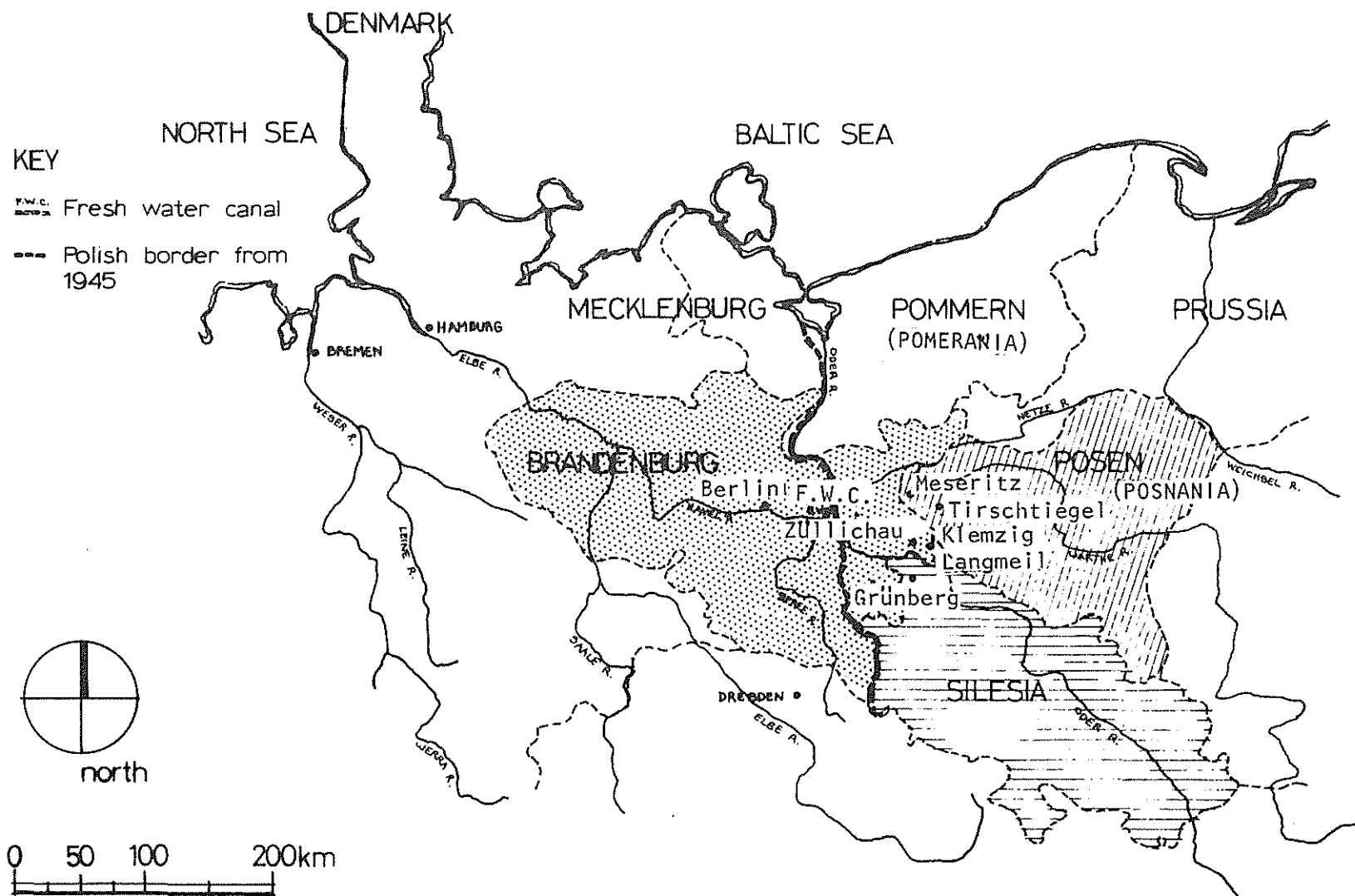
. Identification, classification and ranking of pioneer artefacts and environments in Hahndorf and environs.	Establishment of definitions and priorities.
. Identification of obtrusive non-heritage items and characteristics in pioneer environments.	Goals for Conservation Programme
. Guidelines for the rehabilitation and restoration of pioneer artefacts and environments.	Public awareness
. Provision and means of incentives for public and private restoration of heritage items.	Encouragement and participation.
. System of seeking and consenting approvals for alterations, additions, changes in usage.	Control measures vested in Dept. Env. & Planning & H.H.T.
. Means of funding rehabilitation, restoration, purchases and maintenance.	Public and government involvement.
. Management of the preservation process.	Hahndorf Heritage Trust,

Programme Outline:-

Operatives

	<u>Government</u>	<u>Council</u>	<u>Heritage Trust</u>
<u>Short Term Period.</u>	<u>Initiation of Trust, Preservation and Conservation Programmes</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Publish Heritage Study . Secretary to Trust . Restoration craftsman appointed to Trust . Further Hahndorf studies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Restructuring rates for Hahndorf. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Seek public funding. . Cost studies of preservation . Study of new developments (e.g. Pioneer-Tourist village etc.)
<u>Mid Term Period.</u>	<u>Major period of preservation completion and new development</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Funding through subsidy or loan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Increased rate revenue through new developments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Funding from concessions and admission fees of historical and new developments
<u>Long Term Period.</u>	<u>Return to normal rates of development and preservation maintenance.</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Council and Heritage Trust seen as self-supporting for maintenance of Preservation Programme. 		

CHAPTER 1 ORIGINAL ENVIRONMENT IN EASTERN GERMANY
PART 1



MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE - 1815 - 1857

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The German lands occupy a northward sloping region of Central Europe, and are made up of three major areas: the Alps, Central Uplands and Northern Lowland. To the north-east the Lowland broadens eastward to merge in the vast plains of Poland and Russia.

On these northern plains lie Brandenburg, Posnania and Silesia, three former Prussian provinces, now under the aegis of post 1945 Poland.

Their climate is continental, with rainfall at 500-600 mm per year,¹ and mean monthly temperatures ranging from -10°C (January) to around 19°C (July)². In midwinter a brilliant sun shines on a landscape covered with snow for a month or more, and frozen lakes and rivers that usually remain iced over for 100-120 days³. At night there is a rapid fall of temperature, often to -18°C. The air is crisp and dry, with little rainfall and much clear sunshine. Spring, when it comes, is short, and the rapid rise in temperature leads to a warm summer, during which there is a marked increase in precipitation. However, as the rain falls mainly in thundery showers, the sky is rarely overcast for long periods⁴.

1 Dickinson, R.E. Germany : A General and Regional Geography p. 57

2 Elkins, T.H. Germany p. 36

3 Dickinson, op. cit. p. 56

4 Elkins, op. cit. p. 35

The soil is sandy or peaty, and at times marshy, with areas of fertile brown earth. Flat plains of open woodland would have merged across the Elbe River with denser mixed forest of oak, birch, beech and pine. "With the increasing continentality of climate eastwards, the pines became more frequent, the forests more sombre, and undergrowth poorer, the soils more leached and the difficulty of clearance and occupation greater"⁵. Variety was expressed in the willows and poplars of the river flood plains, acid peat bogs and moors of heather and juniper.

Dotted over the landscape were the various styled villages settled by emigrant peasants and craftsmen from Western Germany.

Regardless of the variations between the village types, many of these settlements had an appearance that roughly approximated the ideal village as described by Stieglitz in Encyklopädie der Bürgerlichen Baukunst, which was published at the end of the eighteenth century. He wrote:

"The villages should be laid out in such a manner that the homesteads are built in two opposite rows and somewhat separated from each other with houses for cottagers and crofters between them and that a continuous street runs through the whole village. Behind the houses should be the gardens and the fields and all the other land of each peasant who would

5 Elkins, op. cit. p. 43

therefore be in a better position to manage his farm and to get immediate help from his neighbour in case of fire, burglary or any other misfortune."⁶

A complete holding was created all at once, with a house being situated along the line of the new road or dyke, and behind it first the garden, then arable land, then pasture and finally the wood lot or the fen. New settlers to these line or street villages took similar strips at each end of the village.

6 Stieglitz, Encyklopädie der Bürgerlichen Baukunst (Encyclopedia of Building Principles)'
In Gutkind, E.A. Urban Development in East Central Europe Vol. I

CHAPTER 1 ORIGINAL ENVIRONMENT IN EASTERN GERMANY
PART 2

THE SOCIAL HISTORY

The eastward movement of the Franks and Saxons began in the late Carolingian period (900 AD). This movement intensified in the 12th and 13th centuries, when land was given by the Kings in huge grants to princes, prelates and lords of the Marches, such as Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Albert the Bear, Margrave of the North Mark, later Brandenburg. The movement eastwards began with conquest, in particular with Henry the Lion's crusade of 1147, but did not, as in the past, end in retreat. The gains were consolidated by the settlement of German peasants on conquered land beyond the Elbe.

The inducements offered to prospective colonists were sweet indeed. The leading bishops of Saxony issued the following proclamation in the churches in 1108:

"The Slavs are an abominable people but their land is very rich in flesh, honey, grain, birds and abounding in all products of the fertility of the earth when cultivated so that none can be compared unto it. So they say who know. Wherefore, O Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, men of Flanders most famous, here you can both save your souls and if it please you acquire the best land to live in".⁷

Allied with the promise of land was that of personal freedom from feudal restrictions. These attractions were publicized by a professional

organizer or contractor, called a Lokator, who was employed by the lord who controlled the land. The Lokator also laid out the villages and superintended the whole process of settlement. Because so many settlements had to be established quickly, a few well-tried forms were used time and again.

The most common planned forms were the long green Angerdorf and long street Strassendorf village.⁸ A main feature of these settlements was the systematic layout of the farms with consolidated holdings, as opposed to that of the strip system, associated with the three field system of communal cultivation.

The greatest German advances were made in the first half of the 13th century. In the centre, the moderately peaceful extension of Brandenburg reached the Oder river in 1240. To the north, Slav princes welcomed German peasants and clergy into eastern Mecklenburg and Pomerania, which were thus linked with the Germans in East Prussia. The Slav prince of Silesia also invited German settlers, who spread south eastwards as far as Moravia and also advanced into the mountain border of Bohemia. By the middle of the 14th century, however, this colonization was checked by the decline in the supply of peasants from the West and opposition from the revived Slav Kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. Even the mighty Teutonic Knights, who had previously forcibly

7 - and the devil take the Slavs! Mitchell, J.B. Historical Geography p. 120

8 See following pages for details of these and other village forms.

subdued local resistance in East Prussia, were humbled at the Battle of Tannenberg in 1410.

During this period began a long depression lasting into the 15th century, which was intensified by repeated waves of pestilence, notably the Black Death that raced over Europe from 1347 to 1351. The area under cultivation was larger than was needed for the reduced population, cereal prices fell and all over Germany there was a retreat from the margin of cultivation as poorer lands were abandoned. Thousands of farms and villages were left empty, and in the east lords often took over such land and merged it with their own. International trade through the Hanseatic ports encouraged the development of large-scale grain production, but because of the shortage of labour, the lords forced the formerly privileged eastern peasants to work their enlarged estates more intensively than before.⁹

Europe's last great religious war, the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), caused the most appalling hardships and miseries to the people. Armies of unpaid mercenaries repeatedly looted and ravaged the war-torn countryside and killed off much of the peasant population. The position of the formerly free peasant farmer in the east deteriorated even more. They were rejected from their holdings to allow the consolidation of demesne farms, further forced into compulsory services (often unlimited in custom or practice) to compensate for the shortage

9 Elkins, op. cit. p. 69

of labour in the post-war years, and reduced to the status of bondmen tied to the lord's estate.¹⁰ The Northern War (1700-1721) and the Seven Years War (1756-1763) accentuated this trend.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were periods when the power of the ruling Princes was well nigh absolute, controlling especially the formation of new village settlements. Systematic colonization became a state aim as a large and prosperous peasantry was a necessary source of tax income and of soldiers.

Accordingly, Frederick the Great created a 'new Province'¹¹ for Prussia by draining marshland, particularly on the floors of the Great Valleys of the Oder, Warthe and Netze rivers. One circular stated:

"... attention should be paid to settle preferably industrious German people in the new villages and establishments in order to cultivate the better the reclaimed fields and by their presence to stimulate the lazy, indigenous Polish nation to greater efforts and more industry."¹²

10 Barraclough, G., The Origins of Modern Germany p. 394

11 Elkins, op. cit. p. 83

12 Circulars concerning the clearing of superfluous woods in Upper Silesia to the right of the Oder in Gutkind, E.A., Urban Development in Central Europe Vol. I p. 125

From 1640 to 1740, about 100,000 colonists were settled by the Prussian administration alone, especially in East Prussia. Between 1740 and 1786 their number rose to 300,000 and about 900 new colonial villages were established. The new inhabitants were often foreign, refugees from religious persecution, such as the French Huguenots, rather than German, and craftsmen or artisans rather than peasant farmers. These people formed settlements in areas close to large towns which their home industries serviced.

Four categories of colonies were established. Firstly, settlements consisting of craftsmen and weavers with the village varying in size from 6 to 20 houses. Secondly, mining colonies based on the work of colonists, who acted as part-time peasants and part-time craftsmen, or as workers such as charcoal burners or woodcutters. On an average, 30 to 40 plots were laid out along a line. Thirdly, forest colonies for woodcutters, generally comprising about 6 houses with small gardens or fields. Fourthly, agricultural colonies, holding mainly agriculturalists, with perhaps a blacksmith, a shoemaker and a few other artisans.¹³ Public buildings such as a school and bakehouse were usually established as well.

The colonization process went through three stages. Gaps caused by wars and famine within existing villages were filled by free farms given to new colonists. Then, existing villages were enlarged

¹³ Gutkind, op. cit. p. 129

by the addition of cottagers with small plots of land, settling at each end of the village line and hardly disturbing the previous field arrangements. Finally, whole new settlements were created, in accordance with much more stereotyped plans than the medieval layout of existing villages. In northern Upper Silesia alone, 100 new villages were established, with the exact size of each individual's plot determined by state decree:

"For each farm, not less than eight Magdeburg Morgen of fields, meadows and garden, but not more than twenty, and for each new village, at least six such farms."¹⁴

In general, a pattern developed of villages with 40 to 50 families on the plains and in fertile country, of whom about 16 were peasants and the rest cottagers, gardeners and craftsmen. In mountain areas, the number of peasants generally decreased to 8. Apart from the land, the colonists also were to receive cattle, tools and seeds.

However, this large-scale colonization of the east was not as equitable and smooth-running as might be indicated by these official pronouncements. Many villages were economic and social disasters. In 1787, a certain Hoyms wrote (one year after the death of Frederick the Great!):

¹⁴ Gutkind, op. cit. p. 127 - Decree by Frederick the Great in 1773. The modern equivalent of these land measures would be 13.75 and 33.75 hectares respectively.

"In my most humble opinion the first duty of the leader of a state consists in his care to increase the number of men as far as possible, to guarantee continuously their livelihood, and to settle them in such a manner that they can be most useful to the State. Both these demands have not been fulfilled by the settlement of foreign colonists in compact villages. They have the habit of making use of the benefits of the State and then running away, and for this they cannot be blamed; for owing to the disproportionately great number of foreigners they have often been assigned to places where they had difficulty in earning their living. In other places they would have robbed the old inhabitants of their food and the fruits of their industry."¹⁵

The local nobility were often given a free hand in controlling the new settlements. Dispossessing or depressing the status of the peasant owners, this Junker caste flourished under the aegis of absolutism by consolidating vast estates on which they practised large-scale agriculture. Except on the crown lands of Brandenburg-Prussia, the peasants were chattels, attached to the estate to which they had migrated or on which they were born, permanently stranded in the lowest echelons of economic and social status. The gains brought about by the greater density of settlement, through expanding old villages and creating new ones, such as the steep increase in population and

availability of farm land and labour, and the improvements in agricultural technique with the introduction of fodder crops into the rotation, were not gains for the peasant. Indeed, the resulting intensification of production, enclosures and loss of commons helped create an agricultural proletariat, totally dependent on the autocratic power of the noble.

The proud colonists of the Middle Ages who had been wooed to farm "the best land to live in", free from feudal restrictions, were far different from the depressed and enslaved latter-day colonists of the east.¹⁶ The following contemporary description from the 18th century and confirmed by many different observers, was probably the horrifying norm:

"The peasant is brought up in complete ignorance like a mere animal. He is plagued continually with feudal services, running messages, beating up game, digging trenches and the like. From morning to night he must be digging the fields, whether scorched by the sun or numbed by the cold. At night he lies in the field and becomes little better than a beast of the fields, to keep the beasts from stealing his seed, and what he saves from their jaws is taken soon afterwards by a harsh official for arrears of rent and taxes. The countryman to-day is the most wretched of all creatures. The

¹⁵ Gutkind, op. cit. pp. 125-126

¹⁶ See proclamation by the Bishops of Saxony in 1108, above, p. 19

peasants are slaves and their men are hardly to be distinguished from the cattle they tend. The traveller comes to villages where children run about half naked and call to every passer-by for alms. Their parents have scarcely a rag to their backs. A few lean cows have to till their fields and give milk as well. Their barns are empty and their cottages threaten to collapse in a heap any moment. They themselves look neglected and wretched; one would have more pity for them, if their wild and brutish appearance did not seem to justify their hard lot."¹⁷

17 Von Loen, J.M., 1768 in Bruford, W.H., Germany in the Eighteenth Century: The Social Background of the Literary Revival p. 121

CHAPTER 1 ORIGINAL ENVIRONMENT IN EASTERN GERMANY
PART 3

RURAL LIFE IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the German states, when compared to other Western European countries, and particularly England, had more of a mediaeval economy, society and appearance than a progressive modern aspect.

Handwork was predominant in many branches of industry. In 1846, while there were nearly as many cotton looms in the factory as in the home, most of those in the factories were handlooms as well, while in the case of wool, home looms were more than double those in factories.¹⁸ In the case of spinning the work was even more a home industry with little wool and far less linen yarn being spun elsewhere. In fact, it was usually just another household job for the workers engaged in the textile weaving trade, for over 12% of those working with wool, and over 80% of those working with linen, were partly engaged in agriculture.¹⁹

Most towns were agricultural rather than industrial, with barns and farm buildings interspersed amongst the houses. In general, "Germany was a rural country and its industries, home industries ... a poor country with very low wages and small incomes."²⁰

Land was mostly owned by the nobility, the ruling

18 Gonner, C.K., Germany in the Nineteenth Century
p. 87

19 Ibid. pp. 87-88

20 Ibid. pp. 88-89

Prince or the Church, and worked by the peasants who paid the rent on the land with their labour. Whilst economic relations between peasant and landlord could vary from the peasant who was a virtual slave, to the peasant who was a land owner, paying only nominal dues to the noble, in general, conditions were much harsher in the Eastern areas.

As the process of settlement and colonization in these areas continued during the eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth century, the nobles' estate became all powerful, often suppressing and incorporating peasants with large holdings and those with hereditary rights into one large estate. In Prussia, the manorial economy of the great estate developed into the basic social and administrative unit of the country. In Mecklenburg and Brandenburg the labour service owed varied between three and six days per week.²¹ Often the peasants' own farms were barely more than home plots which they cultivated in the little spare time permitted them.²² They were seldom left with more than the bare minimum necessary for their existence.

Although the large estates intended to grow corn and other produce for export, even in 1850, the agricultural population consumed about two thirds of their total production, while out of the remaining third came not only the amount exported,

21 Milward, A. & Saul, S.B., The Economic Development of Continental Europe, 1780-1870
p. 58

22 Ibid. p. 57

but also the supplies for the towns of the area.²³ Thus the peasant lived within a highly self-sufficient economy. He depended on what he or his neighbours could grow on their plots and make with their own hands. Buildings, tools, clothing and utensils were largely home-made.

In farming, the open field system was the norm, with an unvarying succession of spring-sown corn (barley and oats), autumn-sown corn (wheat and rye) and fallow.²⁴ Vegetables, fruit and fodder were grown in the garden plots. During the latter years of the eighteenth century, potatoes began to be grown in the fields, against strong prejudice and apathy by the peasants. It was commonly believed for many years that eating potatoes led to scrofula, rickets, consumption, gout, and various other horrendous diseases.²⁵ However, once these prejudices had been overcome (and after it was demonstrated that the potato had to be cooked before being eaten!) this root crop rapidly became a basic part of the peasant diet. If the corn crops failed, they had potatoes in reserve, and, in time, the humble potato was a more important food than bread. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, an English visitor to the German states wrote:

"Potatoes in bucketsful, and prepared in fifty different fashions, form the staple of the food

of the lower orders."²⁶

Associated with rye and potato production, was the widespread practice of pig-keeping. Feeding on scraps and surplus potatoes, the pig was a treasure house of food. All parts of the animal were used, providing salted ham and bacon, smoked meats like mettwurst and leberwurst, sausages, the liver, kidneys, and fatty neck meat for white pudding, and other scraps and blood for black pudding. The head, tail and feet were also cooked.

Each village usually had its own small school buildings and school master. However, the condition of both tended to be extremely poor. In Prussia, the law stated that attendance at school for six hours a day was compulsory for all children between the ages of five or six and thirteen. For the poor, no fee was charged. Teachers had to be qualified, classes be duly graded, and state textbooks be used. But the common practice fell far below these aims. Official reports of an inspection made in 1802 and 1803 in the Prussian province of Cleve showed that forty three teachers out of sixty seven were incompetent, lacking training, supervision or books.²⁷ Their pay was so meagre that they all had some other occupation, as organists, craftsmen, officials or tradesmen. Often there were no separate classes, and the curriculum was extremely narrow, covering reading,

23 Bruford, op. cit. p. 113

24 Ibid. p. 114

25 Ibid. p. 117

26 Bothmer, M. German Home Life p. 59

27 Bruford op. cit. p. 123

writing, a little arithmetic and large doses of religion. Little was read beyond the Bible, catechism and prayers. Children attended the school at irregular times, and in summer and at harvest time, there were no classes at all.²⁸ The power of the school teacher was limited and his status tended to be low.

On the other hand, the power of the minister could be great indeed, depending as much on his personality and background, as on the church and state he represented.

(As the new villages were built, during the Middle Ages and succeeding periods of settlement, a church was usually established as well, and the village became part of or a whole parish.²⁹) In the eastern areas, (particularly in Silesia and Posnania, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), the original Catholic religion was often displaced by the Protestant Lutheranism or, to a lesser extent, by Calvinism.

The pastor was often the most influential person in the village, not only because of his spiritual status but on account of the temporal authority placed upon him by the State. Whilst he was a teacher of religion, he was also an important instrument of social service. The pastor proved a very useful channel of communication between the government and the masses. In an age of few newspapers and widespread illiteracy, a decree read

from the pulpit was the most effective way of transmitting information to many people, and great use was made of this method of "broadcasting" for purely secular affairs.³⁰

The pastor, as perhaps the only educated man in the village, also performed a great many other administrative duties for the state. These could include such functions as village registrar and statistician, school superintendent, head of the ecclesiastical court, overseeing the election of the village Vogt (mayor), with whom he shared responsibility for all village decisions like apportioning use of common land, and drawing up army recruiting lists.³¹ In Prussia, the pastor had to be very careful, if he valued his living (and he did, because livings were difficult to get), not to put any obstacles in the way of the King's recruiting officers. The following comment by the clergyman-author Herder on the position of the pastor in village life rings true: "A minister is only entitled to exist now, under state control and by authority of the prince, as a moral teacher, a farmer, a list-maker, a secret agent of police."³²

The average income of a country pastor was only

28 Bruford op. cit. p. 123

29 The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages p. 470

30 Bruford op. cit. p. 254

31 Ibid. pp. 254-255

32 Ibid. p. 255

about fifty to seventy Thalers³³ a year, his material comforts and possessions often fewer than those of a middling craftsman or peasant. Like the school teacher, he often eked out his income with other work, such as gardening or regular farming. Tithes formed part of his income, and the amount could be unreliable due to seasonal variations in the yield. Like the peasants, his family would keep a cow and some hens, the women folk would spin flax, sew their clothes, and make necessities like soap and candles. The pastor, with heavy secular duties as well as his pastoral work, was the busy head of a hard-working family.

Apart from the authority derived from his religious and official status, was the third factor of the village pastor's background and personality. The Lutheran clergy was almost invariably of middle-class or peasant origin,³⁴ had been poor and needy

33 1 Thaler = 3 English shillings. Purchasing power equivalents: In 1801, common "black" bread cost around 1d (penny) a pound. Clothing was expensive, with an ell (2 feet) of English cloth costing about 10s (shillings) in Silesia in 1756. Labour: An unskilled labourer earned 6d or 7d a day or less, a mason or carpenter round about 1s a day (less in winter). A spinner made about 2s to 2s 6d a week on piece work, but a factory worker in a favoured industry, or a skilled workman in particular demand, could earn up to 16s a week. - Bruford op. cit. pp. 330-331

34 Bruford op. cit. p. 50

theology students, and were inherently at home in the village social and economic structure. In the words of Marie Bothmer, an upper class English resident of Germany in the 1870's:

"Very different (from England) is the social status of the German Protestant clergyman. Protestant clergymen in Germany are *nowhere*, and their social influence is absolutely *nil*. I was seven years in Germany without meeting a Protestant clergyman in 'society' ... (He) is, in sober truth, of very little account ... In the country the peasants go to church, but the poorer classes in the towns look on the "black coats" with prejudice and aversion, seldom darkening the church doors ... Within the magic circle of noble blood the Protestant clergyman is never admitted ... The middle class still remains - the class from which he himself springs, and in which he therefore naturally feels himself most at home".³⁵

By birth, background and creed, the Lutheran pastor was best suited to work amongst the village folk, as father, mentor, neighbour, and familiar state official. When these roles were performed by a man of strong faith and character, then his power was an all pervading, unifying influence in the parish. Pastor August Kavel of the village of Klemzig in Brandenburg, and Pastor Gotthard Fritzsche of Bentschen in Posnania seem to have been such men. Their efforts to minister to their congregations

35 Bothmer op. cit. pp. 267, 270, 273-274 (her italics)

under state oppression,³⁶ their unstinting work to arrange emigration and their decisions to accompany the emigrants overseas illustrate their tenacity and sense of responsibility.³⁷

Thus, from the ex-colonial, rural and harsh areas of Eastern Germany, the emigrant villagers came to settle the frontier, unknown country of South Australia. In doing so, they were transporting not only their material possessions and physical skills, but their cultural experience and assumptions of which the strongest and most significant were a strong religious belief, a basic idea of community, and an expectation of their pastor's paternal role in teaching and reinforcing faithful attitudes towards both.

36 See Ch. 2, Part 1 for discussion of the religious harrassment of the old Lutherans by Friedrich Wilhelm III, and the reasons for their emigration to South Australia.

37 Indeed, until 1848, emigrants had to be accompanied by a pastor of their faith, by order of the Prussian state, which thus recognized the pastor as a reliable leader of peasant groups and ensured that the state was rid of these energetic dissidents.

CHAPTER 1 ORIGINAL ENVIRONMENT IN EASTERN GERMANY
PART 4

RURAL SETTLEMENTS, FARM HOUSES AND BUILDING TECHNIQUES

There are two basic types of rural settlements: the Celtic or isolated farmstead which is placed on its own block-field system, and the nucleated, in which all farmsteads are grouped at the centre of the village lands. Between these two extremes, there are numerous gradations, which not only depend upon the social, physical and historical characteristics of the region, but also on the type of field system with which it is associated.³⁸

A characteristic and widespread village form throughout Germany was the irregular clustered village, Haufendorf, which was surrounded by meadows, common pastures and strips of arable land Hufen, the cultivation of which was regulated by the village community.³⁹ Because of the particular field system associated with it, it was also known as an Eschdorf, in which six to twelve farmsteads were loosely arranged around a common pasture Allmende.

Around this settlement Drubbel lay the Esch, an island of arable land divided into long and narrow strips Langstreifenflur. Subdivision of the arable lands into long strips was probably associated with the heavy oxen drawn wheeled plough Scharpflug, which, in the long strip field system, required only a minimum number of turns.

Because of the rapid population growth in the fourteenth century, further subdivisions of the strips were made, resulting in a mosaic complex of

short strip fields called the Gewannflur, which, as a planned field system, was introduced to the Slav areas from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

Associated with this system was a strict social and economic distinction, with the original farmer Vollerbe owning all the land on the Esch as well as claiming full rights to the common land, and the cottager Büdner having no land rights at all.⁴⁰

As the Slavs were mainly dependent on a shifting cultivation, settlements were mainly temporary. However, one permanent settlement form that is generally attributed to the Slavs and one that is widespread throughout the colonized land was the Rundling. In this village form, no more than twelve farmsteads were tightly arranged around an irregular open space, with only one access road, which could be closed off for herding or defensive purposes.

Popular colonial settlement forms which were introduced to the east by the Germans were those associated with the threefield system, the Gewanne and the mediaeval consolidated farm holding, the Hufe.

The Hufendorf settlement was used by the Franks as early as the 9th century A.D., and historic examples have been discovered in eastern France and south-western Germany. It was suitable for colonising new lands, with settlements located at strategic points on a network of roads, which was a

³⁸ Dickinson op. cit. p. 125

³⁹ Ibid., p. 133

⁴⁰ Mayhew, A. Rural Settlement and farming in Germany
p. 19

system well used by the Romans. Later, it was used by German colonists on their eastward movement and, finally, the Prussian Government of the 18th century laid out numerous Hufen villages.

Early Frankish settlements had only 6 - 12 farmlets, with individual land areas ranging from 3 to 6 hectares. The later mediaeval settlements in eastern Germany and Prussia adopted the West German Frankish farmlets, which normally had an area of 24.2 hectares with a width of 104 metres and length around 2340 metres.

In 18th century Prussia, a new class of farmers emerged, and the size of their land holding reflected their social standing. For example, a cottager Büdner was allowed approximately 6 - 8 Morgen, whilst the full peasant farmer Bauer was allowed 20 - 30 morgen.*

Two basic Hufen village forms emerged: the forest farm village Waldhufendorf and the marsh farm village Marschhufendorf and, as their names suggest, were villages set either in heavily wooded areas, where forests were cleared, or in the northern marshes and river valleys which were reclaimed by diking.

In the forest farm village, two rows of farmhouses were ranged along both sides of a stream, separated from it by roads. The farmhouses were situated on their farm strip Hufe, which stretched from the river bed to the forest and comprised the meadow by the stream, arable land on the lower slopes and rough pastures below the forest. The separate

Hufen lay side by side, and the continuous village thus formed closely followed the river bed and was often several kilometres long.

Round villages Anger and street villages Strassendorfer were two settlement forms repeated methodically by colonial lords (or the Lokators). Their simple and functional designs guaranteed speed of colonization and a high capital return. Basically a street village was a settlement along a road, the farmhouses being placed close together on both sides of the road, so that a very dense settlement resulted. Unlike the Hufendorf, the farm buildings could be placed closer together, for the frontage did not have to be the width of the Hufe. They were widely established by the Germans throughout the colonized lands, and "the further east the colonist spread, the more regular they became".⁴¹

Tempelhof in Silesia is an excellent example of a planned Strassendorf, in which the farmsteads are placed close together on both sides with individually demarcated fields; in all, creating a dense, safe and profitable settlement.

The Angerdorf differed from the Strassendorf by having an elongated village green, around which the farmsteads were arranged. Public buildings, wells, ponds, smithies and the village church were usually built on the green.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 19.

* A morgen was an area of land which could be ploughed in one morning. The area varied between .25 and .3 ha.

The 18th century colonial settlements of Frederick the Great had standard planned farm village Hufendorf and street village Strassendorf layouts, where, in time, the size of the allotment was precisely determined by the occupier's social standing.

GERMAN FARMHOUSES

Three house forms or the variations which occurred through acculturation spread to the east of Europe.

The Upper German House Oberdeutsches Haus is a long and narrow farmhouse which evolved from a single room dwelling (hearth house) into a complex of living rooms, bedrooms and stores. This house form with its vast overhanging shingled or thatched roof is widely found in Bavaria and the Black Forest. It can sometimes be two-stories with hallways and stores at the ground level and living quarters on the upper floor.

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. Two rows of posts Ständer supported this roof and divided the plan into sections 3 Schiffig. Structural stability was given by crossbeams Kehl-balken. Access was at the gable end through a large gateway which led to the central threshing floor Diele, and to the left and right of which were the stalls, while at the end was the central open hearth Flett and living quarters.

Two main variants have appeared out of this basic house form:⁴²

The "Frisian" house is found along the northern marshes and is specially adapted to cattle farming. Both living rooms and stables are grouped around a central hay-loft. The walls were either of solid brick or half-timbered and the roof covered with thatch. The other, the "Saxon" house, has a continuous central hay-loft or threshing floor with living quarters and stables either side of it. This type of farmhouse spread east into Brandenburg and eventually separated barns and stables were incorporated into the complex grouped around a closed farmyard.

The Franconian Frankische house occurred throughout central Germany and also housed man and animals under the same roof. Unlike the trussed roofs used in the Lower German house the rafters rested on the outerwalls and rose up to a large ridge beam which was supported by a row of sturdy posts.

Access to the farmhouse was on the side elevation and approximately central. Both front and back doors lead into a wide passage hall Flur. From this access was obtained to the living areas on the left and stables and stores on the right, as well as to the large loft.

Eventually the animals, byres, hay lofts, and granaries were located in separate buildings

⁴² Dickinson, op.cit., p. 151.

grouped around a farmyard Hof.

The latter Franconian house plan included a sophisticated arrangement of cooking hearths and ovens all linked together into centrally located chimnies.⁴³ This became known as a passage-kitchen house Flurküchenhaus with either a kitchen as a separate room at the end of the passage or forming part of it thus giving a through passage plan (see further details).

The new colonial settlements created by Frederick the Great were sometimes provided with simple half timbered passage kitchen houses which were given the name Frederician cottages Friedrizianische Haus.

BUILDING TECHNIQUES

The extensive forests which first covered these regions of eastern Germany produced ideal building materials for the colonists' houses. Two basic construction techniques developed:

The first and the simplest was log construction Blockbau. This was more suited to the areas where there were extensive coniferous forests (e.g. the uplands and the areas further east towards Poland). It was used both by the indigenous Slavs and the German colonists and consisted of laying horizontally squared or rounded logs one above the

⁴³ Lindner Mark Brandenburg Vol. 2 (Photo 15)

⁴⁴ Dickinson, op.cit. p. 155 The settlements were also known as Friedrizianische Siedlung e.g. G. Rilbricht and F. Hellwig both early settlers in Hahndorf came from Friedrichsfelde.

other, skilfully interlocked at the corners.

The second was half timbered construction Fachwerk.⁴⁵ This was introduced from the west of Europe from areas where the forests had long been cleared and strong deciduous timbers like oak were used to build structural frames (box frames).

This technique is similar to the steel or concrete framed buildings which are used today. The vertical and horizontal members of the frames assisted by diagonal braces convey all the loads to the foundation whilst the infill panels between simply serve to protect the interior from the elements. Later as brick buildings became more common the less reliable wattle and daub panels were replaced by brick noggings.

Although the wealthier farmers turned to the use of stone or brick farmhouses, the use of half-timbering continued well into the 19th century, if only in the construction of barns or other outbuildings. The introduction of extensive central cooking areas in these timbered farmhouses presented the owners with considerable fire hazards. The open-hearth dwelling where the smoke was simply allowed to escape through a ridge vent must have been constantly set on fire in spite of the clay parging provided on the underside of the thatch. Gradually the practice grew of using stone or brick walls to

⁴⁵ Fachwerk means literally 'shelf-work'. It was also sometimes called Fachwerkbau meaning to build in that manner.

enclose the hearth areas with timber-framed and pugged canopies to a flue and chimney. Government regulations were introduced which defined the constructional requirements and were enforced by visiting inspectors. (e.g. In Thuringia in the 15th century householders had quarterly inspections.) Not surprisingly these regulations became much stricter both in specification and enforcement at the time of Frederick the Great. Village and fire legislations Dorf and Feuerordnungen changed the timber framed canopies to brick flues or vaults. This gave rise to the term 'Black Kitchen' Schwartz-Küche.

The house roofs were carefully framed up with heavy ceiling beams supporting at their ends the large roof rafters which were morticed into them and pinned with oak dowels. Sometimes the former were projected out over the walls as brackets so as to allow the thatching to oversail and protect the tops of the walls. These high-pitched thatched roofs left useful spaces for bedrooms, stores or houses. Normally timber gable ends were used and small loft doors and windows let into them. The ceiling beams supported thick wattle and daub ceilings which either extended to nearly the full depths of the beams or lay across them with the beams exposed. This gave excellent insulation against both the cold winter or the heat of the summer. The gable ends were sometimes ornately decorated with carved barges and a fleche or weathercock finishing the ridges.

The large entrance doors to the hall and passageway were likewise often decorated with diagonal

boarding or even studs. The living room windows were kept small; three paned casement lights, or two panes with a transom and fanlight over were common. These sometimes had decorated timber shutters for protection against inclement weather or intruders. A more spiritual protection was offered the inhabitants by the use of house sayings or quotations Hauspruch placed over the front doors or in the hallways. These placed the house under God's care in later times but the idea originated from a pre-christian era.

The more affluent houses of the later 18th century saw the introduction of double front doors, an influence which had spread through eastern European societies from the Italian and French Renaissance.

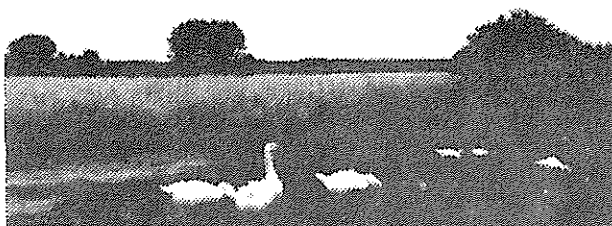
Not surprisingly, many of these building techniques were still used by the early German settlers in South Australia when they first settled in the colony. Some very important examples of the work remains, offering unique examples of a very long and developing cultural tradition.



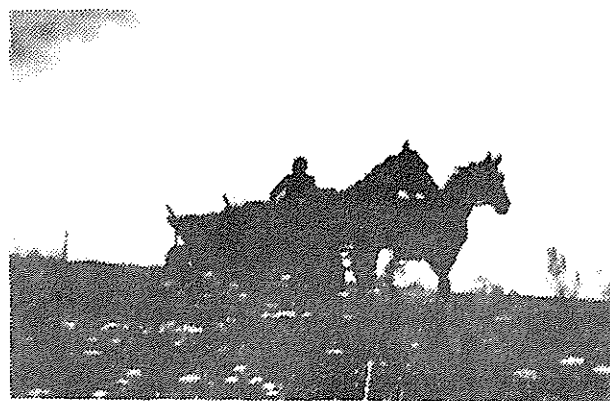
Western Poland near Lutomski Suchy 1977
(originally eastern Germany)



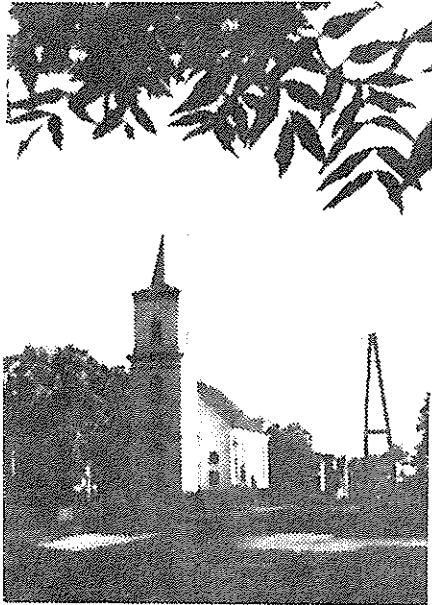
Strip field systems Poland 1977



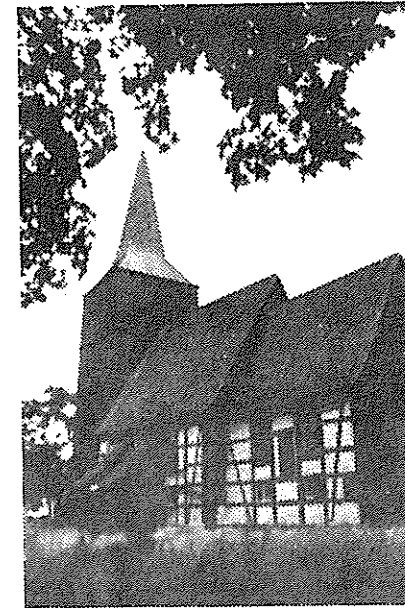
Water meadows near Klepsk (Klemzig)
Poland 1977



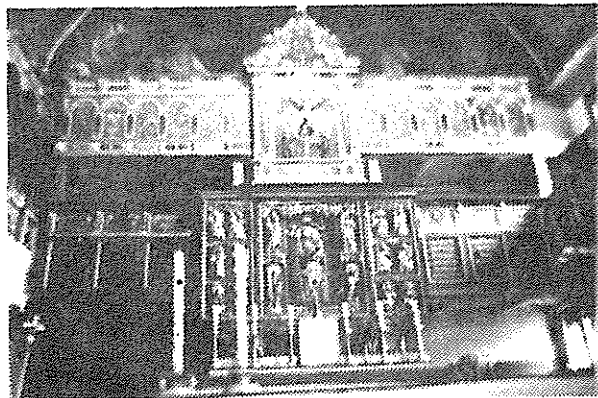
Traditional farmcart near Poznan
(Posnania) Poland 1977



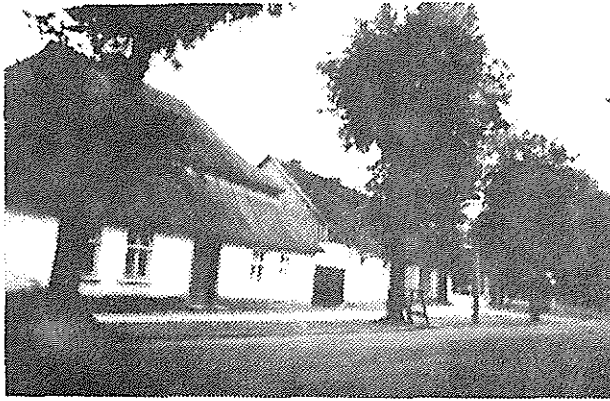
Poland 1977 (Old Lutheran
Church)
Myszećin (Muschten)



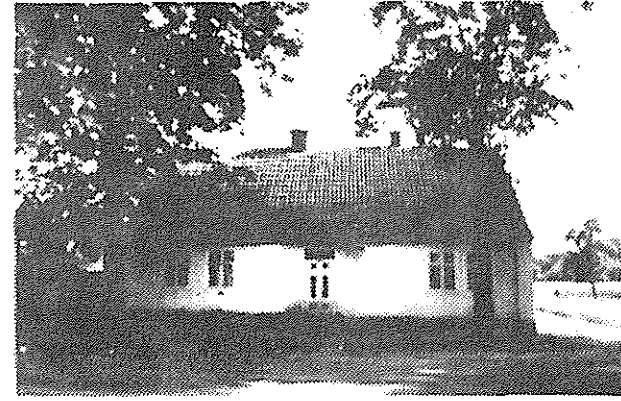
Poland 1977 (Old Lutheran
Church)
Klepsk (Klemzig)



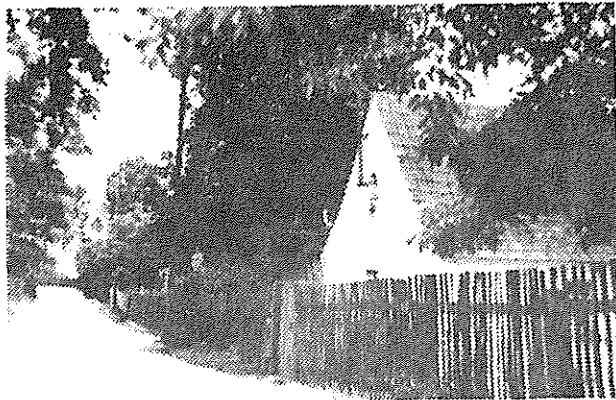
Lutheran church altar - Klepsk (Klemzig)
Poland 1977



Pollarded trees in a typical village
Trzciel (Tierschtiel) Poland 1977



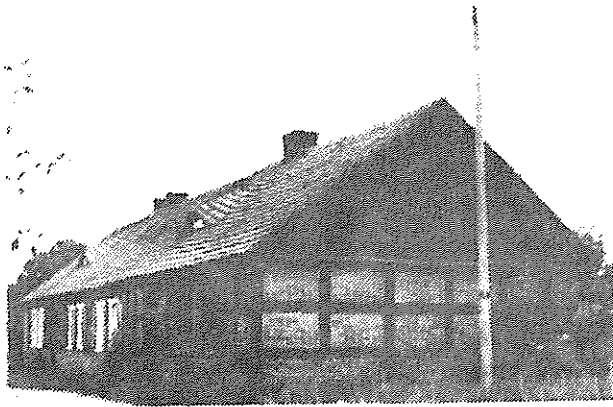
A Frederick the Great colonist's
farmhouse
Nietkowiec Poland 1977



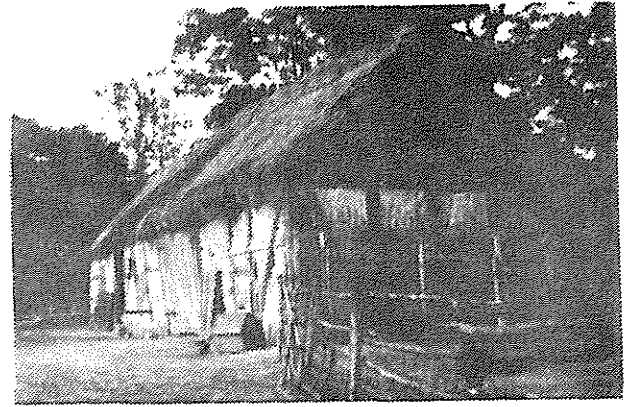
Nova Klopsk (Neu Klemzig) Poland 1977



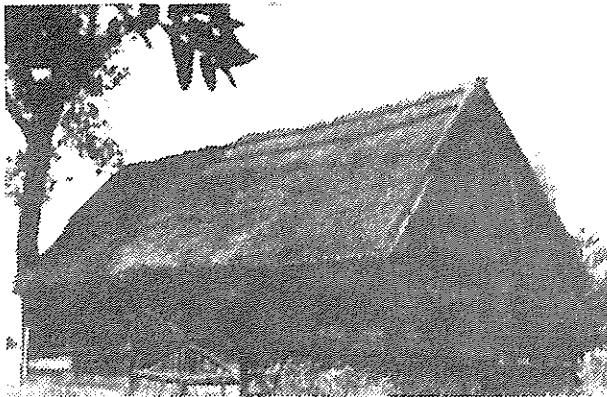
Small two roomed farmhouses similar
to ones built in South Australia.
Klopsk (Klemzig) Poland 1977



Half timbered and brick panelled house
Legowo Poland 1977. Similar to
Paechtown houses.



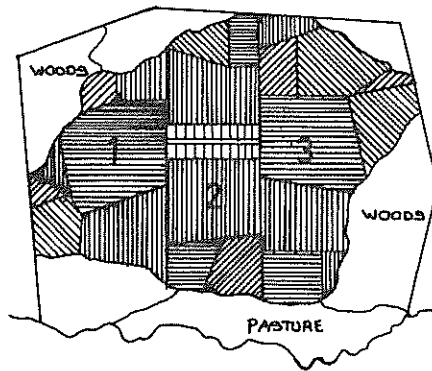
Half timbered and wattle and daub barn
Legowo Poland 1977. Similar to
Paechtown barns.



Timber framed and boarded barn.
Trcsiel (Tirschtiegel) Poland 1977.
Similar to Post's barn in Victoria Street.



Vertical boarded and shingle roofed
barn. Nova Klepsk (Neu Klemzig).
Poland 1977. Similar to Schneemilch's
barn in Victoria Street.



Legend of 3 field system
(Saxon)

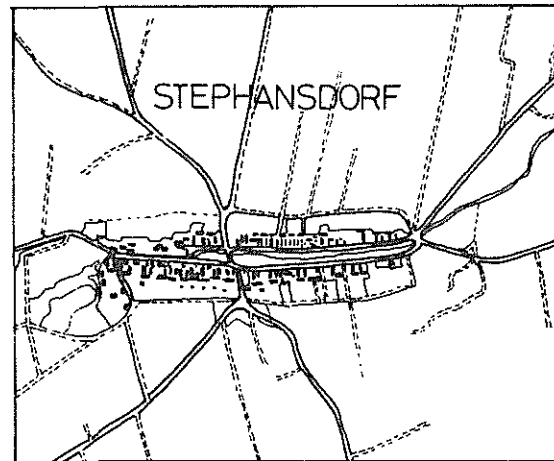
1. Winter fields
2. Summer fields
3. Fallow fields

Field system of a Germanic
village

(Gutkind E.A. Urban
Development in Central
Europe Volume 1 (London)
1964 p.130)

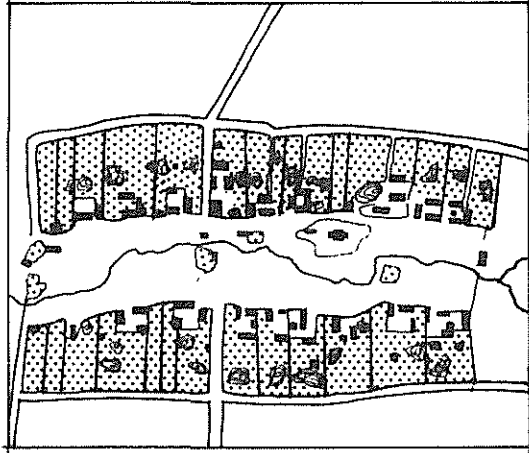


Old Prussian horseshoe
village of Sollecken
(Gutkind E.A. op. cit. p.131)



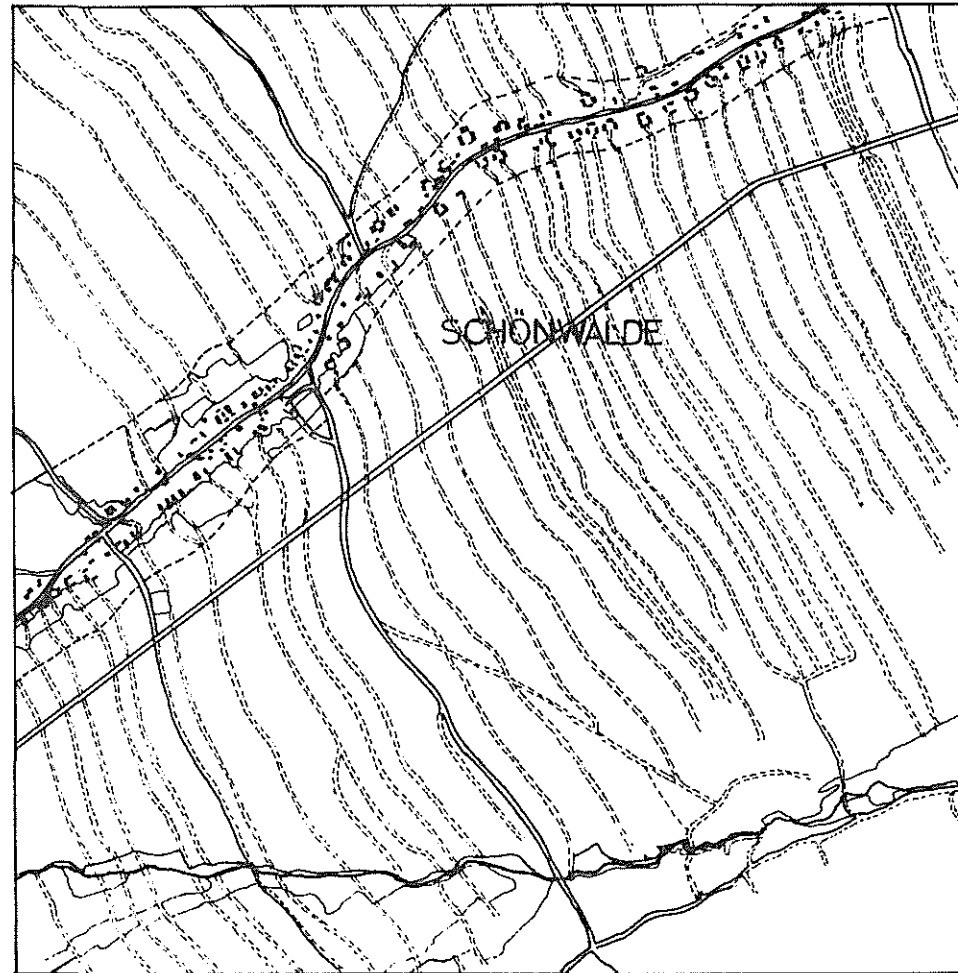
Strassendorf in Upper Silesia
(German ordinance maps - Ländliche
Siedlung in Ostdeutschland - Institut für
Angewandte Geodäsie, Außenstelle Berlin)

COMPARISON OF GERMAN VILLAGES



German Anger village of
Lichtenhagen

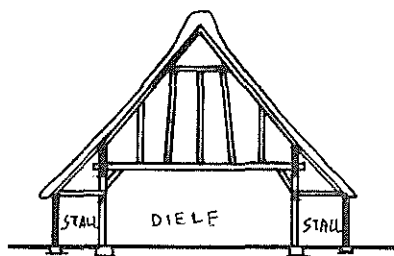
(Gutkind E.A. Urban Development in
Central Europe Volume 1 (London)
1964, p. 130)



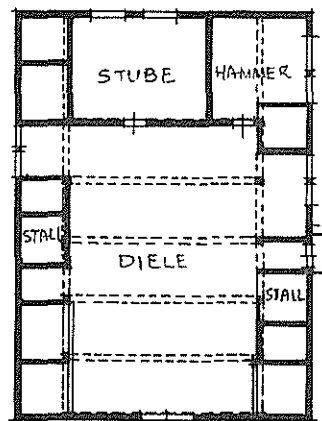
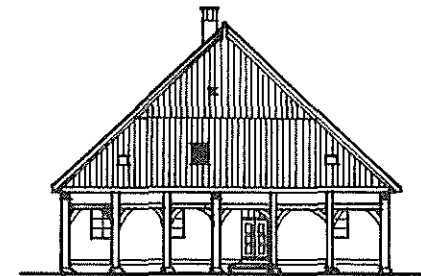
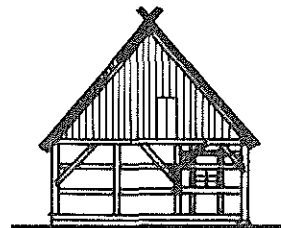
German farmlet village (Waldhufendorf) in Lower
Silesia

(German ordinance maps - Ländliche Siedlung
Ostdeutschland - Institut für Angewandte Geodäsie, Außenstelle Berlin)

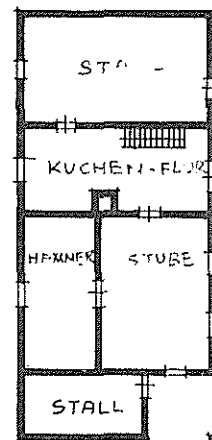
COMPARISON OF GERMAN VILLAGES



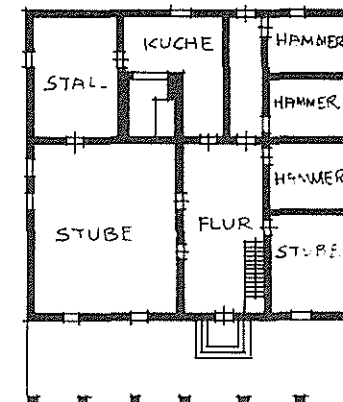
section



Lower German house
(Nieder Deutsche)



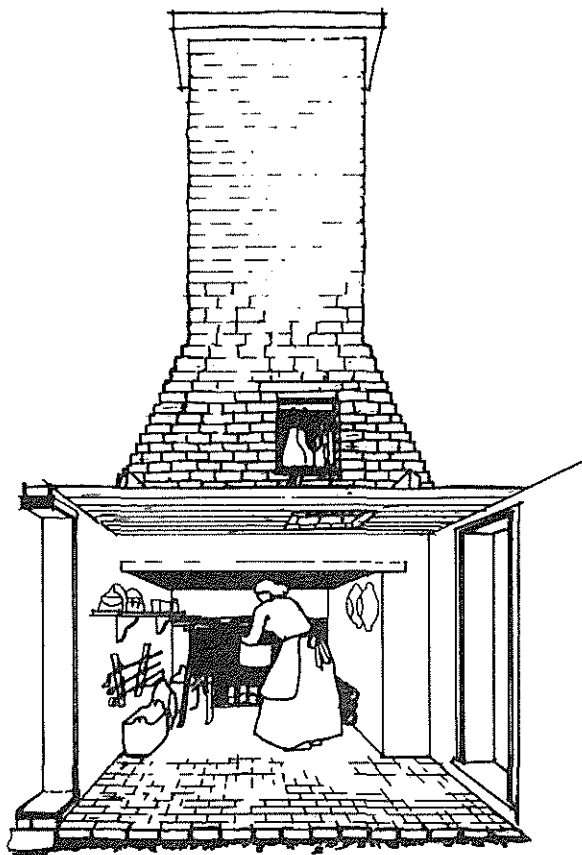
Franconian house
(Frankische)



Upper German house
(Ober Deutsche)

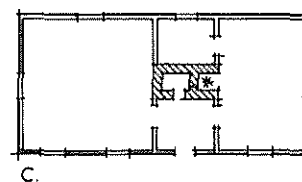
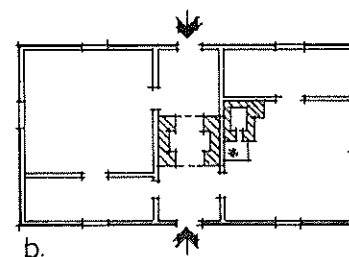
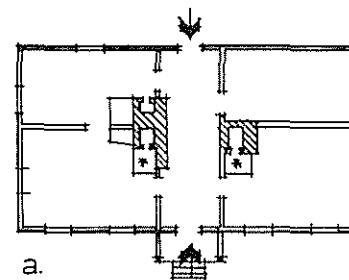
E.Redslob
Deutsche Volkskunst

COMPARATIVE PLANS of East German farmhouses



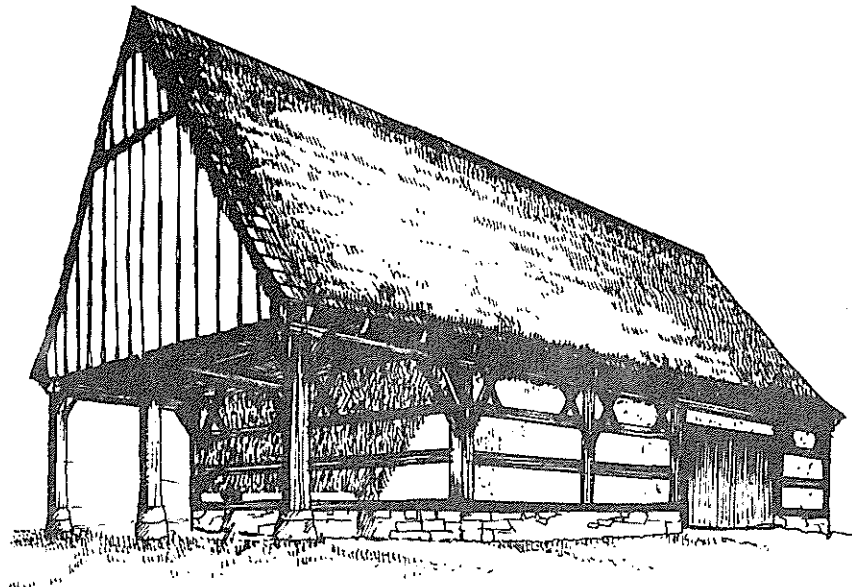
Detail of black kitchen and chimney
(Handke House, Barossa Survey, Volume 2, 1977
p.173)

a. & b. through passage
plans and cooking hearths.
c. closed passage plan
and oven.



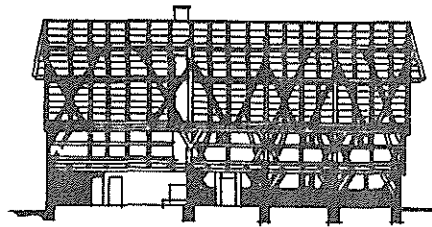
Through passage and kitchen/parlours
(Kopkowicz, F. Ciesielstwo Polskie, Warsaw 1953)

COOKING HALLS AND BLACK KITCHENS



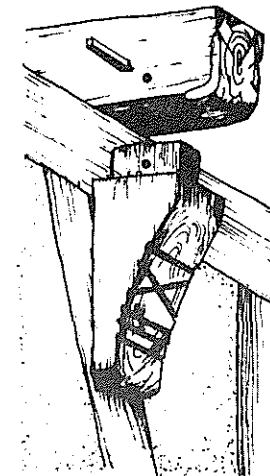
Lower Silesian barn

(Loewe, L. Schlesische Holzbauten (Dusseldorf) 1969
p. 36)



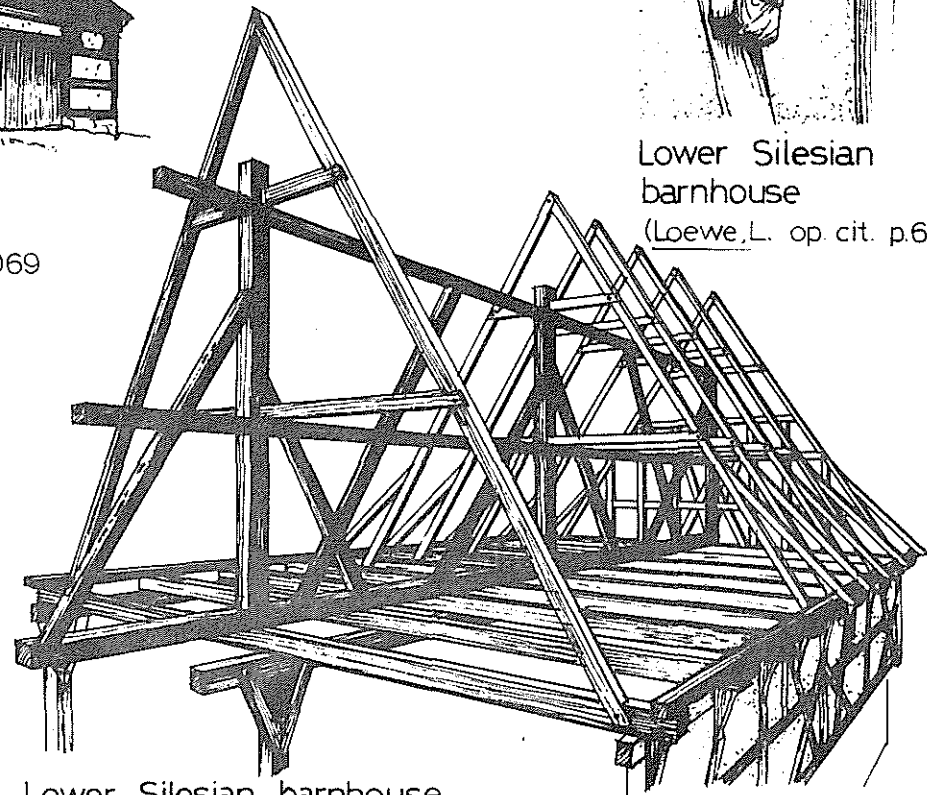
Lower Silesian barnhouse

(Loewe, L. op. cit. p. 69)



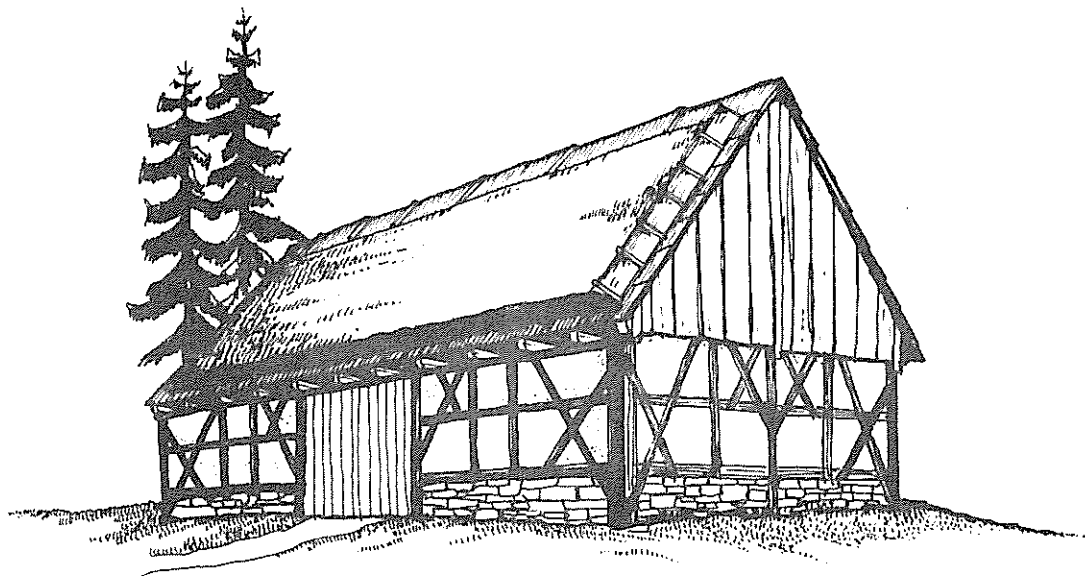
Lower Silesian
barnhouse

(Loewe, L. op. cit. p. 69)



Lower Silesian barnhouse
(Loewe, L. op. cit. p. 69)

TIMBER FRAMING TECHNIQUES

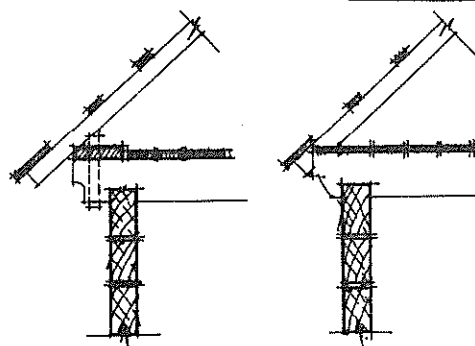


Thatched roofing details

(Loewe, L. Schlesische Holzbauten (Düsseldorf) 1969 p 141)

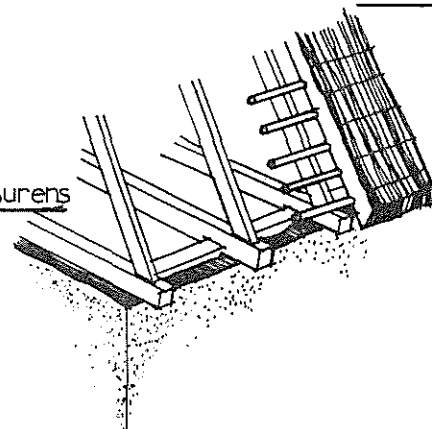


(Loewe, L. op. cit. p 165)



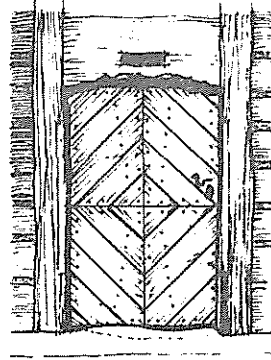
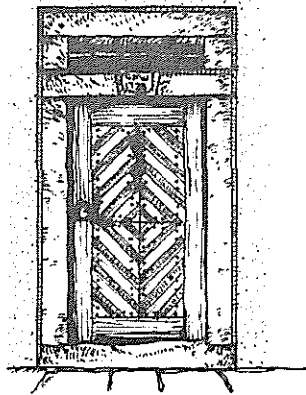
Log cabin details (blockbau)

(Shimanski, E. Das Bauernhaus Masuriens
(Königsberg) 1936)



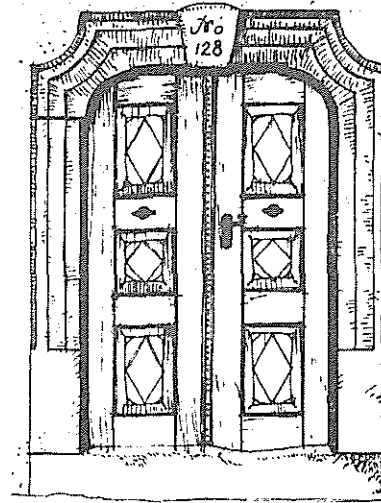
Construction of timber
roofs and thatching
(Kopkiewicz, F. Ciesielstwo Polskie
(Warsaw) 1953)

BLOCK BAU & ROOF CONSTRUCTION DETAILS



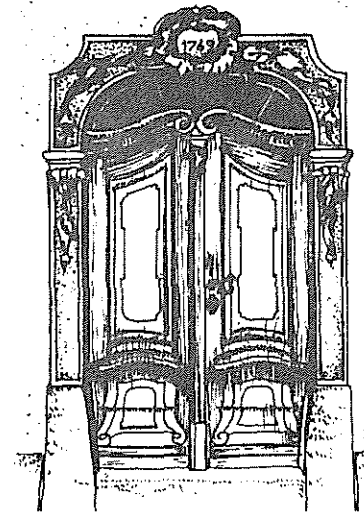
Iron studded front doors

(Loewe, L. Schlesische Holzbauten (Düsseldorf)
1969 p.66)



18th century double front doors

(Loewe, L. op cit. p.124)



The wide entrance doors to the hall and passageway were often decorated with diagonal boarding and iron studs. In the 18th century, double doors appeared probably in relation to a changing use of the front part of the houses and where an attitude of social display was inherited from the dwellings of the richer members of the community.

See Hahndorf examples on page 171

DOOR DETAILS

CHAPTER 2 GERMAN MIGRATIONS & EMIGRATION TO SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
PART 1

THE HISTORY OF GERMAN MIGRATION AND THE REASONS FOR EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Migration in Europe had been an on-going phenomena since the start of Völkerwanderung (Peoples' migrations) in the third century. Between 200 and 600 A.D. Europe was transformed. For Britain it was the transformation by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes into England, for modern Germans and French it was the establishment of the Frankish Kingdom in 481 A.D. Some 300 years later in 771 Charles the Great became ruler of the Frankish Kingdom. He pushed the borders of the Empire further to the north east and south and it embraced both modern France and Germany. After his death the Empire rapidly split into what was to become modern France and Germany.

With Charles the Great began the Germanic Drang nach Osten drive to the east. This movement to the east continued for hundreds of years reaching its height in the eighteenth century under the semi-independent states of Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia. During the Drang nach Osten the Slavic lands east of the Elbe were gradually overrun by the Germans. However with the exception of east Prussia, that is the area around Königsberg, the lands to the east of the Oder River could not be called conquered in the accepted sense of the word. German speaking cities were founded while local commercial resources were exploited. German monasteries and cities became spiritual, cultural and economic centres. The German peasants who settled in these lands in their well laid out Prussian villages introduced better farming implements and the three crop system. Thus the whole of eastern Europe

was dotted with German settlements brought about by a combination of enterprising merchants, missionary zeal and land hungry peasants. The dense pockets of settlement stretched as far east as the Volga River as from 1763 onwards great numbers of Germans had moved into Southern Russia.

Thus the Germans can be seen as a restless nation, eager for new commercial opportunities and new lands as the chance to obtain either in their original homeland became limited. But as the centuries passed the opportunities for the Germans to move east or indeed anywhere in the old world gradually dried up. The population of Europe increased from around 140 million in 1750 to 255 million in 1850. The population of Germany more than doubled between 1800 and 1900, from 24.5 million to 56.4 million.¹ At least in the first half of the nineteenth century the growth of German industry was not rapid enough to absorb the excess of population on the land. The rapid growth of population had also put extreme pressure on existing resources. Between 1820 and 1850 the price of maize, potatoes and clothing doubled in Germany while there had been only a very slight rise in wages. Particularly hard hit were the small farmers, craft and tradesmen, and weekly and daily paid labourers. The worst affected area of Germany was the southwest. Nevertheless all parts of Germany were hit including east Prussia. In east Prussia the ending of Feudalism in 1810 had hit the small landowner hard. The nobility had seen the ending of serfdom as a threat to their position and attempted by increasing the size of their holdings to secure their future. Many small farmers

¹ Moltmann G. (ed) Amerikastudien p.9.

could not keep up the redemption of their debts to their former feudal lords and they were forced into the sale of their lands. In Pommerania and Silesia between 1816 and 1859 over 12% of the land was lost to the small farmer. If he refused to become a daily wage earner he had no other course but to migrate. From this area came many Germans to South Australia.

"The Auswanderung (migration from Germany) of 1830-45 was, with the exception of certain northern areas, decidedly a movement of what may be called the lower middle: neither great landowners nor harvest hands, but small landowners who cultivated their own land; not apprentices, nor unskilled labourers, nor great merchants, but independent village shop keepers and artisans, next to no one from the larger towns and cities.... They were people who had something to lose and were losing it, squeezed out by interacting social and economic forces. A growth of population without a corresponding growth of economic bases."² This cross section of occupations is exactly reflected in the kind of migrant who came to South Australia.

In Prussia a complicating religious factor was added to this economic turmoil. The King of Prussia, Frederick William III, had made several attempts since 1817 to try to unite the various branches of the Protestant faith in his Kingdom. In 1822 he introduced a book of worship which many Lutherans found unacceptable. This conflict within the church

2 Walker, M. Germany and the Emigration 1816-1855.

intensified in the 1830's, coming to a head in 1834 when the King decided that as he had failed to persuade many Lutherans to use the official order of worship, he would now resort to compulsion.

Petitions for toleration were lodged with the King and the Government, but, instead of toleration, severe conflict with the State powers ensued, and the Prussians were subjected to persecution. A letter to George Fife Angas stated "Formerly we were always in hopes that if our severe persecution could be brought to the ears of the King through a deputation, his heart would be touched, and he would be inclined to help and protect us. But although toward the end of August, 1837, such a deputation did take place at Berlin...yet no answer was received... Afterwards the persecutions, the imprisonments, the fines which had been levied, the taking away of our clothes, cattle and domestic and agricultural instruments....were recorded as the occasion of these measures being taken."³

A system of persecutions was begun against objectors to the liturgy, and by degrees the measures taken grew more oppressive. Pastors (who held quasi-official positions in the government) who refused to adopt the new form were dismissed from their charges, forbidden to attend private meetings of their parishioners for the purpose of instructing, and were subjected to fines, police supervision and banishment.

The centre of the resistance was Breslau, the capital of Silesia. Yet resistance to the use of the new book of worship was to be found throughout Prussia.

3. Angas Papers, Quarto Series, 1312a, 1312b. S.A.A.

One such group was to be found at the village of Klemzig, in the province of Brandenburg but close to the borders of both Posnania and Silesia. Their Pastor was August Ludwig Christian Kavel, who was born on September 3, 1798, at Berlin. After he had completed his schooling he was sent to the grey Cloisters College where he matriculated, and he then studied theology at Berlin University. In 1826, he was appointed pastor of the congregations of Klemzig, Harthe and Gollzen, in the district of Züllichau, having been ordained at Berlin. In 1835, Pastor Kavel tendered his resignation from the official government "union Church", applied for membership in the Church of the "Old Lutheran" belief and was subsequently ordained Lutheran pastor at Posnan. He still conducted services at Klemzig, and the decision to emigrate matured among this Klemzig congregation. In 1836 he journeyed to Hamburg to arrange, like many other pastors, for the emigration of his flock to the United States. However, local and temporary financial difficulties forced Kavel to look further afield. At the invitation of the Hamburg police chief, Senator Hadtwalcher, he went to London to meet a director of the recently formed South Australian Company, George Fife Angas, who was able to arrange for his congregation to emigrate to the Southern continent.⁴

Although George Fife Angas was extremely willing to accept his fellow dissenters as settlers in South Australia, financial and political difficulties hindered the immediate departure of Pastor Kavel and his congregation.

⁴ Hebart, T. The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia.

Thinking that there would be no hindrance to their departure, the Prussians sold their property, the negotiations made with the Government being of such a character as to lead to the conclusion that no opposition would be offered. However, the Prussian Government refused to issue passports and the intending migrants were kept in a state of uncertainty, during which time their savings were reduced to practically nothing. Finally in January 1838, the Prussian Government granted passports and Kavel informed Angas that 166 persons, belonging to four different districts, were ready to emigrate, provided the South Australian Company would furnish certificates that they were prepared to receive them, and state under what circumstances the directors would embark the emigrants, advance the passage money and employ them in the colony.⁵

However, the finances of the South Australian Company had deteriorated and Angas could not induce his company to finance the Lutheran emigration.⁶ Angas decided to ship the Lutherans over to South Australia at his own risk and his own expense.⁷ The loan moneys were vested in several trustees and the contracts and agreements between George Fife Angas and the Lutherans regarding conditions of the settlement were signed. On June 27, 1838 the emigrants boarded their vessel, the "Prince George" at Hamburg then sailed for Plymouth. Angas went to Plymouth to meet the vessel before it sailed to South Australia. Pastor Kavel also boarded the "Prince George" at Plymouth. The "Prince George" was followed by three more shiploads of Germans bound for South Australia, the "Zebra",⁸ carrying two hundred passengers which departed Hamburg on August 21, 1838,

⁵ Hodder, E. George Fife Angas, p.170

⁶ Hebart, T. op. cit. p.29

⁷ S.A.A. Newspaper Cuttings, Vol. 1 p.272

⁸ Hebart, T. op.cit. p.35

the "Catherine" carrying one hundred and twenty passengers which departed on September 26, 1838,⁹ and the "Bengalee" with some twenty passengers. Those German families who established Hahndorf were among the Lutheran emigrants on board the "Zebra".

Thus the emigration of the German Lutherans to South Australia must be seen in the wider context of a thousand years of continuing German migration to the east in search of new land, and since the latter half of the eighteenth century with its population explosion, the rush of migration to the United States of America and to a lesser extent South America. In this flood across the Atlantic from Germany, a small group from the eastern part of Germany seeking religious freedom found their way, more by accident than design, to South Australia. As a result of their migration and the fulfillment of their hopes, others were to follow. A "chain migration" had begun between this part of Germany and South Australia. As the persecution of the "Old Lutherans" was to stop in 1840 on the death of Frederick William III, those who followed, with the exception of Pastor Fritzsche's congregation, did not come for religious reasons.

The more traditional reasons for emigration governed their thinking. Bad times in Germany and the possibility of unlimited opportunity in the new land beckoned with every letter sent back to Germany, although for most the Lutheran church was to be a source of spiritual strength and emotional

unity in Australia. Although the migration to South Australia was but a trickle compared to the stream that went to the Americas, by 1900, Germans and their descendants constituted 10% of the population of the colony and formed the first permanent, non English speaking European group to settle in the Australian colonies.¹⁰

9 Hodder, E. op. cit. p. 189

10 Harmstorf, I. "German migration, with particular reference to Hamburg, to South Australia 1851-1884" p. 7

CHAPTER 2 GERMAN MIGRATIONS & EMIGRATION TO SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
PART 2

THE ARRIVAL IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The "Prince George", with Pastor Kavel, arrived in South Australia in November, 1838, and the "Zebra" arrived on December 28, 1838, two years to the day after the proclamation of South Australia as a British province. They had left Tirschtiegel on June 8, 1838, on two river boats, not long after the departure of the people on board the "Prince George". The "Zebra" people had arrived at Hamburg in time to see the "Prince George" leave, but they themselves had to wait until August 21 before the "Zebra" was ready to leave Hamburg.¹¹ The migrants had journeyed by canal and the River Elbe to reach Hamburg. The "Zebra" was commanded by Captain Dirk Meinertz Hahn, and in his diary he stated: "On July 28 I received the emigrants on board, one hundred and ninety nine souls. They were certainly very religious. Every morning a spiritual talk was given, prayers offered and hymns sung. In the harbour the singing sounded beautiful and attracted so many people on board in the evenings that there was no room to move about. On August 1, 1838, at 6 a.m., the steam launch drew us out of the city. Already on the 17th a child died, a second one on the 19th. On the 21st August we sailed out to sea. There were then on board one hundred and six adult passengers and ninety one children."¹² The "Zebra" also carried a general cargo for the new settlement, comprising one hundred barrels of pork, one hundred barrels of flour, two boxes of boots and shoes, forty eight water casks, and forty one

thousand bricks.¹³

The "Prince George" people had settled in huts at Port Adelaide while negotiations were being made about the acquisition of land for them. G. Flaxman, chief clerk for George Fife Angas, who had come out with the first group of Germans on the "Prince George", assumed responsibility for settling them on land owned by George Fife Angas in the Torrens Valley, a few kilometres east of Adelaide.¹⁴ As a consequence, the German community at Klemzig (named after the German village from which Pastor Kavel and his congregation had come) was established. On arrival at Port Adelaide, the "Zebra" migrants disembarked. Port Adelaide was then Port Misery. The men waded ashore from the ship, while the women and children were carried pick-a-back by the sailors. Port Misery was at the time a swamp, and at high tide the water covered the face of the land some miles inland.¹⁵ They then occupied the huts which had been built on dry land near Port Adelaide, and which had been left by Pastor Kavel's congregation when they settled at Klemzig.

Captain Hahn immediately began to inquire about gaining suitable land on which his passengers could settle. In his diary Hahn wrote: "Pastor Kavel's aim was to rent the second nearby section of land, also owned by Mr. Angas, for our people and to

11 Wittwer, T. History of Hahndorf p. 1

12 Diary of Captain Dirk Meinertz Hahn, in Brauer, A. Under the Southern Cross p. 29

13 The Adelaide Observer June 11, 1904

14 S.A.A. Newspaper Cuttings, Volume 1 p. 122

15 Australian Lutheran Almanac, 1928 p. 45

build a church and school there in order thereby to unite all the emigrants, in one German congregation."¹⁶ Thus, the German emigrants who had come out to South Australia in the "Zebra" had the opportunity to settle at Klemzig.

Captain Hahn, who was trying to help his passengers in every way possible, had formed a very poor opinion of the quality of the land at Klemzig, and stated: "Our emigrants being nearly all peasants and better informed than I on such matters, I could only advise them that their leaders should first inspect the soil of the land intended for them by Pastor Kavel, and then take counsel together on whether these thirty-eight families could support themselves on it ..."¹⁷ The leaders of the "Zebra" migrants decided that they could not gain a livelihood from this section of land, and when again urged to take out a lease on Mr. Angas's land, they approached Captain Hahn. He advised, "First, you must have sufficient land on which thirty-eight huts can be erected and with each hut a garden in which you will be able to raise produce ... As soon as your economic conditions improve, rent more land for yourselves and gradually acquire more cattle ... but above all, be careful not to get deeper into debt than you already are."¹⁸

The section of land on which the German Lutherans

16 Extracts from the 'Reminiscences of Captain Dirk Meinertz Hahn, 1838-1839' in South Australiana, Volume III No. 2 (Sept. 1964) p. 115

17 Ibid. p. 116

18 Ibid. p. 118

had camped was owned by Osmond Gilles, the first Treasurer of the province. Hahn asked Gilles to lease some land to the immigrants to tide them over the initial stages of forming a settlement. However, Gilles refused: "I cannot do it. These men are used to praying and singing, and such characters are usually lazy."¹⁹

19 The Adelaide Chronicle 21/9/1933 p. 50

CHAPTER 2 GERMAN MIGRATIONS & EMIGRATION TO SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
PART 3

THE FIRST SPECIAL SURVEY, W.M. DUTTON
AND THE HAHNDORF CONTRACT

The events leading to the establishment of Hahndorf were the results of shrewd political manoeuvring, good timing and luck. The person principally responsible for securing the first Special Survey at Mount Barker on January 1, 1839 was William Hampton Dutton.

Special Surveys were introduced into the South Australian Company's land regulations in 1835 by one of its commissioners and founders George Fife Angas, enabling large blocks of land of 15,000 acres to be set aside for privileged buyers. Under the regulations "large capitalists"²⁰ were given the priority to choose fifty 80 acre sections at the cost of £1 per acre, irrespective of the location or quality of the land surveyed. By this means the Commissioners hoped to obtain more funds for assisting the migration of farm labourers and tradesmen.

The territory of the first Special Survey which was defined by its claimant, Dutton, as land in the Mt. Barker Valley, "including the cattle stations of Messrs. Hack and Finnis"²¹ had received considerable acclaim by early explorers and overlanders. Amongst those who quickly recognised the fertility of the area was Joseph Hawdon who arrived in Adelaide in April 1838 with 300 head of cattle.²² He was followed in July by E.J. Eyre and then in August by Captain Charles Sturt, who with

Captain John Finnis completed the gruelling journey from Sydney in approximately 3 months. Finnis immediately established a station in the Mt. Barker region to await an improved market value for their stock.²³

Captain Sturt, who had originally named Mt. Barker in 1830 after seeing the mountain from the River Murray, wrote glowing reports about the district. In a letter to the Acting Governor G.M. Stephens he said that the district "... in its present state, far exceeds in richness that portion of N.S.W. that I ever saw. Indeed even in England I have seldom observed a closer sward or more abundant herbage growing."²⁴ Similarly Johannes Menge, the S.A. Company's official geologist, wrote to Angas in June 1838 about his journeys towards the Murray and likened the Mt. Barker district with its lush and undulating plains "exactly like the Parks I saw in London."²⁵ At first, despite these and many other favourable reports that circulated around the young colony, no attempts were made to secure this valuable land which still remained the home of the local Aborigines or itinerant colonials such as wood cutters, shingle splitters and bush rangers. Gradually the land attracted illegal settlers popularly known as squatters.

20 Pike, D. Paradise of Dissent p. 123

21 Perkins A.J. An Agricultural and Pastoral State in the Making p. 125

22 Captain John Finnis 1802-1872 p. 7

23 Captain John Finnis was Dutton's father-in-law and a partner in this first important land selection.

24 Perkins op. cit. p. 118

25 Letter Menge to Angas June 1838 Angas Papers S.A.A.

John Barton Hack was perhaps the best known squatter in the district. He established a cattle station but failed to obtain a title to the land being content merely to squat there. The reason for his and other squatters' short-sightedness may have simply been a lack of finance. On the other hand Perkins suggests that they may all have been "playing a waiting hand" like David McLaren, the Commercial Manager of the S.A. Company.²⁶ The latter had the unenviable task of trying to select land for the Company but was timorous "lest he should fail to secure the best possible sites in the province." In 1838 he sought the advice of Joseph Hawdon and Captain Sturt who were well qualified to advise him on suitable locations where Special Surveys should be made. His efforts to jealously guard any discoveries are clearly indicated in a letter written to Angas in May 1837 by the experienced explorer Menge who complained that McLaren "will have my discoveries kept secret."²⁷ A similar plea, incidentally, made by Angas who instructed Menge to "continually inform me of any discoveries."²⁸

W.H. Dutton journeyed from Sydney to S.A. in December 1838 on the brig 'Parland', accompanied by his wife, two children and a cargo of horses and

sheep.²⁹ Almost immediately on his arrival, Dutton took out the first Special Survey which hit the young colony like a "bombshell".³⁰ Hack was ousted from his profitable squatting ground by "some foreign speculators from Sydney who obtained the Treasurer's receipt before his own money was tendered."³¹ Likewise David McLaren, who had at last decided to secure a Special Survey for his Company, was forestalled by Dutton's action which was taken as "a blow to his pride and business efficiency".³²

Following Dutton's application, the Adelaide paper jubilantly announced the purchase of the survey and linked Dutton's name with that of Messrs. D. MacFarlane and T. Moore as partners in his land purchase. Later the newspaper corrected this statement by announcing that Mr. Moore had no connection with the purchase and that the third partner was in fact "Captain Finnis who had accompanied Captain Sturt overland from Sydney, possesses a large interest in this fortunate selection."³³

It appears that the Colonial Treasurer, Osmond

26 Perkins op. cit. p. 118

27 Letter Menge to Angas 16 May 1837 Angas Papers S.A.A.

28 Letter Angas to Menge 22 Jan. 1838 Angas Papers S.A.A.

29 Perkins op. cit. p. 119

30 Morphett, G.C. Early Mount Barker p. 4

31 Quoted by H.J. Finnis in Captain John Finnis 1802-1872 p. 12

32 Perkins op. cit. p. 122

33 S.A. Gazette and Colonial Register 2.2.1839 p. 2 col. 4

Gilles, was also involved in the land deal.³⁴ When the boundaries for the Survey were fixed and the fifty 80 acre sections pegged out, the partnership agreed on the 22nd January 1839 "to divide the land into sixteen equal portions."³⁵ On the following 28th September though, it was decided to ballot all the land in single sections.³⁶

W.H. Dutton was the eldest son of Frederick Hugh Hampton Dutton, British vice-consul and agent for packets in Cuxhaven, Germany.

In his youth W.H. Dutton had lived and travelled widely in Prussia.³⁷ According to Iwan he had also studied under the well known agricultural scientist Thaer who had spread the use of the Norfolk or three field system in Germany.³⁸ Therefore Dutton was well acquainted with the German mode of agricultural life and farming.

He and Captain Hahn had met at Port Adelaide. Hahn wrote in his diary that W.H. Dutton's brother represented him in Cuxhaven when the "Zebra" sailed. He also related an incident in February, 1837, when "the Zebra stuck fast at the entrance to

34 Finnis, H.J. The First Special Survey p. 49
See also Section 40.14 (Gilleston) Hd.
Onkaparinga

35 Ibid. p. 49

36 Ibid. p. 50

37 Letter from Kavel to Angas 5.2.1839

38 Iwan, W. Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien

the harbour in a most dangerous position ... the whole ship trembled and started to leak and was filling with water."³⁹ It is probable that Dutton had been informed of the pending arrival at Port Misery (Port Adelaide) of the German migrants. It can also be assumed that Dutton's brother would have known something of the affairs of his brother in Australia and mentioned them to Captain Hahn. W.H. Dutton realised that the Germans had landed in the colony without debts, but also without money, but neither he nor the German immigrants saw how they were to purchase land in those circumstances. Mr. Dutton decided to give the German immigrants what encouragement he could, and thus, invited Captain Hahn to accompany him on a visit of inspection to Mount Barker.⁴⁰ On Thursday, January 24, 1839, a coach party of men and women departed Adelaide for the Mount Barker district.

On arrival at Messrs. Dutton, Finnis and McFarlane's property, the coach party stopped to survey the scene from the top of a hill. Captain Hahn was so impressed with the commanding view that he stated, "if only I could get my people settled here I would be able to leave them with an easy heart."⁴¹ After a kangaroo hunt, Mr. Dutton and Captain Hahn conferred, and Hahn detailed the requirements of the migrants - land to settle on, and seed, cows and bullocks to tide them over the

39 South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register 1/1/1839

40 The Adelaide Chronicle 21/9/1933 p. 50

41 Australian Lutheran Almanac 1939 p. 42

initial stage of development.⁴² Mr. Dutton asked for Captain Hahn's opinion of the site and he replied that he had been brought up a country lad and what he now saw so impressed him that if his family were with him and his ships were in the hands of her owners, he would gladly spend the rest of his days in these valleys.⁴³ Captain Hahn asked that the immigrants be allowed a portion of the land, fifty to a hundred acres, which would not give the best returns unless it was cultivated. To this McFarlane replied, "I am not altogether disinclined to let your immigrants come here". Finnis said, "I would be pleased to see them settle here, just to find out what industrious workmen can do with this land".

Thus even if Dutton had not previously envisaged settling German farmers on his land, when they did appear on the scene under Hahn's capable guidance, he and his partners facilitated in the settlement. His previous experiences in Germany would ensure that he knew how to exploit the newcomers' talents as farmers.

A contract was drawn up between Captain Hahn and the three owners of the site. Messrs. Dutton, Finnis and McFarlane finally agreed after some negotiation to transfer to the German immigrants one hundred and fifty acres, rent free, for one year; thirty-eight acres of this land were to be reserved for building allotments and the rest to be

used for agriculture. Provisions were to be supplied to the German immigrants for one year until they could provide for themselves by their own industry.⁴⁴ On arrival at the site, the immigrants were to be loaned six cows and were to have use of the cattle and pastures free. They were also to be supplied free with fowls, ducks, geese and pigs.⁴⁵ If at the end of one year the venture proved successful, each family was to obtain at a reasonable rent as much land as they could work. The owners also agreed to build a church for the settlers, if they helped with the labour, and between them promised £40 per year for a supervisor and treasurer of the undertaking.⁴⁶

After the contract was signed, Captain Hahn returned to Port Adelaide to inform his passengers of the successful transaction which had been completed. However, removal from Port Adelaide, into this valley beyond Mount Lofty some thirty kilometres from Adelaide, was attended with the greatest difficulties. Carriers asked £7 per load to carry the people's goods across the ranges. (A large amount for wages for unskilled labour were about £2 a week). Only a very few of the Germans could afford that price, and thus most of them were forced⁴⁷ to carry their belongings in the best way they could.

⁴² The Adelaide Chronicle 21/9/1933 p. 50

⁴³ Australian Lutheran Almanac 1939 p. 44

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ The Adelaide Chronicle 21/9/1933 p. 50

⁴⁶ Australian Lutheran Almanac 1939 p. 44

⁴⁷ The Adelaide Chronicle
1933 p. 50

The men constructed wooden hand carts of all shapes and sizes from what materials they could procure, in which they placed their goods, while the women and children strapped their belongings on their backs.⁴⁸ Thus, tramping backwards and forwards, dumping their goods in a pile along the roadside and going back for more, they at last reached Adelaide.

After a few days of recuperation in Adelaide, they continued their journey towards the hills. At the foot of the hills, a little to the north of present day Glen Osmond, they made another halt, built temporary huts and made final preparations for the upward climb.⁴⁹ Each family set out, following one of the spurs between Beaumont and Glen Osmond, and then along the ridge to Hahndorf.⁵⁰ To many of these people this was to be a familiar track, for later, when goods and produce had to be taken to the market in Adelaide and provisions brought back from town, they followed this same route to and from Adelaide.⁵¹ They slept in the open and often lived on herbs which grew around them.⁵² The first of the group reached their goal in March, 1839, and the last few did not arrive until towards the end of May. In recognition of the services rendered to them by Captain Hahn, the pioneers resolved to name the settlement Hahndorf (Hahn's village). Hahn had

brought them safely to South Australia and had interested himself in finding a suitable settlement for them, and the name they gave to this settlement was an expression of their gratitude.⁵³ And soon, the success of the settlement, for both the partners and the pioneers, was noted:

"The rising German village of Hahndorf which forms part of the Mount Barker property ensures purchasers a supply of the most valuable domestic and agricultural labour."⁵⁴

48 Ibid.

49 Newspaper cuttings Vol. 1, p. 179

50 Australian Lutheran Almanac 1928 p. 48








51 The Adelaide Observer 1904 p. 36

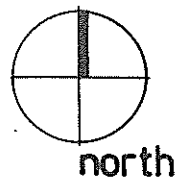
52 The Adelaide Chronicle 1933 p. 50

53 Australian Lutheran Almanac 1928 p. 54

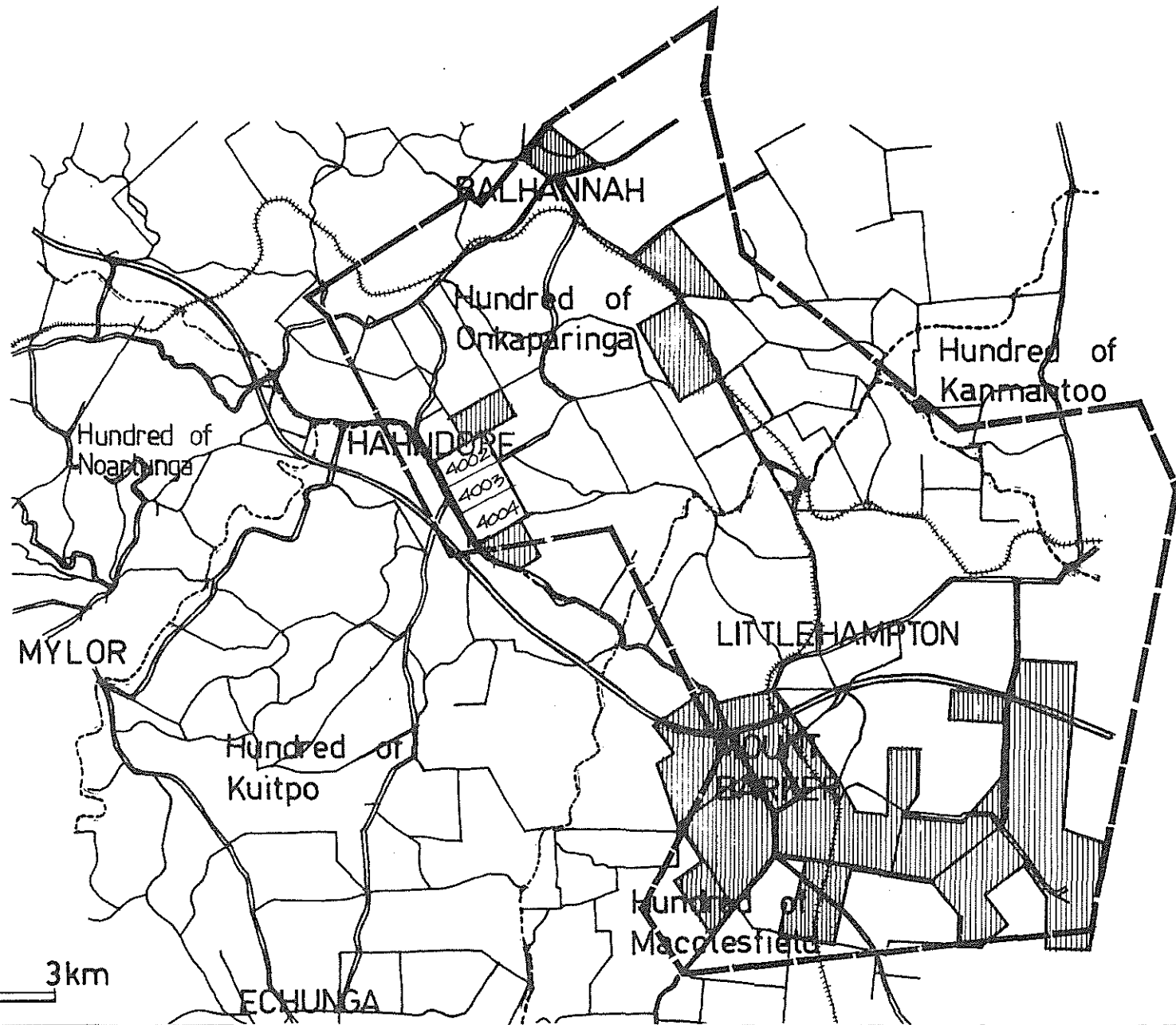
54 In Finnis Captain John Finnis, 1802-1872 p. 13

KEY

-  Railway
-  Minor Roads
-  Major Roads
-  Freeway
-  Hundreds
-  Total of 15,000 acres selected by William Hampden Dutton
-  Boundary of the First Special Survey claimed by William Hampden Dutton on 11.1.1839



0 1 2 3km



THE FIRST SPECIAL SURVEY

CHAPTER 2 GERMAN MIGRATIONS & EMIGRATION TO SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
PART 4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN VILLAGES IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

It can be seen that the German pioneers who first settled in South Australia were continuing a long tradition of colonisation, accustomed as they were to being settled in planned communities.

"Both the new settlement forms [in 18th 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 and equal size. These forms came straight from the drawing board with little amendment 'in the field'."55

After Frederick the Great's capture of Silesia from Austria in 1740, he began his great works of reclamation and resettlement. At his death it has been estimated that one third of the population of Prussia consisted of colonists or the descendants of recent colonists.⁵⁶

Some of these people later settled in South Australia as indicated by the title of "colonist" after the name of several of Hahndorf's earliest settlers.

The concept of a Government planned network of roads and villages (towns) as perceived by the South Australian Land Commission and its surveyors

55 Mayhew, A. op.cit. p. 168.

56 Ibid. p. 164

was not therefore a strange idea to these new settlers. Similar settlements occurred throughout Prussia. For example, in the uplands of Silesia, Frederick's State Forestry officials laid out hundreds of new settlements in the 1770s. These included both secondary and main roads and were connected with the rest of the empire by trunk roads and canal networks.

However, there was one great difference between these two frontier settings. The free colony of South Australia guaranteed its new settlers quite considerable freedom of action. The motive behind the South Australian Commissioners and the idea of the Wakefield system was to provide a suitable environment for modern entrepreneurship. It was a notion which also supported the emigration of the labouring classes who were expected to accept their place meekly as servers once they were settled in the colony. This did not eventuate; such people who could, entered into a spirit of entrepreneurship soon after their arrival, leaving the colony desperately short of basic labour. By contrast, the German migrants came from a setting where:

"The whole life of this extraordinary country was built around the maintenance of a standing national army ... Out of the needs of the army grew a new and efficient civil administration which controlled taxation ... and was the fore-runner of the Prussian civil service ... In an ominously modern fashion it began to be felt that the interests of the State were supreme over all its inhabitants."⁵⁷

57 Elkins op. cit. p. 88

They were used, therefore, to considerable amounts of bureaucratic interference and guidance from the State's public servants. On arrival in South Australia they would find some similarities to this system in that the early colonists were also subject to the remote control of a colonial administration based in distant London. In many other ways though, they soon found that they were much freer men, able to control once again their own interests. This placed them in a situation similar to that experienced by the first German colonists who penetrated into Silesia and Prussia in the 12th and 13th centuries. There, those early frontiersmen enjoyed much greater freedoms than they had in Western Europe, building up powerful local governing peasant communities which were finally destroyed by the great disruptions of the Thirty Years War and the subsequent rise of the Junker class by whom they were enslaved.

When the first vessel carrying German migrants to South Australia (the "Prince George") called at Plymouth to pick up Pastor Kavel in June 1838, the migrants had the opportunity to meet and thank George Fife Angas who came on board for a special service of blessing conducted on his behalf. Previously their deputies had discussed with him their hopes for settling on his South Australian land and stated that they only wished to buy or lease small parcels of land and to create small-holdings similar to the ones they had occupied in East Germany.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Hodder, E. George Fife Angas (London 1891) p. 175.

Thus the first parties of German settlers used the hufendorf (farmlet) village form. There were differences, as their strip-like farmlets of small acreage had to be fitted in to the Wakefield system of land sub-division based on an 80 acre module. This artificial grid was laid out, like a huge carpet, over the varying topography of the state by Colonel Light and subsequent Surveyor Generals. Government roads separated the 80 acre blocks (later enlarged to 132 acres) and neither blocks nor roads were drawn to match any major landscape features such as hillocks or streams.⁵⁹ The greater and better part of the rural areas had been bought up by the magnates of the South Australian Company who leased and sold parcels of land back to their tenant farmers. Therefore the early German settlements were fitted into an alien land system based on much larger land holdings, owned at first by a few large landholders. The research carried out in the Barossa Valley has emphasised this aspect.⁶⁰ Bethany, which was settled by twenty-four families from January 14th, 1842, onwards, was located on nine sections of George Fife Angas's land in the upper part of the valley. It lay to the north of Government Road along which the first farmhouses, a church, a vicarage and school were built. When an official survey of the farmland was carried out in 1857 by C. von Bertouch, there were a variety of allotments varying in size from as little as 3½ acres to as large as 39 acres. Only

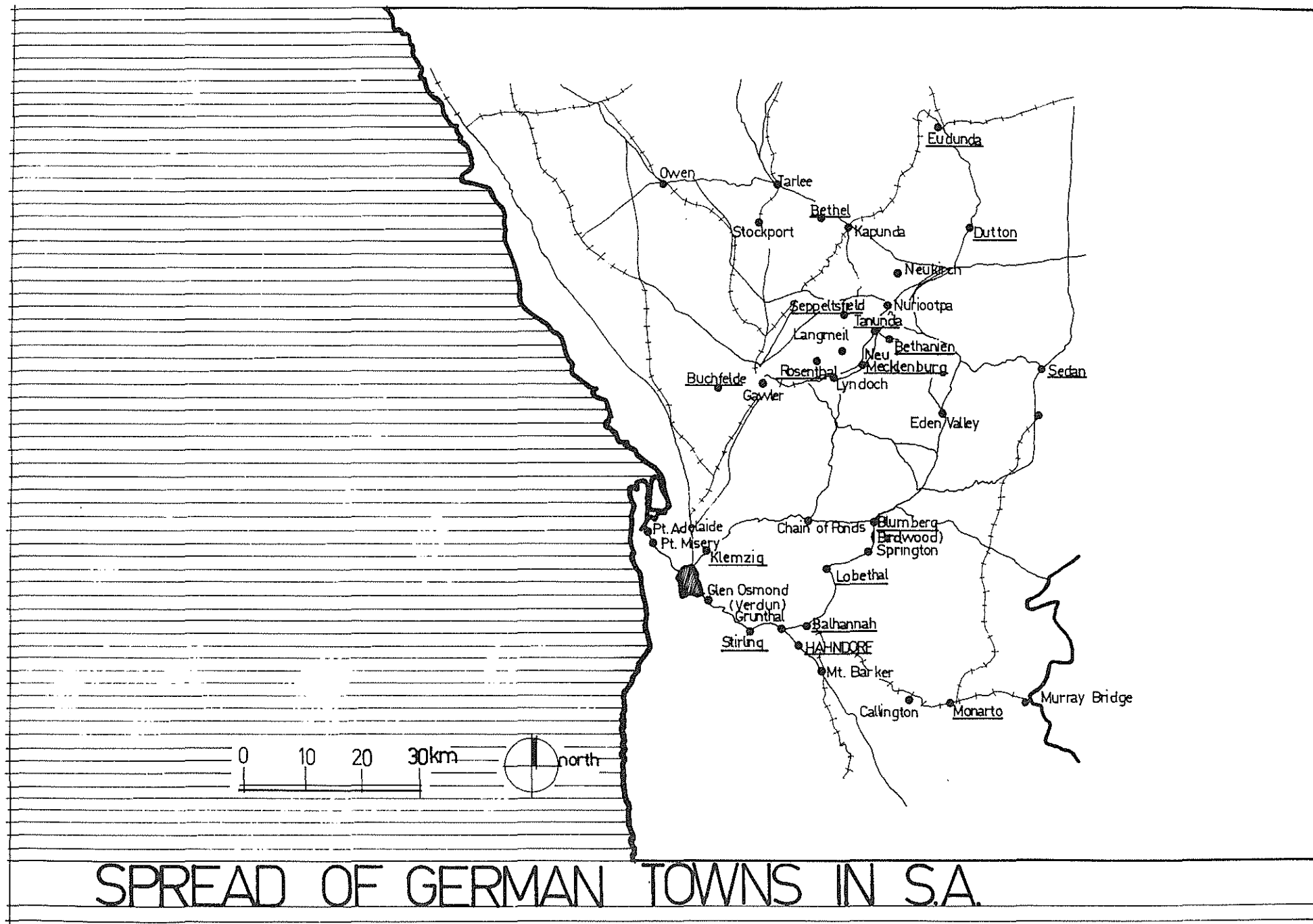
⁵⁹ Except where major obstructions occurred, e.g. the Torrens Valley, and North and South Adelaide

⁶⁰ Young, G., et.al. Barossa Survey

later did small allotments and farmhouses appear on the opposite side of the road.

The second village to be established in the Barossa Valley was Langmeil which is now a suburb of Tanunda. Here, small holdings of varying size were laid out, running down to the North Para river. This village was also surveyed by C. von Bertouch in 1857 and it can be seen that these strips of land were later cut across by a network of Government roads.

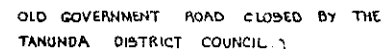
Hahndorf's original layout, though different again from both these villages, also resembled the hufendorf arrangement.



SPREAD OF GERMAN TOWNS IN S.A.

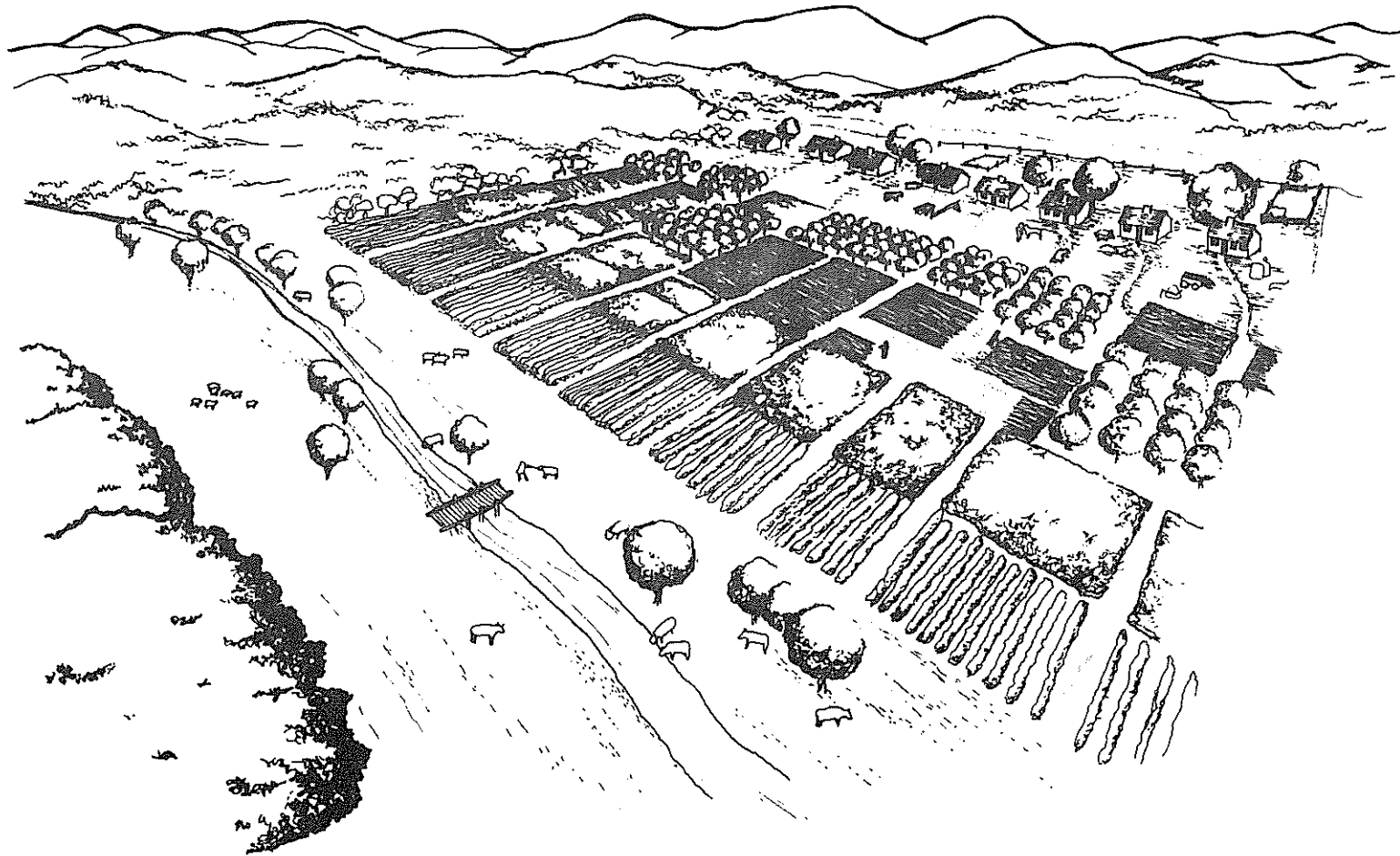


north



ANGAS STREET

67



(Barossa Survey-Volume1. 1977, p67)

RECONSTRUCTION OF A HUFENDORF SETTLEMENT

"We passed a little
village of poor German emigrants,
whom a benevolent gentleman
has located in small allotments
in a beautiful fertile situation."

- Henry Watson, 1839

CHAPTER 3 THE SETTLEMENT OF HAHNDORF
PART 1

THE HAHNDORF DISTRICT.

The Extent of the Area.

For the purpose of this study of the physical and agricultural features of this area, the Hahndorf District is taken to include the towns of Balhannah, Oakbank, Woodside, Lenswood and Lobethal to the north, Nairne, Littlehampton, Mount Barker and Echunga to the east and south, and Mylor, Stirling, Bridgewater and Verdun to the west. The town of Hahndorf is located within the local government area (l.g.a.) of Mount Barker. Figure 1* shows the extent of this l.g.a. along with the surrounding l.g.a.'s of Onkaparinga to the north, Stirling to the west and Meadows to the south.

Geology.

The major geological features discussed in this section are shown in Figure 2 in Appendix A.**

The district is best described as part of a geological unit known as the Mount Lofty Horst. Although parts of the Mount Lofty Ranges have a geological history which dates back almost 2,000 million years, the present shape of the district is related to more recent block faulting which began in the early Tertiary period about 70 million years ago. The oldest rocks in the district are those which are commonly named as part of the Barossa Complex, rocks such as schists and gneisses

which have been meta-morphosed under high temperatures and pressures. Small exposures of these rocks can be found in the Bridgewater area to the west and between Balhannah and Nairne to the east. These rocks are considered to be well over 1,400 million years old and are sometimes referred to as basement rocks. The Barossa Complex rocks can also be referred to as Lower Proterozoic in age.

The largest extent of rocks in the district are the sedimentary rocks of the Upper Proterozoic Age which were deposited as sediments in a very large trough (usually referred to as the Adelaide Geosyncline) which began to develop about 1,400 million years ago. The most relevant period during this age was from about 1,000 million years ago to 750 million years ago when Torrensian rocks were laid down. In the Hahndorf District most of the rocks are of this period and are given the names Woolshed Flat Formation and Saddleworth Formation (in the immediate vicinity of the town), Stonyfell Quartzite (between the town and the Onkaparinga River to the west), and Aldgate Sandstone (to the west of the Onkaparinga River) - see Figure 3.* As can be observed from these names most of the rocks of this age are either sandstones or quartzites and together they make up part of the Burra group of rock sequences which occurred during the Torrensian period.

The Faulting which took place in the Mount Lofty Ranges from about 70 million years ago to the present time produced what is commonly called a

* Page 76

** See Appendix A for further Figures and Tables

graben-horst structure. Several fault lines which are related to this period of geological activity can be observed in the Hahndorf district. At approximately 8 and 12 kilometres to the west are two parts of the Crafers Fault and further west still is the Clarendon Fault approximately 15 kilometres from the town. To the north west of Hahndorf there are observed and inferred fault lines to be found in the vicinity of the Bremer Valley and the settlement of Brunkunga.

Topography.

The topographical features of this section of the Mount Lofty Ranges are dominated by the indented drainage system of the Onkaparinga River and to a lesser extent the tributaries of the Bremer River. Some parts of the district are more gentle and undulating with occasional broad expanses. Such an area is that to the south and south west of the town in the direction of Echunga.

The steep gradients tend to be to the west and east of the town whilst to the north the wider expanse of the Onkaparinga Valley has created a gentler landscape particularly in that part of the valley between Balhannah and Woodside (average elevation approximately 340 m.). To the west the ranges rise to Vimy Ridge (approximately 400 m.) and higher still beyond Bridgewater to the highest point in the ranges, Mt. Lofty at approximately 720 m. To the east and the south east within 3 kilometres of the town the range of hills com-

monly associated with a local historical landmark, the windmill, rise to approximately 450 m. Further to the south east at about 11 kilometres from Hahndorf is the Mount Barker summit, the most prominent peak in the district, with an elevation of approximately 520 m.

The present relief and landforms of the district reflect the underlying geology and the erosion that has been subsequent to the uplifting of the Ranges in Tertiary times. The graben-horst form of the Ranges, although still visible, has been modified in this district by the process of dissection by the numerous creeks and rivers. The largest of these is the River Onkaparinga which lies two kilometres west of the town. Five small creeks flow through Hahndorf or in the countryside on the outskirts of the town. The confluence of these is north of the town boundary and from there a small stream flows through a major farm dam and joins the Onkaparinga down-stream from the bridge which is the major crossing point of the river on the Mount Barker Road. The numerous small streams to the south and north of the town, many of which have been dammed for agricultural purposes, all drain into the Onkaparinga River. Hahndorf and district occupy a prominent position in the Onkaparinga watershed (the total catchment area being 445 square kilometres).

The other stream network which is of some importance in the district is that associated with Mount Barker Creek - a tributary of the Bremer River. The two creeks that drain the countryside around Mount Barker and flow through the township, Western Flat Creek and

Littlehampton Creek eventually coalesce and become Mount Barker Creek on its eastern boundary. As this creek meanders down the eastern side of the ranges it becomes more incised as it leaves the open slightly undulating country around Mount Barker and passes through the dissected slopes of the St. Ives - Kanmantoo region.

All of these rivers and creeks have floodplains of varying widths, for example the flat land to the south-west of Mount Barker, or the flat land along the Onkaparinga between Ambleside and Woodside. Various forms of intensive horticulture, orcharding and livestock production are concentrated on these choice agricultural lands.

Climate.

The district has a Mediterranean type climate of cool, wet winters, warm to hot dry summers and a rainfall of between 700 and 900 mm per year. Any local variations in climate are due to relief. In comparison with the climate of the Adelaide plains, this district has milder summers and colder, wetter winters, viz. a cool Mediterranean type. Hahndorf receives a little over 863 mm. average annual rainfall whilst the figures for the other closest recording stations, Mount Barker and Stirling Post Office are 781 mm. and 1121 mm. respectively. The reliability of rainfall in the district can be judged on the basis of the percentage chance of receiving a certain quantity of rainfall during a certain yearly

period. Therefore, for the period April-May there is a 90-95% chance of receiving 75 mm. or more of rainfall in any one year, in June to August there is a 90-100% chance of receiving 150 mm. or more and for September to October there is 90-95% chance of receiving 75 mm. or more.

In order to facilitate some knowledge of the seasonal effectiveness of rainfall and the reliability of rains for agricultural land uses the concept of growing season has been developed. The length of growing season refers to the period of the year during which the amount of water received from rainfall exceeds that lost by evapo-transpiration etc. leaving water available to initiate and sustain plant growth. The length of growing season in months varies from 7.5 for the part of the district east of Mount Barker to 8.0 at Hahndorf to 9.0 at Stirling.

Temperature data is not available for Hahndorf. As an approximate guide to the range of winter and summer temperatures experienced in the district, figures for Mount Barker and Stirling can be used. The average monthly temperatures at Mount Barker range from 8.5°C in July to 19.5°C in January. The comparable figures for Stirling are 7.8°C and 19.1°C. Details of average maximum and average minimum, extreme maximum and extreme minimum, number of days over various temperatures and relative humidity for these two recording stations are given in tables 1 (Mount Barker) and 2 (Stirling). (See Appendix A).

Frosts occur in the district at any time in the period April to November. The Mount Barker District has on the average 155 frost free days every year whilst in

the Stirling District it has 198 frost free days. The frequency of severe frosts and light frosts when the screen temperature is equal to or less than 0°C - 2°C respectively, are shown in table 3, while the average number of frost occurrences per month in these two localities is shown in table 4. (See Appendix A).

Hot spells with temperatures over 38°C are not a common feature of the summer weather in this district, occurring once a year on the average at Stirling and five times a year at Mount Barker. Sudden cold changes with a fall of 10°C - 15°C in a very short time may occur after a hot spell.

Hailstorms have been recorded during any month of the year but the most severe are usually associated with summer thunderstorms or cold air masses which are associated with strong westerly winds in the winter.

The prevailing winds and those of high velocity come from the western and south western quarter, particularly those in late winter, spring and early summer. Hot northerly winds in the summer and early autumn can occur and their severity can be accentuated if other climatic and vegetational conditions combine to produce high bushfire risk conditions.

Soils.

The generalized soil pattern of the district is less complex than other parts of the Mount Lofty

Ranges. The soils can be described as podsollic in type. They can be further divided according to the colour of their clay subsoil, which is determined by drainage conditions, so it is possible to identify at least red (drier site), yellow (medium to wet sites) and grey-brown (very wet sites) podsoils. These soils have a greyish surface, usually sandy in texture, overlying one of the clay subsoils previously described. Sometimes the subsoil may be of mottled clay. On steep slopes they tend to be very shallow and rocky, less than 0.3 m. deep, while on more gentle slopes they are deeper and generally free of stones. The basement rocks from which these soils have formed are sandstones, quartzite, sandy shales slates. A typical podsollic soil profile in which the soil is well structured, fairly fertile and formed from shale is shown in Figure 5. A poorer podsollic soil of the sandy type, developed on sandstone with a yellow subsoil is shown in Figure 6. (See Appendix A).

Within the district there is a wide range in the physical condition of the soils. For example near Woodside and Lobethal the subsoils are friable and well drained which favours the growth of crop and pasture roots. Some of the yellow podsoils of the district have an impervious subsoil which causes water logging during winter and sets hard and dry in summer. In the southern part of the district the soils are coarser in texture and therefore dry out at the end of the winter rains. In their natural state podsollic soils are deficient in several important plant nutrients including phosphorus, nitrogen and several trace elements e.g. potash and manganese. Generally however, because of the water holding

capacity of the subsoil and because they respond to the application of fertilizers they are considered to be productive agricultural soils.

Vegetation

In the district only scattered remnants of the original vegetation survive. As Figure 7 (See Appendix A) shows much of the Mount Lofty Ranges has been cleared of native vegetation and so the remaining stands of natural forest in the Hahndorf district are comparatively small. The main type of native vegetation is dry sclerophyllous forest. Trees such as Eucalyptus obliqua and E. baxteri (Stringy barks) which grow up to 35 metres in height, provide a light canopy over a dense hard-leaved shrubby understorey.

Part of the district towards the drier eastern water-shed show characteristics of the savannah woodland type of community including associations of E. leucoxylon (Blue Gum) and E. odorata (Peppermint Gum). The trees in this area tend to grow on grassland in an open formation giving the landscape a lightly wooded park like appearance. In this area Eucalypts are dominant except perhaps on the shallower skeletal soils which tend to support more shrubby species.

E. camaldulensis (River Red Gum) which are widely distributed along water courses can also occur as the dominant tree in certain localities. The main requirement for these stately trees is an abundant supply of moisture.

Agricultural Land Use

Agricultural land use began in this district more than 140 years ago. Unlike today the early settlers grew cereals. They also grew vegetables (most of this production for the Adelaide market), raised livestock and planted various types of orchards. The discovery of subterranean clover at Mount Barker in 1889 by Amos Howard, and its response to super-phosphate, provided the necessary breakthrough for large increases in pasture and livestock production. The full benefit of Howard's discovery however, did not come until well into the twentieth century. Since the early 1940's about 16,000 hectares of land have been cleared in the Adelaide Hills, and, although the Hahndorf district was generally well cleared before this time, some clearing did take place in the Mylor Echunga area during this period. It was not until the early 1940's however, that the necessity for fertilizers and trace elements to be added to certain soils for good pasture growth was fully understood.

An example of one of the most productive parts of the district is the area between Hahndorf and Meadows which lies approximately 19 kms. south of the district centre. This area is a fault angle valley with an annual rainfall of 830 - 940 mm. Together with the Mount Barker District to the east, this was the heartland for the early establishment and dispersion of subterranean clover in the 1920's. Considerable clearing and pasture development occurred in this part of the district between the late 1930's and mid 1950's.

The ridges in this area are of Upper Proterozoic Shales and quartzites with some mineral lodes (small quantities of gold, silver and lead were worked in

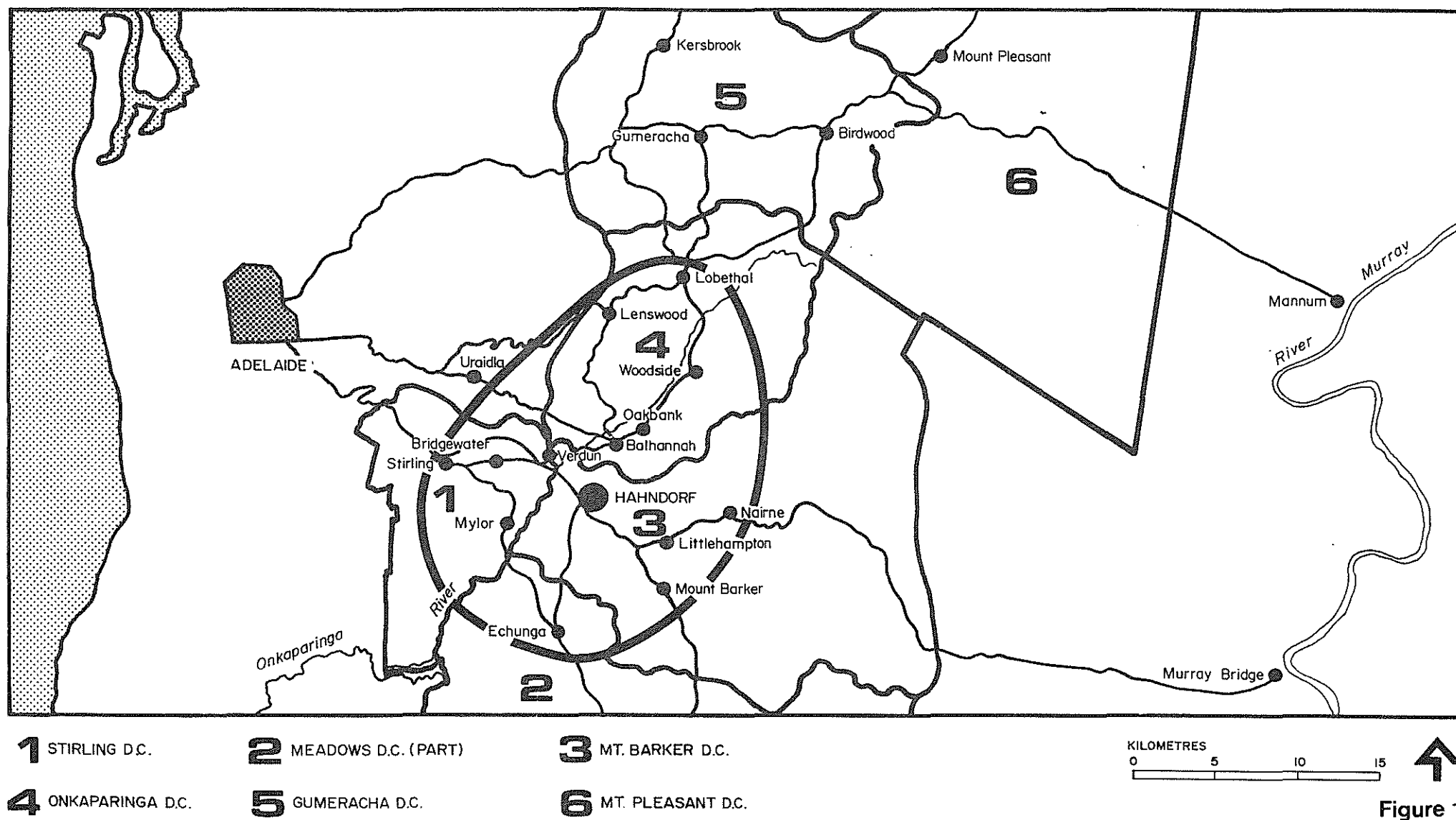
the late 19th century especially west of Echunga)*
In this area the intermediate slopes are developed
on freshwater tertiary gravels and sandstones -
the ridge crests being remnants of high level
erosion surfaces are frequently laterized. The
many small stream valley floors are alluvial
flood plains with groundwater supplies for sum-
mer irrigation of vegetable and fodder crops but
they are subject to water logging in winter and
spring.

Conclusion.

The Hahndorf area is characterised by a cool
Mediterranean climate, with a high rainfall in
winter and very warm, dry summers. The terrain
is irregular, with generally fertile soils mixed
with less fertile land on the slopes. It was a
significantly different physical environment to
that experienced by the Germans in their native
land. There, the broad flat plains, with a more
even distribution of fertile earth, were charac-
terized by a colder continental climate of drier
winters and warm rainy summers. These seasonal
variations in rainfall created difficulties for
the settlers and necessitated different farming
practices, particularly in the growing of vege-
tables. However, within these constraints,
they attempted to replicate the farm and village
layout of their ancestors.

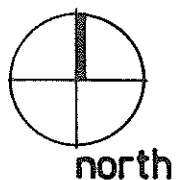
* See map page 77.

The Hahndorf District

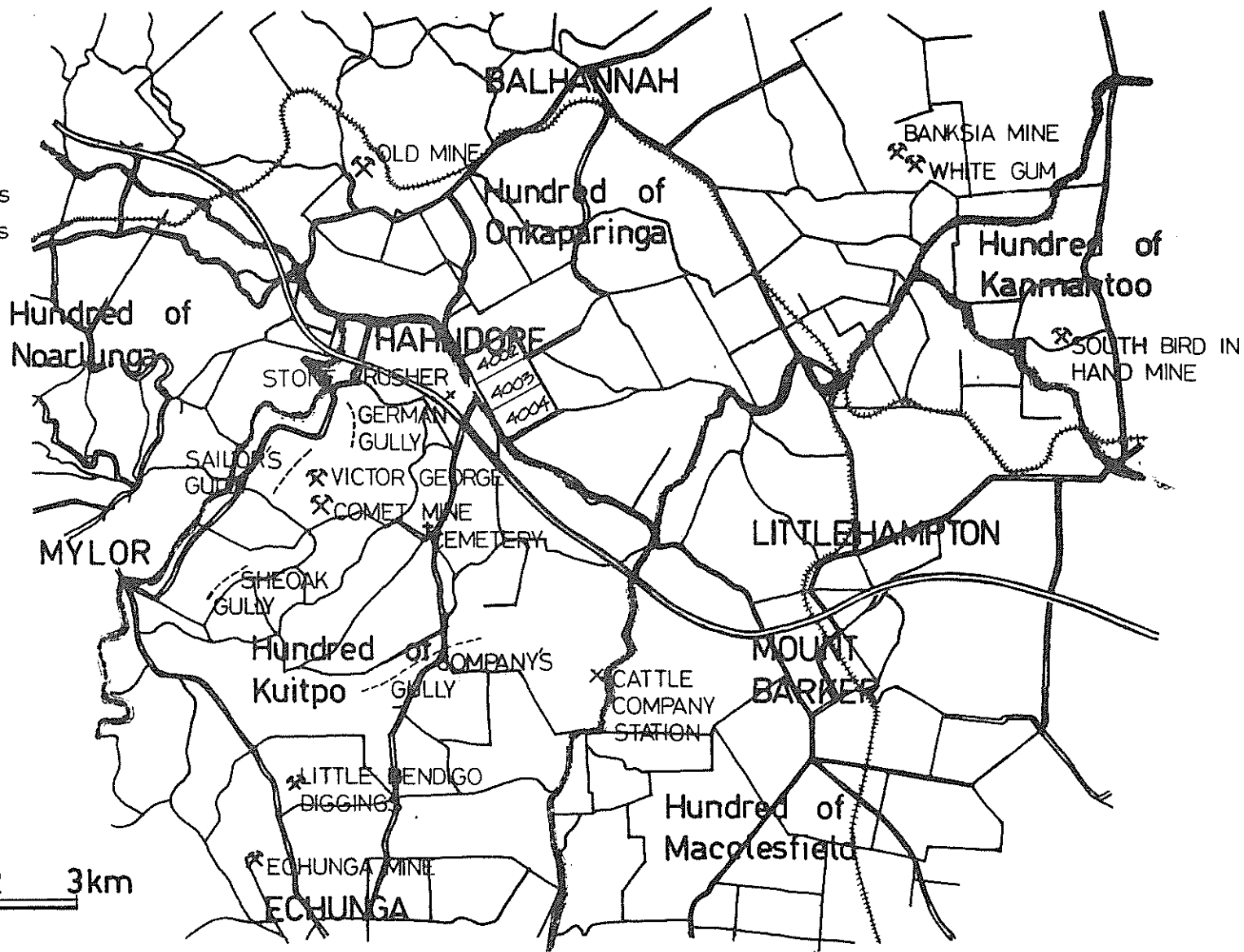


KEY

- Railway
- Minor Roads
- == Major Roads
- === Freeway
- Hundreds
- 4000 Sections
- ✕ Old Mines
- Gullies



0 1 2 3km



HISTORIC LOCALITIES

CHAPTER 3 THE SETTLEMENT OF HAHNDORF
PART 2

THE GERMAN VILLAGE AT HAHNDORF

The Settlement

In his memoirs, Captain Hahn gives a dramatic and detailed account of his attempt to settle the 38 "Zebra" families. Pastor Kavel's aim he notes, was "to rent a second nearby section¹ of land, also owned by Mr. Angas, for our people to build a church and school there in order thereby to unite all emigrants, in one German Congregation, whose number are already quite considerable".²

Kavel's motives for wanting a unified German congregation seem twofold; firstly for the sake of the Lutheran church, as it would be easier to supply spiritual needs when the flock was kept together, and secondly, as a sense of duty towards Angas, who had supported Kavel for two years in England, whilst travel arrangements and the advancement of transport fees for the emigrants were being finalized.

Before making a decision about their pastor's wishes however, a delegation of "the wisest and oldest" members set out to investigate the soil conditions on Angas' land, which were thought unsatisfactory and it was on their recommendation, that Hahn sought to settle "his" people elsewhere. Initial attempts to lease or buy nearby land from wealthy land owners such as the "half German" Osmond Gilles, or W.H.Dutton were unsuccessful; such metropolitan land the owners argued, was far too valuable for agriculture pursuits.³

1. Memoirs of Captain D. M. Hahn. S.A.A.

2. Ibid p.155

3. Ibid p.256

Even after Dutton's claim to the 4,000 acres of the Mount Barker land, Hahn's plea for sufficient land on which his families could settle was again turned down. This was a somewhat puzzling stance, implying a measure of shortsightedness on Dutton's part, who, as a shrewd businessman failed to realize the opportunity to populate and work his land. It seems however that Hahn's pleas were heard at an unfavourable time as Dutton's claim to the first Special Survey was being challenged by David McLaren.

On the 15th January, 1839, McLaren's letter to George Hall "started a game of tactics, in which the cleverness, resourcefulness and guile of McLaren were pitted unavailingly against the indulgent patience which screened the determined will of George Gawler".⁴

In a letter dated the 22nd January, 1839, the ambitious manager's hopes of securing the prized land for the South Australian Company were diminished, the Governor let it be known that Dutton was "entitled to the country".⁵ Undeterred by the Governor's reply, McLaren made a fresh and somewhat insolent attempt to gain the disputed area, only to receive Gawler's stern and final message that he "Must understand that his (Excellencys') decision in the matter was final, and from it he did not intend to swerve".⁶

It was during these proceedings that Dutton invited Hahn to inspect the Mount Barker survey, and it would be reasonable to assume that Dutton's initial refusal

4. Perkins, op.cit. p.123

5. Ibid p.125

6. Ibid p.126

to grant land to the Germans was his uncertainty of final land-ownership. This uncertainty seems to have been solved by Gawler's first reply to McLaren, whereupon Dutton invited the Captain to join him and an entourage of about twenty others on an excursion to inspect the prized land on the 23rd January, 1839, the happy outcome of which was the Hahndorf contract.⁷ (see Appendix. B.)

At first 100 acres were offered to the Germans, of which 19 acres ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre per family) were allocated for houses and roads.⁸ On the 25th January, this area was increased to 150 acres by Dutton, when he addressed a gathering of Germans at "Port Misery" and on that date (if Hahn's account is to be accepted) initiated the name Hahndorf.⁹

Section numbers 4002, 4003 and 4004 in the Hundred of Onkaparinga, was the land finally allocated, and the "Plan of the Special Survey Mount Barker 1839" clearly shows the name "German Village" stretched across these three 80 acre Sections.¹⁰ This total area of 240 acres (3 x 80 acre sections) is however consistent with Hahn's final contract figure of 150 acres. A possible reason for this relatively large increase in land area was the decision made by a portion of Kavel's Klemzig flock, and a few new arrivals from the third emigrant ship "Bengalee" to join their "Zebra" brethren, a move which greatly alarmed Kavel. He now had

to administer a split community a portion of which tended to discard their moral and legal obligations towards Angas, who in return for advancing their necessary passage money, had expected the Germans to rent and work his land. Kavel's sense of loyalty to his English benefactor is clearly shown in the letter he wrote to Angas on February 5th, 1839.

"I rather thought and still think it to be our duty to remain on your section and try, whether the blessing of God will follow as there even mere human speculation (which) often fails. Therefore I have declared frankly to my people, that I should remain on your section as long as even only two families were resolved to remain there in order to show, that we were obliged in gratitude to try all we could, whether it were possible to get a living and repay our debts from the cultivation of your land. I am glad to say that not only two, but twenty families are resolved to stay there with me."¹¹

At this time Kavel perhaps saw an opportunity to settle his flock in the Barossa Valley where towards the end of May, 1839, Charles Flaxman (Angas' agent) completed the "Seven Special Survey" land purchase. From this large 28,000 acre tract of land, the Germans agreed to take a 3,000 acre share, but when the time arrived to fulfill their agreement, the Hahndorf congregation vigorously resisted the move and in a

7. Memoirs of Captain D.M. Hahn p.260

8. See Appendix B

9. Brasse, L. German Colonial Architecture in South Australia p. 87.

10. Plan from L.T.O. see illustration on p. 88.

11. Angas papers S.A.A.

document signed in August, 1839, declared that they 'will and cannot leave Hahndorf'.¹² This incident later becomes known as the 'Langmeil Landkauf' (Langmeil land purchase), and seems to have ended Kavel's dream of forming one German community.

Dutton's lucrative and generous offer, in terms of financial and agricultural assistance was probably the most influential factor for the sudden surge of Klemziger's to join their Zebra brethren and settle on his land. Even the 1840 'agreement to purchase' made between the Hahndorf trustees Jaensch & Jaensch, and the Dutton partnership, to purchase the three Hahndorf section at a cost of £7/acre was well below Flaxman's Barossa land offer of £10 acre in the previous year.

This plus an offer of a free first year tenure, was simply too good to refuse.

The exact number of pioneer families that eventually settled in Hahndorf is uncertain. Brauer lists 52 family names, whereas the Langmeil land purchase document was signed by 51. In any case, it seems that by the end of May, 1839, the last Hahndorfers had reached their new home, and settled on the land apportioned to them. The allocation of land was probably by lot, as this.

12 See Appendix B

system of apportioning land had previously been used in Klemzig. Later it was used at Lobethal.

Unfortunately we have little documentary evidence in order to describe an early village layout.

Nixon, who first surveyed the Mt. Barker Special Survey and in 1842 built a windmill there, left no record of early Hahndorf.¹³ His field book fails even to give an early subdivision of the three Hahndorf sections; nor do we know what criteria were used for land allotment. The first layout we possess of Hahndorf did not appear until eighteen years after its foundation, in 1857,¹⁴ when we see the multitude of land plots, we cannot help but sympathise with its surveyor, Arnold A. Light. Blocks and land strips which range from approximately 2 to 1/32nd acre are distributed in a most unorthodox manner, and certainly makes the plan unique in South Australia.¹⁵

It was far different in Klemzig. Recognizable as a street village, Klemzig's area of 150 acres was 'carefully divided among all who had come first

13 See in contrast, his sketch of Klemzig in Twelve Views in Adelaide and its vicinity, South Australia F.R. Nixon, 1845

14 G.R.O. Plan 267/1857... L.T.O. Adelaide. See also Plan on p. 89

15 See Appendix C

with the first boat. Each adult person received a strip of land nine feet across, whilst children were allotted one half of one quarter."¹⁶

Bethany, the first Barossa settlement, is clearly definable as a Forest-Hufendorf, where every family lived on its own strip of land, which stretched from the Government road to Bethany Creek.

At Hahndorf, by studying the North-West portion of Light's plan, there is an orderly sequence of blocks all approximately equal in area, numbered from 1 to 53. These are arranged to represent an elongated "U" with its base resting on the main road. The whole area embraced by the "U" is divided on both axes by Church and Government roads, with the site on which the present St. Michael's church stands, approximately in the centre. This it seems was the original layout of Hahndorf. If we add allotment No. 54, situated at the North end of Victoria Street, it gives the number of pioneer families as suggested in the Liebelt family history.¹⁷

Pastor Brauer has attempted to list the pioneer families in order of settlement along the Main Street, Victoria and English Street or North and South lane respectively as they were then

16 Grope, L.B., Year book of the Lutheran Church of Australia 1975 p. 28.

17 Wittwer, E.A. Liebelt Family History p. 165

known.¹⁸ The plan on page 91 lists the 52 family names in Brauer's order of settlement, together with Iwan's information from German sources, as to place of origin and occupation,¹⁹ and Lodewyckx's passenger lists from the migrant ships "Prince George" and "Bengalee".²⁰ It appears that no conscious attempt was made to settle the Hahndorf families in any order of trade, place of origin or name of ship on which they arrived. These results support the hypothesis that the land allocation was made by the drawing of lots.

Original Land tenure

"Hahndorf settlers introduced a feudalistic aspect of land tenure which has been unfortunate. Under a system of repeated hereditary subdivision, many impractical small holdings were created which today (1959) are not only uneconomical but essentially useless".

Weaver and Raup's claim that the seemingly absurd and impractical land holdings were the result of repeated hereditary subdivisions must be approached with caution for the authors give no documentary evidence to support their claim.²¹

18 Brauer, A. Under the Southern Cross

19 See Appendix C

20 Lodewyckx Dr. Prof. A. Die Deutschen in Australien Stuttgart 1932

21 G.D. Weaver & H.F. Raup "Colonial Germans in South Australia", Journal of Geography. 1959 p.373

Our research on the other hand suggests that this random and complex subdivision was designed from the start, perhaps by Nixon, or Hermann Kook to distribute an approximately equal area of land to the first families.²²

The 240 acres were divided into numerous holdings, suitable for the three field system of agriculture. Each holding consisted of a number of blocks and strips of land which were dispersed throughout the three sections. In this way, every family, in theory at least, had their fair share of well watered and fertile land.

To support our argument that the numerous land parcels were not the result of later subdivision, we must look at the original land holdings. In Appendix C all of Brauer's 52 family names have been researched and documented. It is interesting to note, that out of this list, only about 20 pioneers, or their widows or sons, eventually purchased the original allotted land in the early 1850's. As an example F.W. Wittwer, (a watermill in his native Gahren,) his "House Allotment" (H.A.) no. 18, plot nos. 15, 40, 171, 129a and 143 m were conveyed to him in 1853.

Furthermore, if we trace the history of F.W. Nitschke's original land holding, we find that on later resales to other families no further

subdivision of individual plots took place, but instead they were sold either individually, or in groups to interested persons. For example: house allotment (H.A.) no. 3, lots 26, 35, 54, 89, 14d and 7n was the land purchased by F.W. Nitschke in 1853, for £43. In 1856 he sold H.A. no. 3, plot nos. 26, 89 and strip nos. 14d and 7n to H.F. Schneemilch for £154, lot 54 to J.C. Thiele for £16, and the remaining lot. no. 35 to J.A. Thiele for £8, giving Nitschke the handsome profit of £135 or approximately 300% within three years. (See Appendix C).

The total land area allotted to each family varied between 5.19 and 3.25 acres, the average being 4.32 acres. Although we are unable to explain the difference in total land area between families, the number of people in a family as a determinant for local areas was not used at Hahndorf as it had been at Klemzig.²³

To be fair to the pioneer families, it seems that great care was taken by the designer to overcome the problems of varying soil conditions, and water requirements. Thus the Mount Barker Road, Balhannah Road, the position of the creeks

23 From Appendix C

Joh. Georg. Hartmann, wife and 2 children (1838) owned 4.2 acres (1853) Joh. Friedrich Zimmermann wife and 3 children (1836) owned 4.88 acres (1853) Christian Bartel, wife and 4 children (1838) owned 4.25 acres (1853).

22 Also spelt Koch, see further remarks on p. 84

as well as the task of settling 54 families were the major constraints the designer had to contend with. His final solution of a U shaped village, with its social and administrative centres as its approximate geometric centre, and its "fair" distribution of land plots was an admirable solution. The plan affords a nearby access to water for all the allotments and suggests that its designer had not only the mathematical and technical know-how of a surveyor but a good understanding of agriculture.

Hermann Friedrich Kook seems to have had both these qualifications, and it was probably he who devised the Hahndorf layout. Originally from Luebeck - Germany, Kook was a cabin passenger on the Zebra. According to Hahn he was an agriculturalist, whereas the widower's occupation listed on his marriage certificate in 1844 gave that of surveyor. Perhaps these qualifications led Dutton to appoint him as supervisor of the proposed settlement, whose task it was to design the settlement and supervise its colonists. In return for his services, the settlers were to pay him an annual salary of £40. He was therefore a 19th century equivalent to the medieval Lokator mentioned previously.²⁴

24 We are indebted to Mr. E. Kook of Leeton N.S.W. for giving us the important information of his ancestors' background and a copy of H.F. Kook's 1849 marriage certificate.

Early expansion of Hahndorf

Population returns from Almanacks and other sources are summarized in the adjacent graph and although we have attempted to correct the obvious errors, it must be added that the accompanying figures are not to be taken as absolute. Families were often represented by badly misspelt names and hence re-recorded in various versions. Further confusion was added when the population was divided into the Onkaparinga and Kuitpo Councils, so that the same family names often appeared on both lists.

Within the original boundaries, Hahndorf's population remained fairly constant, especially between 1855 and 1872, during which time families seemed to come and go. In 1857 for instance, fewer than 15 of the original 54 families decided to purchase land within the township and it is interesting to note that amongst those purchasers listed, 14% were English.²⁵

Other settlements were soon established near Hahndorf, so that by 1840 pioneer J.F. Paech had moved to Gruenthal (now Verdun) which appears to have been the first splinter settlement. By 1855 eleven families gave Gruenthal as their new address. In 1841 Hermann Kook, who

25 Names appearing on G.R.O. Plan 227/1857

it seems settled in Klemzig rather than act as Dutton's supervisor, wrote to Hahn that the Hahndorfers "...besides the sections already named have 2 other sections in the vicinity, bought off the Government at their original price and several isolated acres purchased of individuals. Thus they have 6 sections of which 500 acres are good land and upon which 62 families reside."²⁶

Approximately 3 km. south of Hahndorf, J.F. Paech purchased 13 sections (1175 acres) in February, 1846, naming his estate Friedrichstadt, either after himself, or Frederick the Great. In August of that year, the Lutheran church split because of differences in interpretation of the doctrine between Kavel and Fritzsche; the outcome of which was the formation of the U.E.L.C.A. and E.L.C.A., led by the two pastors respectively. Tangible evidence of this split can still be seen in many German settlements, which often boast two rivalling church buildings.²⁷ Furthermore, the rift caused much tension within the village community which often led residents to settle elsewhere. In Hahndorf for instance, J.F. Paech sold land only to Kavel's follower's, and amongst them was J.G. Paech, who with his sons and their families established Paechtown.²⁸

26 Letter by H. Kook to Captain D.M. Hahn, S.A.A. Angas Papers. P.R.G. 174 1863 - 1864.

27 See also Light Pass & Tanunda

28 Wittwer E.A. (ed.) Liebelt Family History, p. 168.

After years of haggling between the two Hahndorf factions, the supreme court decision in 1857 finally gave the original church site to Fritzsche's followers, leaving Kavel's flock to erect their new brick church at the southern end of the township. It was built towards the western boundary and faced towards the east.

With the arrival of more Germans to South Australia, it seemed logical that Hahndorf would receive its share of new settlers, so that across its Western boundary, which was already earmarked as part of the 'Great Eastern Road', a new subdivision was prepared. In 1849, section Nos. 4235 (86 acres costing £90), 4234 and 4233 (189 acres costing 293/3s) were purchased from the Government by the miller F.W. Wittwer²⁹ and Joseph Remfry.³⁰ Wittwer subdivided his section (4235) into long "Hufen", which fronted on to the main road, whereas Remfry's two sections, accessible from both the "Mount Barker Road" and Echunga Road, was divided into 86 allotments "to form part of the said township of Hahndorf".³¹ Forty-six blocks of approximately 100 foot width were then offered along the main street.³² In 1850 allotment No. 1 (1 acre fetched £22/10s; an

29 L.T.O. G.R.O. room book 141 Folio. 22

30 L.T.O. G.R.O. room enrolment book 37 Folio 14.

31 As appeared on Plan of Hahndorf No. 83 of 1857

32 L.T.O. G.R.O. room book 90 Folio 71

enormous price when we consider that the 1853 cost of land parcels within the original Hahndorf boundaries, irrespective of their location, was only about £8/acre.

Despite these high land costs, the declining importance of the Hahndorf Lutheran Church as the cultural social and administrative centre, coupled with the growing importance of the east-west route, caused Hahndorf's activity to be focussed along the 'Main Street'. In 1857 T.W. Boehm established his 'private institution of higher learning' on the main street. After trying his luck with water and wind powered flour mills nearby, F.W. Wittwer erected the first stage of his steam powered mill on the Northern end of the town. Gradually but stubbornly Hahndorf changed from a farming town to a major service centre, so that the percentage of farmers residing in Hahndorf declined from 100% in 1844 to 11.6% in 1903.³³ Wheelwrights, smithies, publicans, carpenters and joiners soon established their businesses along the main street, servicing both the local and neighbouring communities as well as catering for the increasing through traffic.

During the late 1850's the 'Hahndorf Land and Building' society was formed.³⁴ Residential and commercial buildings of a scale, texture and quality not seen before soon emerged along the

main street. Houses spilled along the road to Echunga (now Pine Avenue), Auricht Road, and along the track which led to the windmill; the latter was favoured by the grain carters for its constant ascent, as the teams could rest by the watertroughs in Paechtown, continue their journey to the windmill and then return to Hahndorf via the main road.

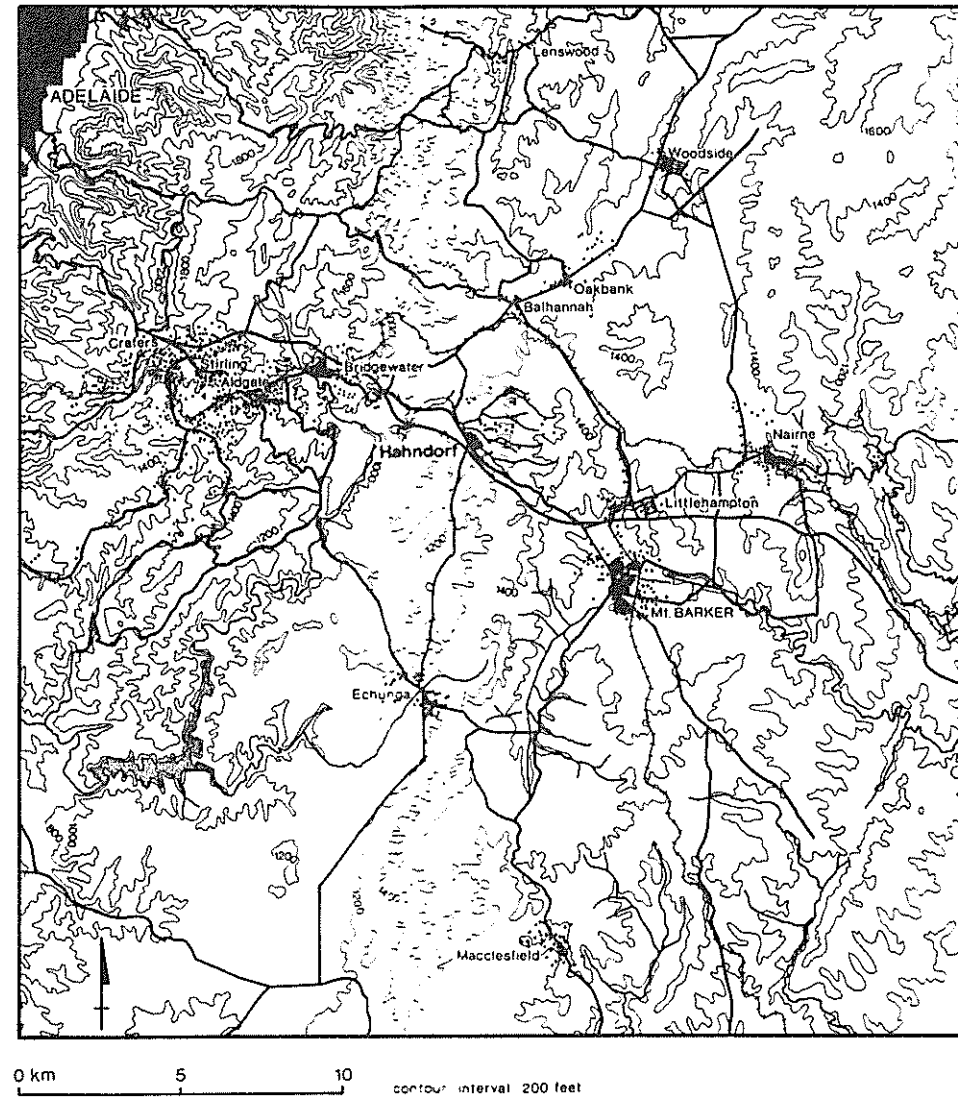
Tree planting along the main street began in 1885 and five years later the new imposing St. Paul's church was begun. The trees tended to unify the streetscape which by then was vibrant with activity. Its scale and enclosure was reminiscent of a Silesian Strassendorf - so similar it was believed that Hahndorf like Klemzig began from this simple and common German plan form.³⁵ This, as we have discussed previously did not happen and sadly, Hahndorf's original nucleus lies almost hidden off the main street. Originally 'U' shaped, the early Hahndorf turned its 'back' to the bullock track, and its plan tended to suggest that any future development that was anticipated would be spread towards the east, on Dutton's land.

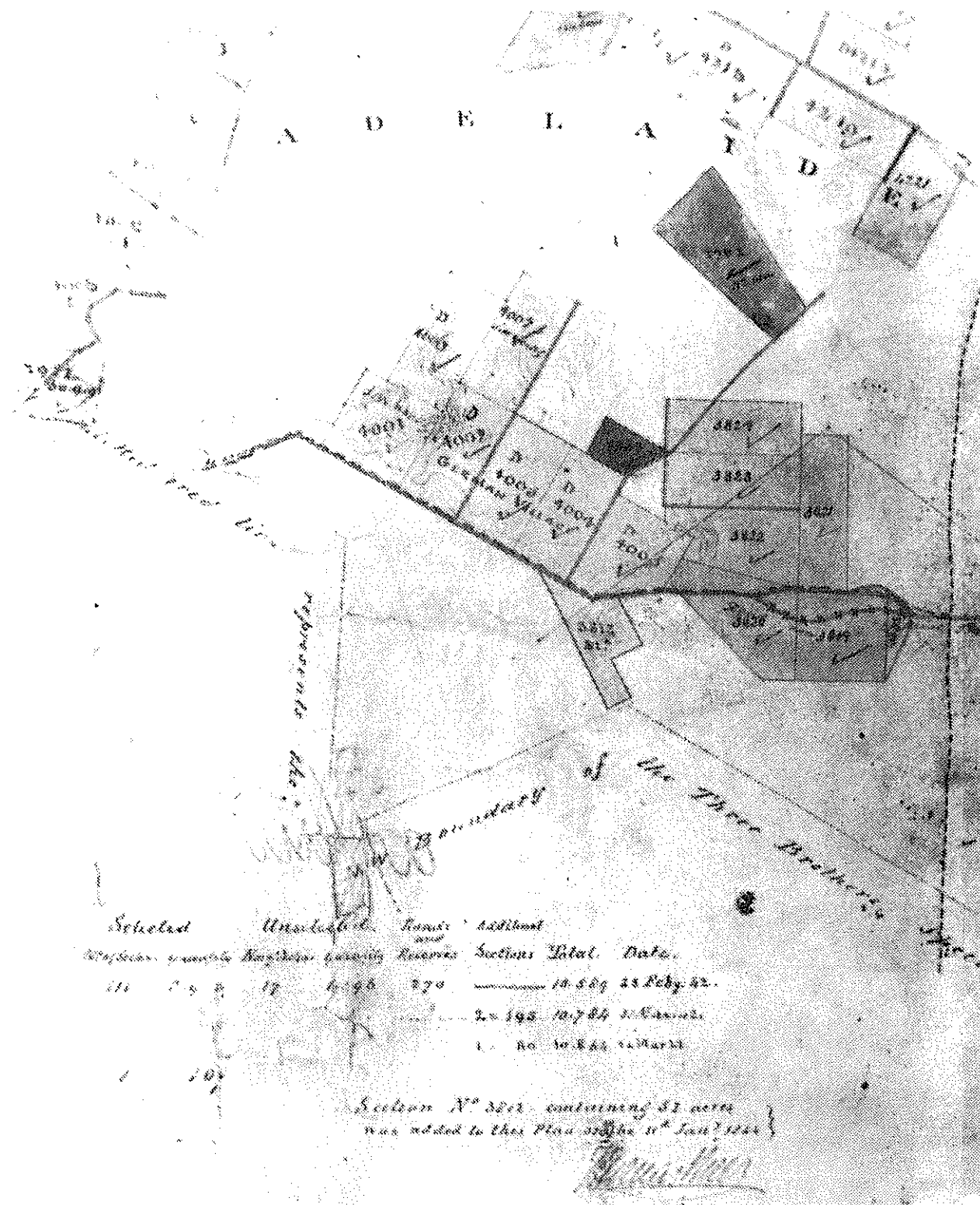
33 Calculated from figures released in Almanacks 1844 - 1914.

34 In L.T.O. G.R.O. room in Memorial book for 'Building Societies'.

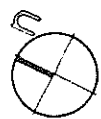
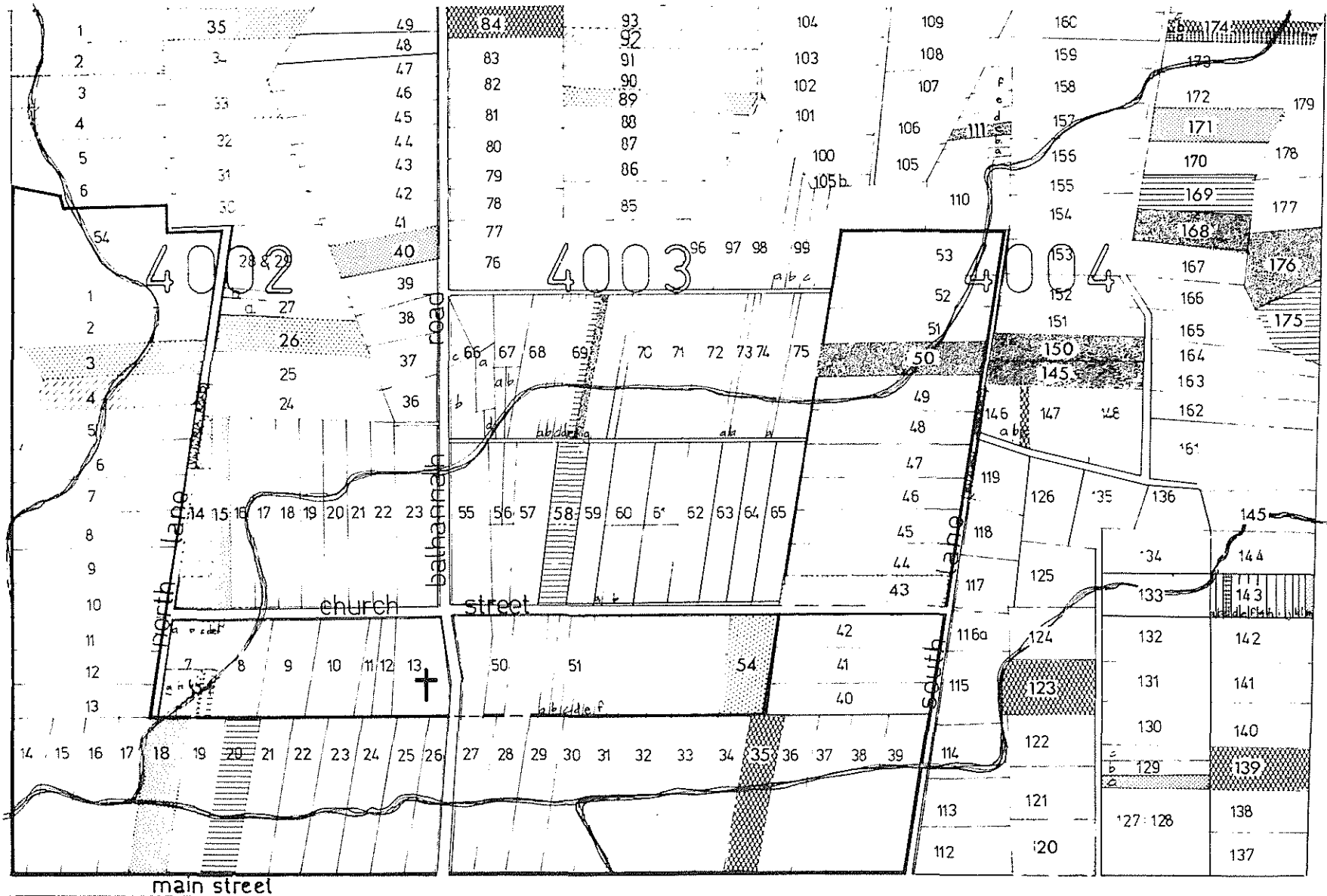
35 Dr. W. Geisler Die Deutschen and ihre Siedlungen in Australien p. 142 'A good example of a Strassendorf is Hahndorf. Later the settlement, expanded to its sides, just as it often happens in Strassendorfer in Germany'. (Translated from the German by L. Brasse.)

LOCATION OF HAHNDORF.










Detail from Duttons
First Special Survey
showing the 'German
Village' on sections
4002, 4003, 4004.

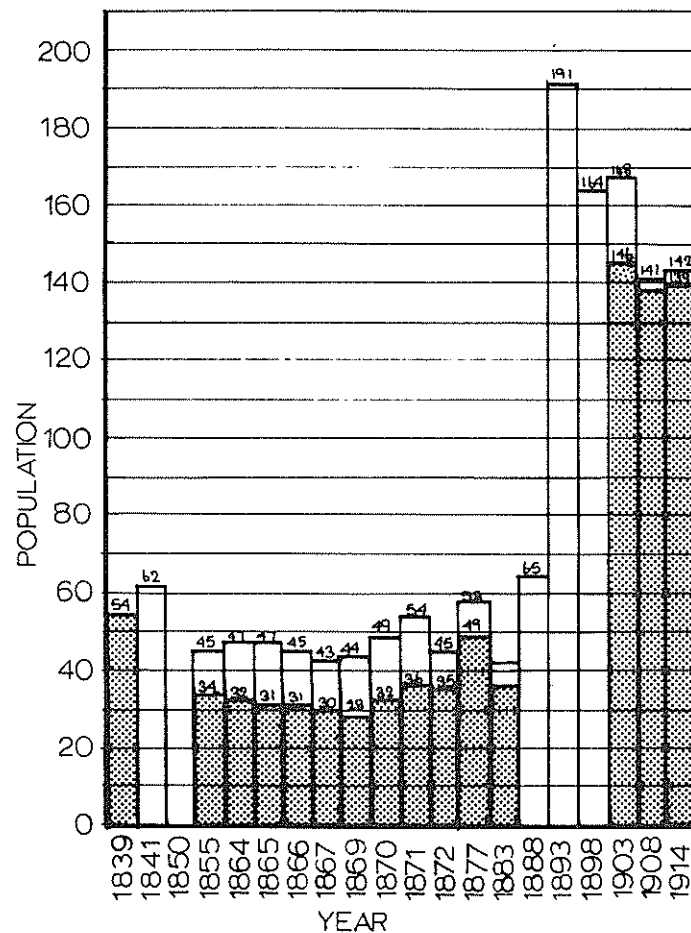


LAND HOLDINGS OF ORIGINAL SETTLERS

SEE APPENDIX 'B' FOR COMPLETE LIST OF OWNERSHIP

-  FW WITTWER
-  G.A. SCHUETZE
-  G. SCHIRMER
-  A. PADE
-  J.F. ZIMMERMANN

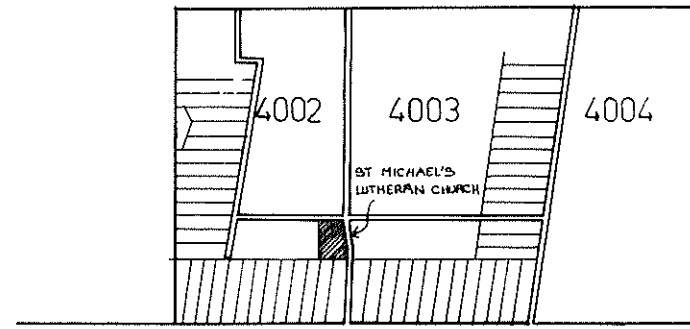
200 100 20 0 200 METRES



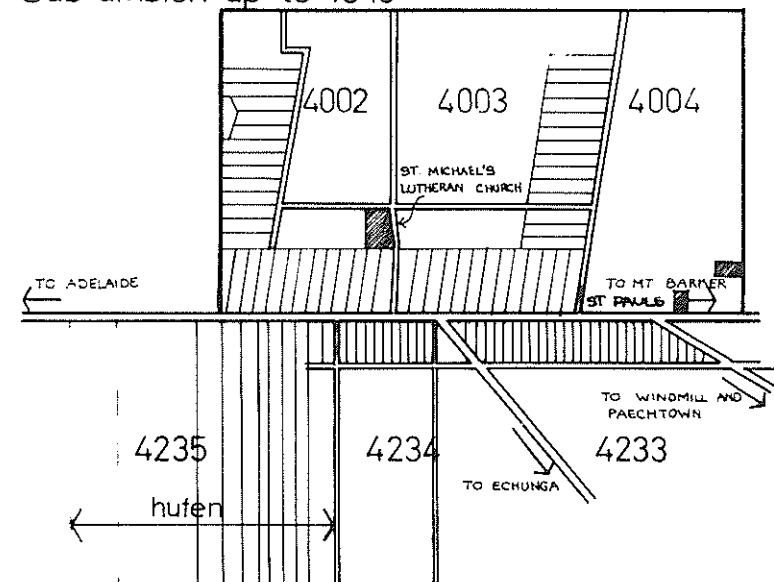
Population Graph

SOURCE - ALMANACKS
DIRECTORIES &
PRIVATE LETTERS

47 TOTAL POPULATION IN
AND AROUND HAHNDORF
54 POPULATION IN HAHNDORF



Sub-division up to 1849

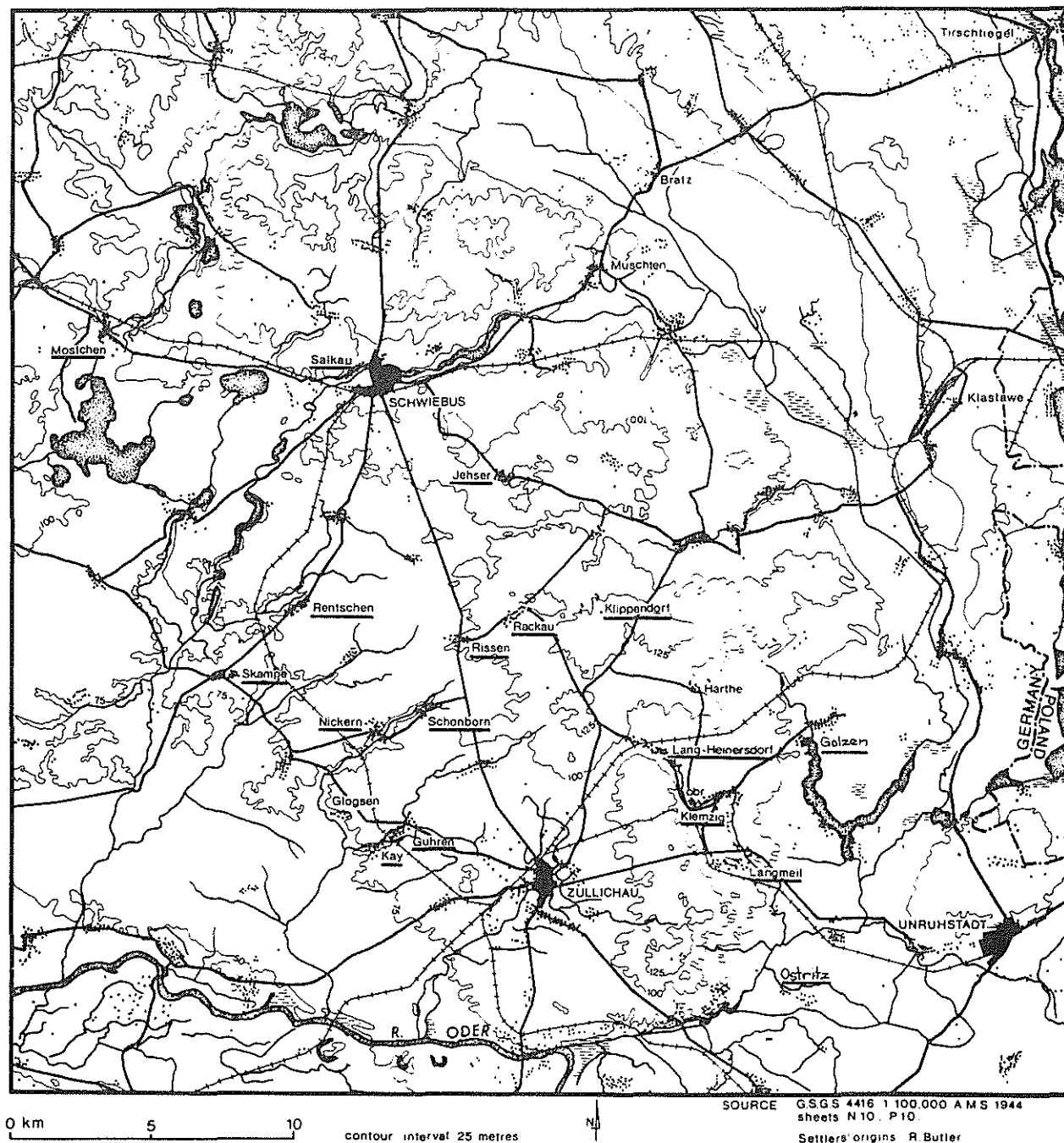


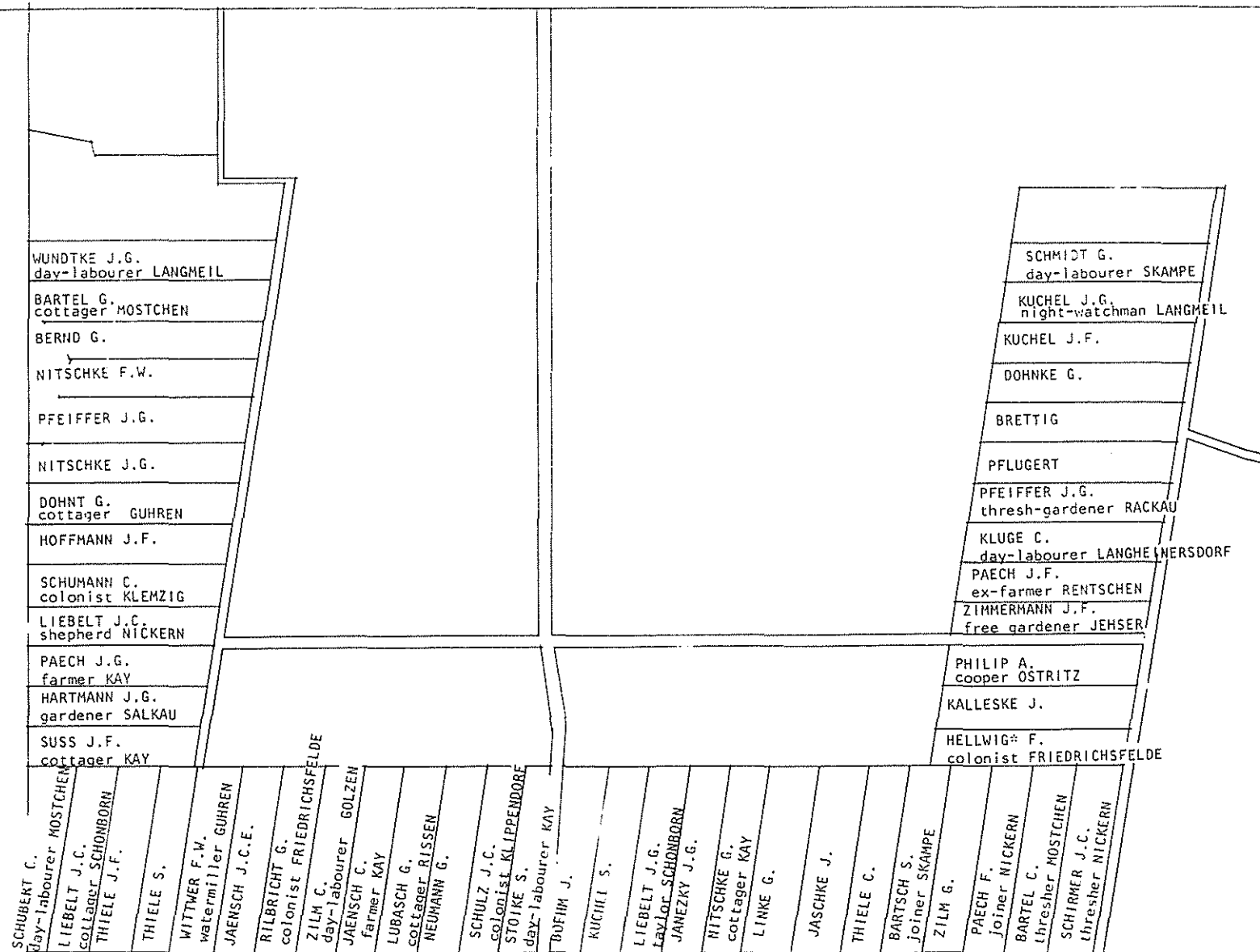
Sub-division after 1849

DEVELOPMENT OF HAHNDORF

The following pages are juxtaposed to facilitate comparison between the map of the settlers' homelands and the plan of the original settlement at Hahndorf, which shows the settlers' names and their villages of origin in Prussia.

HOMELAND OF ORIGINAL HAHNDORF SETTLERS.





PLAN OF ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT GIVING SETTLERS NAMES, TRADE & ORIGINAL VILLAGE IN PRUSSIA AFTER BRAUER

CHAPTER 3 THE SETTLEMENT OF HAHNDORF
PART 3

SOME REMNANTS OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT

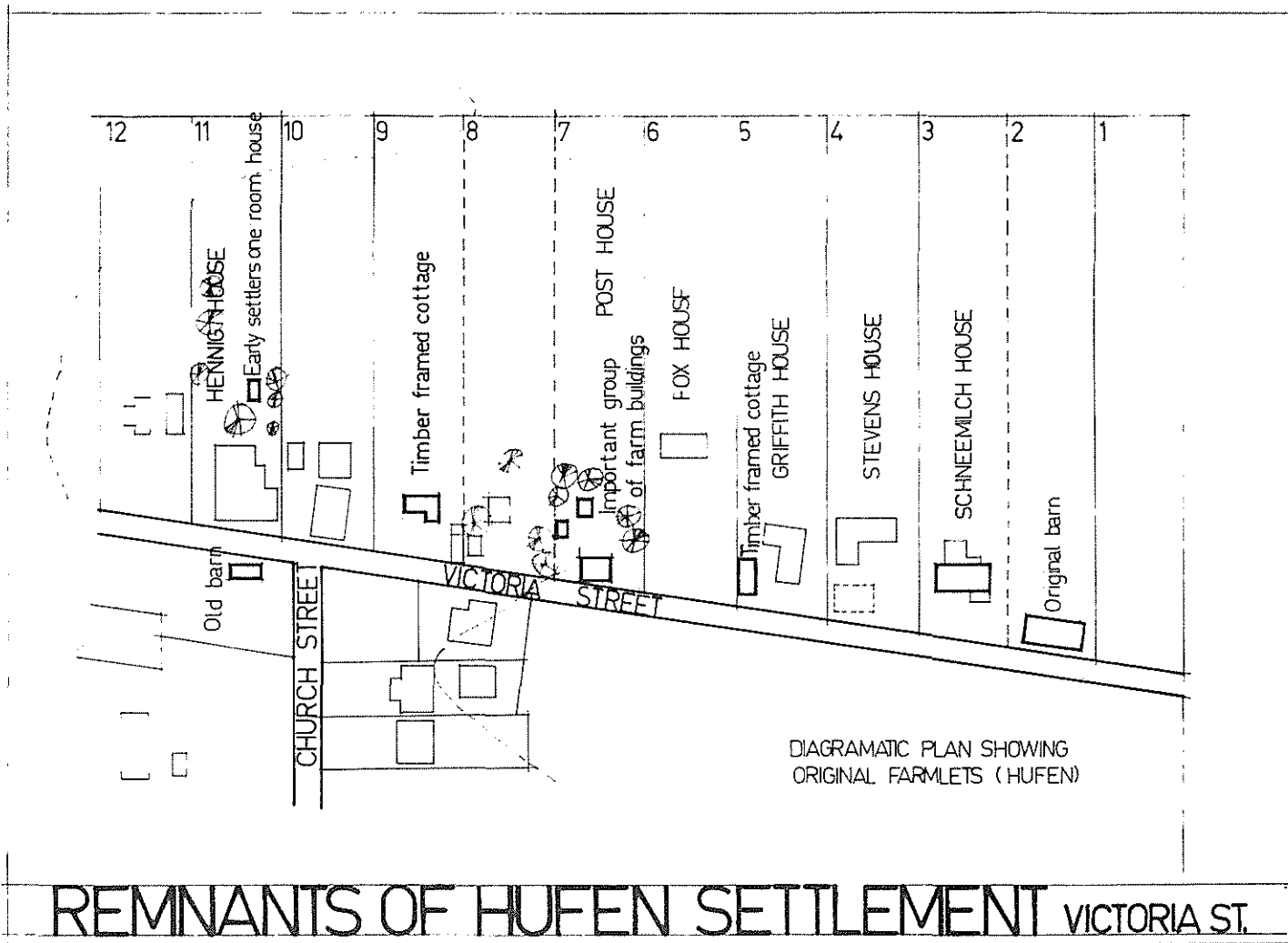
Victoria Street. As the north arm of the original U shaped village, it has elements from the very early stages of settlement up until the end of the 19th century. Sufficient remnants of buildings remain to give us a picture of the early settlement days.

Behind Mr. Albert Hennig's house (Lot 11 Victoria Street) lies a one roomed house built in the early 1850's by his maternal great-grandfather Mr. Paech. This is a slab hut with a brick bakeoven and fireplace and it replaced an even earlier house built of temporary materials in the first year of settlement. Rough timber framed houses and barns were erected by most of the settlers. Two such houses remain on Lots 5 and 9. Some temporary living accommodation appears in the timber barns on the Post and Schneemilch properties. (Lots 11, 2 & 3). These remain as outbuildings today and permanent stone and brick houses have been built alongside them. They show the gradual Australianization of Hahndorf's houses. In the case of the Post property the first stone and brick house has a small attic loft space and door in its eastern gable. The casement windows and the front door have lintels lower than the adjoining "modern" addition which has sash windows and higher ceilings. The Schneemilch house was later given a new villa wing in keeping with the current stylisms of the Australian suburban house.

Victoria Streets unusual character will rapidly change unless very strong conservation policies are adapted by the Mount Barker Council and the State Government.

Rodert's farm complex, 20 Main Street. Behind the new house, which was built closer to the street pavement in the 1880's, lies the original two roomed cottage of stone with a central chimney and loft. There are also an outside bakeoven, a slab sided barn and a pigsty. They form a complete example of what must have been the standard farm complex built by the early settlers down the main street. Incomplete remnants of similar buildings set quite well back from the street line exist but are now incorporated in more modern structures. The original premises on the Rodert's property are still occupied but the bakeoven and its attached smoke-house have not been used since the death of the present owner's mother in the mid 1920's. According to the former, Carl Rodert, who is now 68 years of age, his mother always baked bread and cakes for the whole week every Monday (20 loaves of bread were baked at a time). Pigs were kept in the timber pigsty and smoked pork meats produced in the smoke-house. The long narrow strip of property runs down to the creek and cows were pastured at the bottom end.

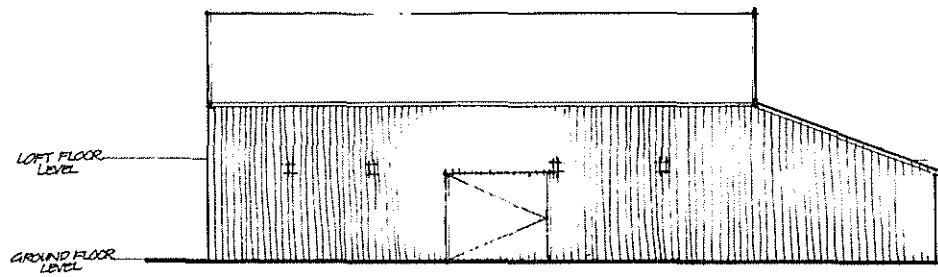
This is a neat example of a complete small holding (hufe) which was worked until the 1920's. Government or Local Authority action is recommended to retain this property and rehabilitate it as a working small holding and a living rural history museum.



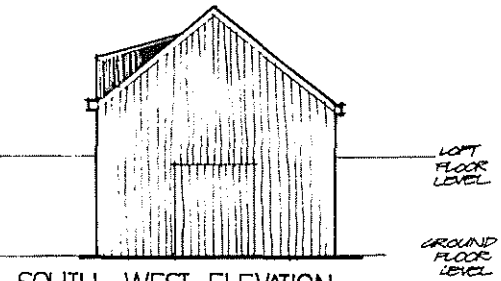


Small barnhouse at Landeck - Lower Silesia
(Loewe, L. Schlesische Holzbauten, Düsseldorf 1969 p 34)

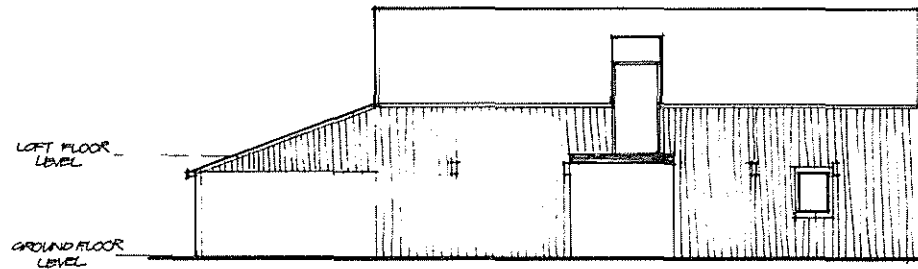
SMALL SILESIAN FARMHOUSE SIMILAR TO THOSE
BUILT IN VICTORIA ST.



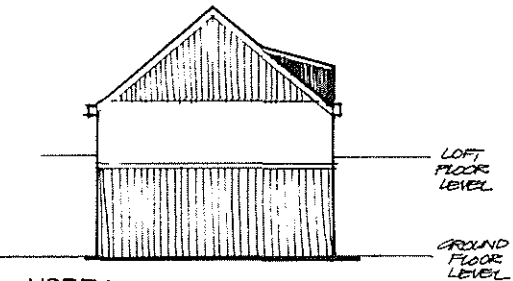
SOUTH EAST ELEVATION



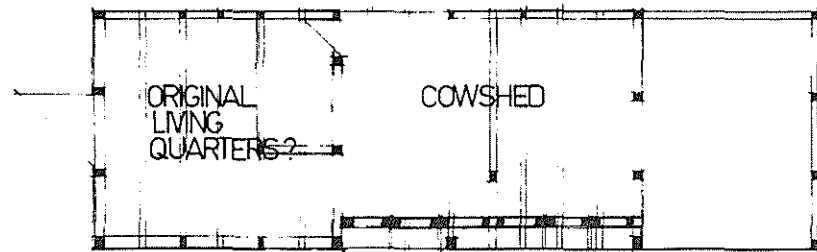
SOUTH WEST ELEVATION



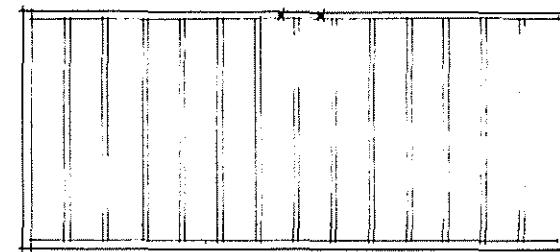
NORTH WEST ELEVATION



NORTH EAST ELEVATION

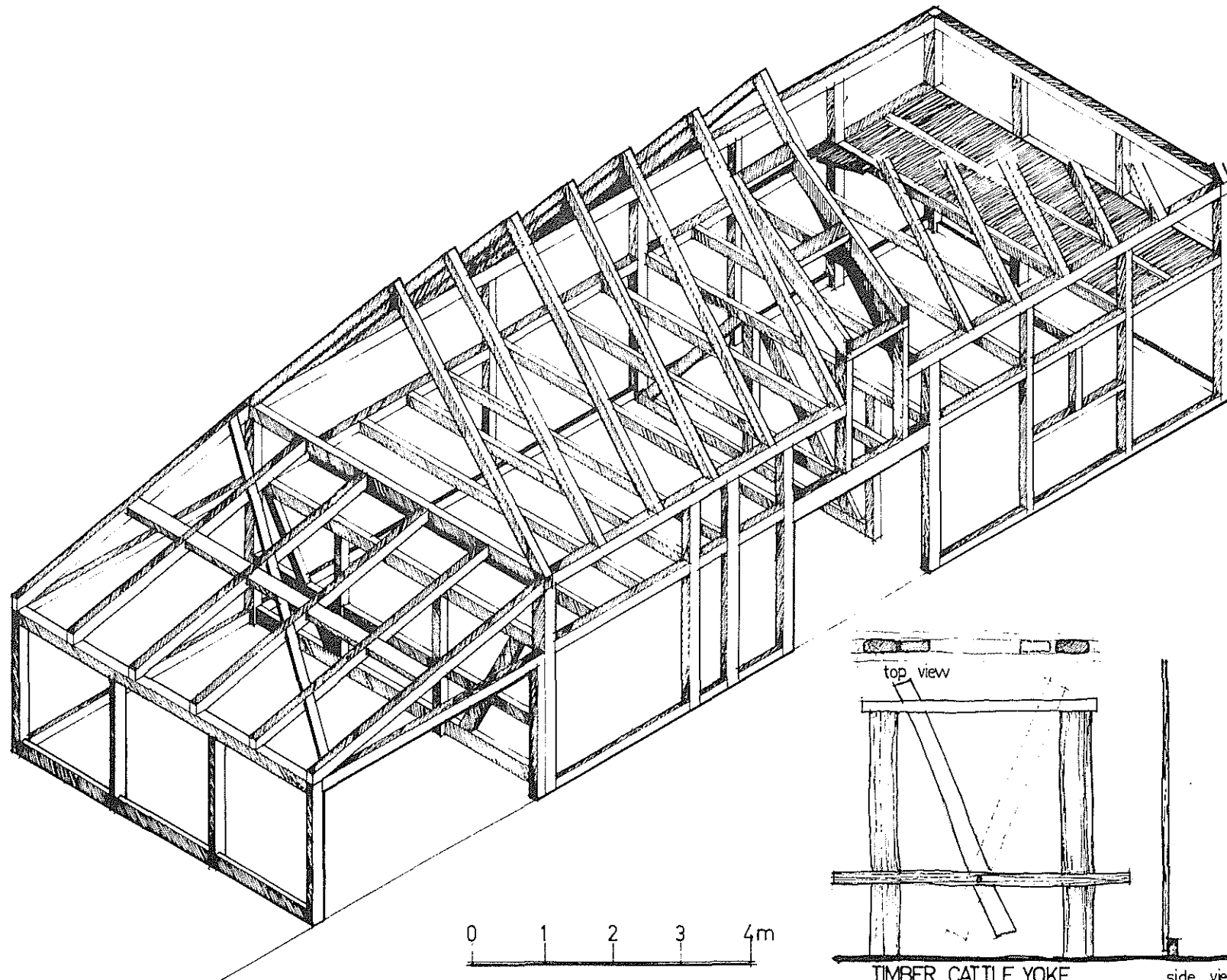


GROUND FLOOR PLAN

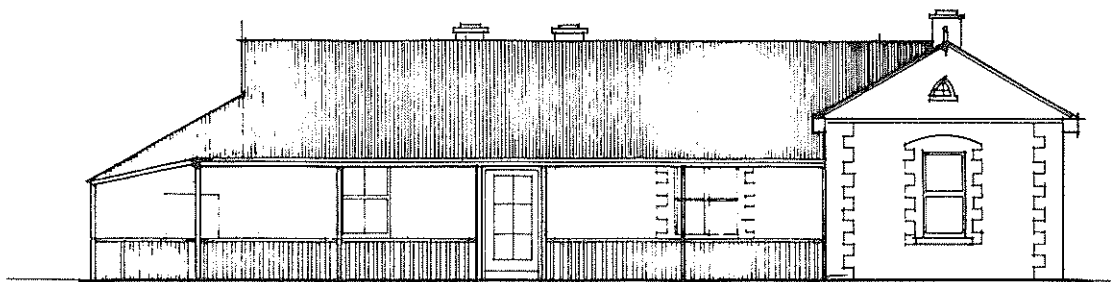


LOFT FLOOR PLAN

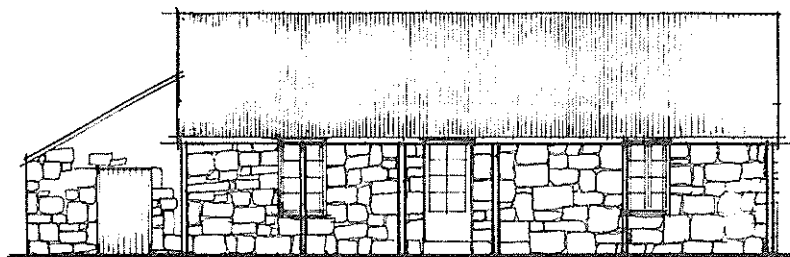
SCHNEEMILCH BARN LOT2 VICTORIA STREET



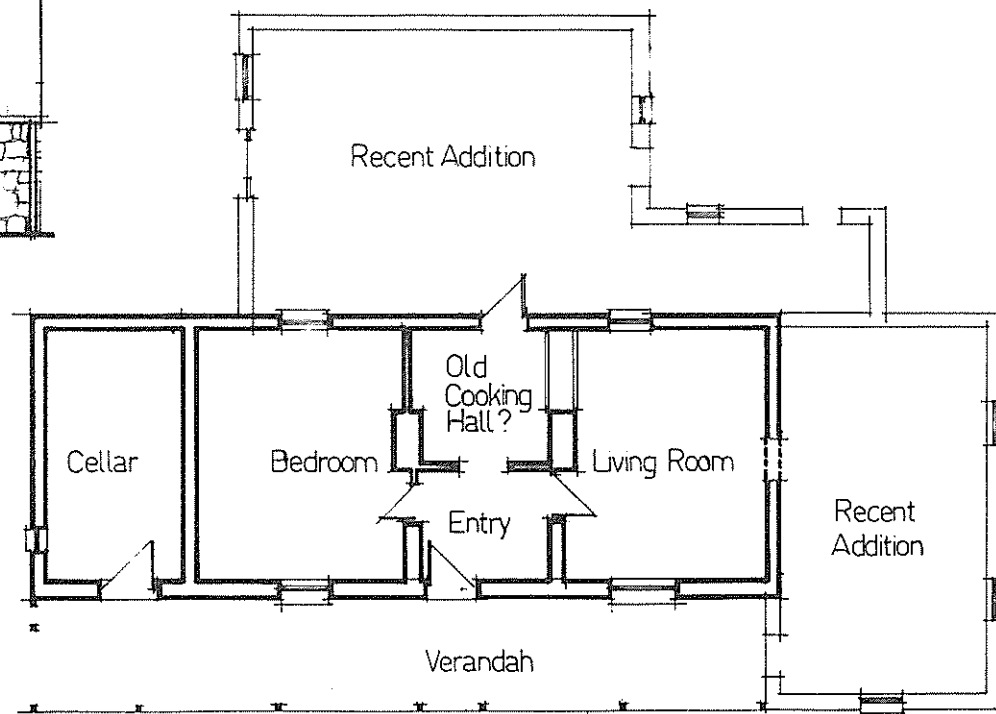
STRUCTURAL FRAME — SCHNEEMILCH BARN LOT 2 VICTORIA STREET



SOUTH ELEVATION

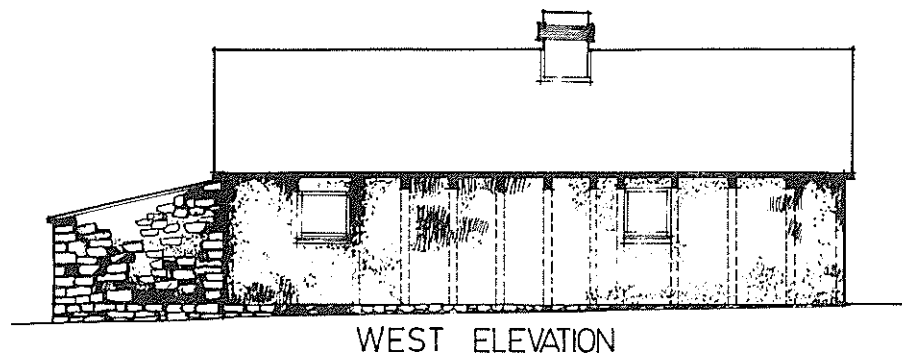


ORIGINAL BUILDING (SOUTH ELEVATION)

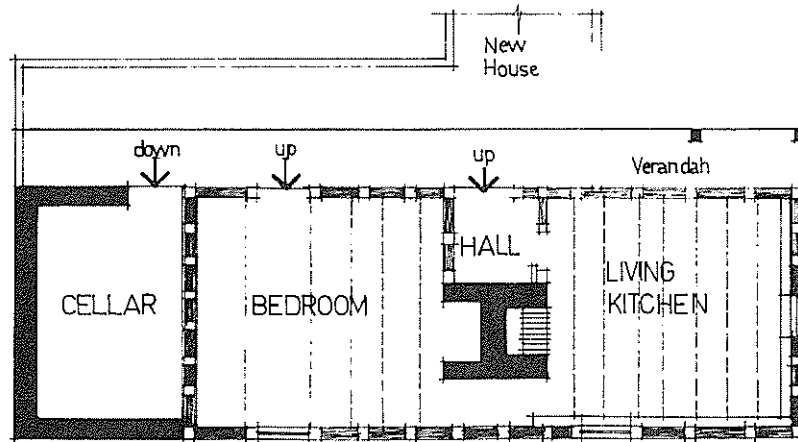
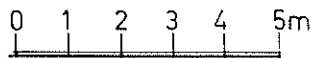


PLAN

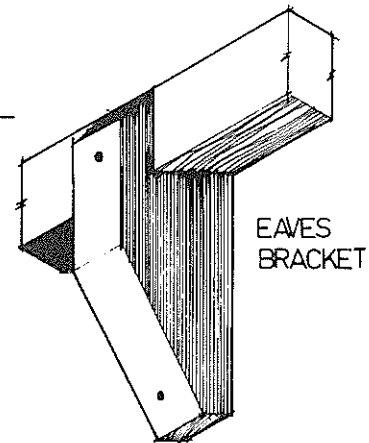
SCHNEEMILCH 'NEW HOUSE' LOT 3 VICTORIA STREET



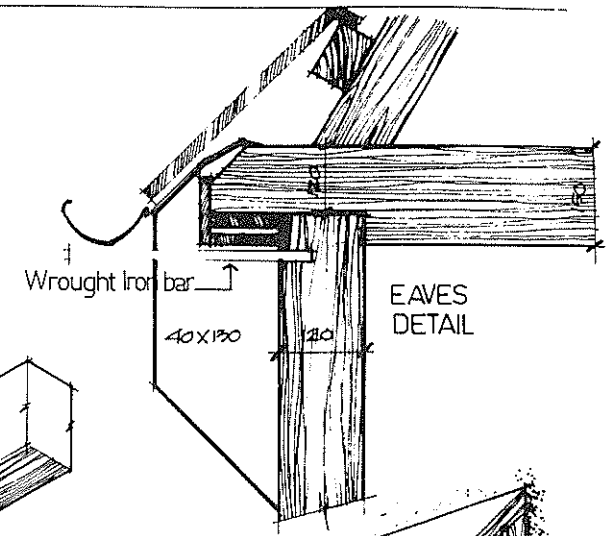
WEST ELEVATION



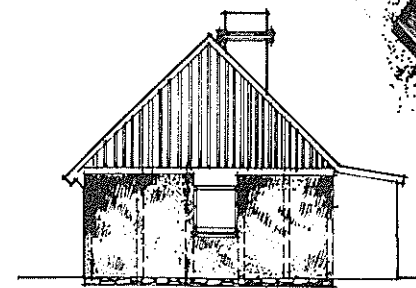
ORIGINAL TIMBER FRAMED COTTAGE & STONE WALLED CELLAR



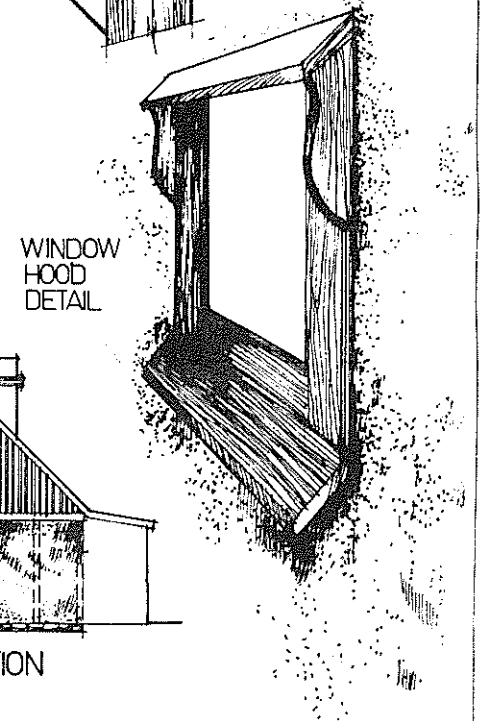
EAVES
BRACKET



EAVES
DETAIL

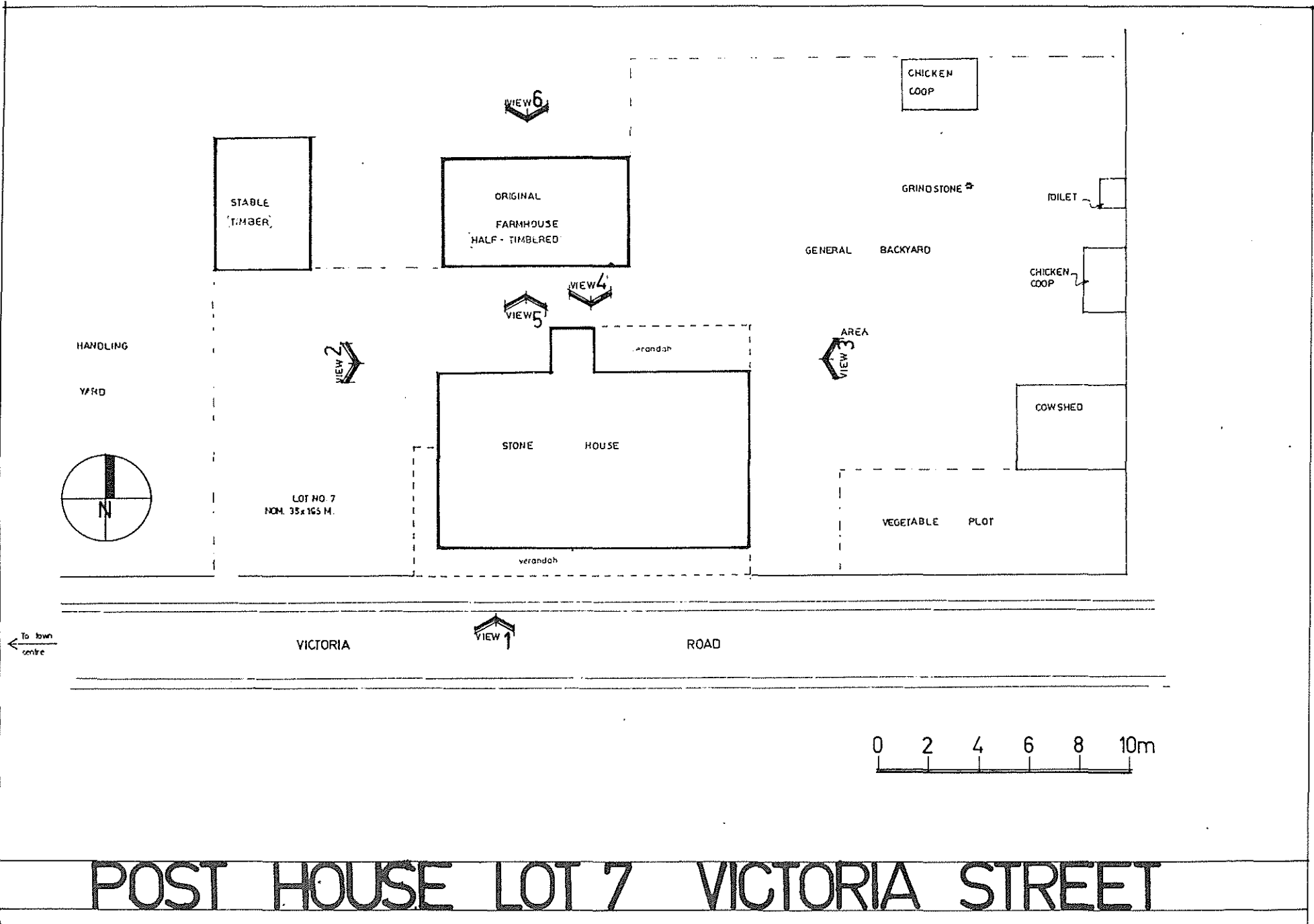


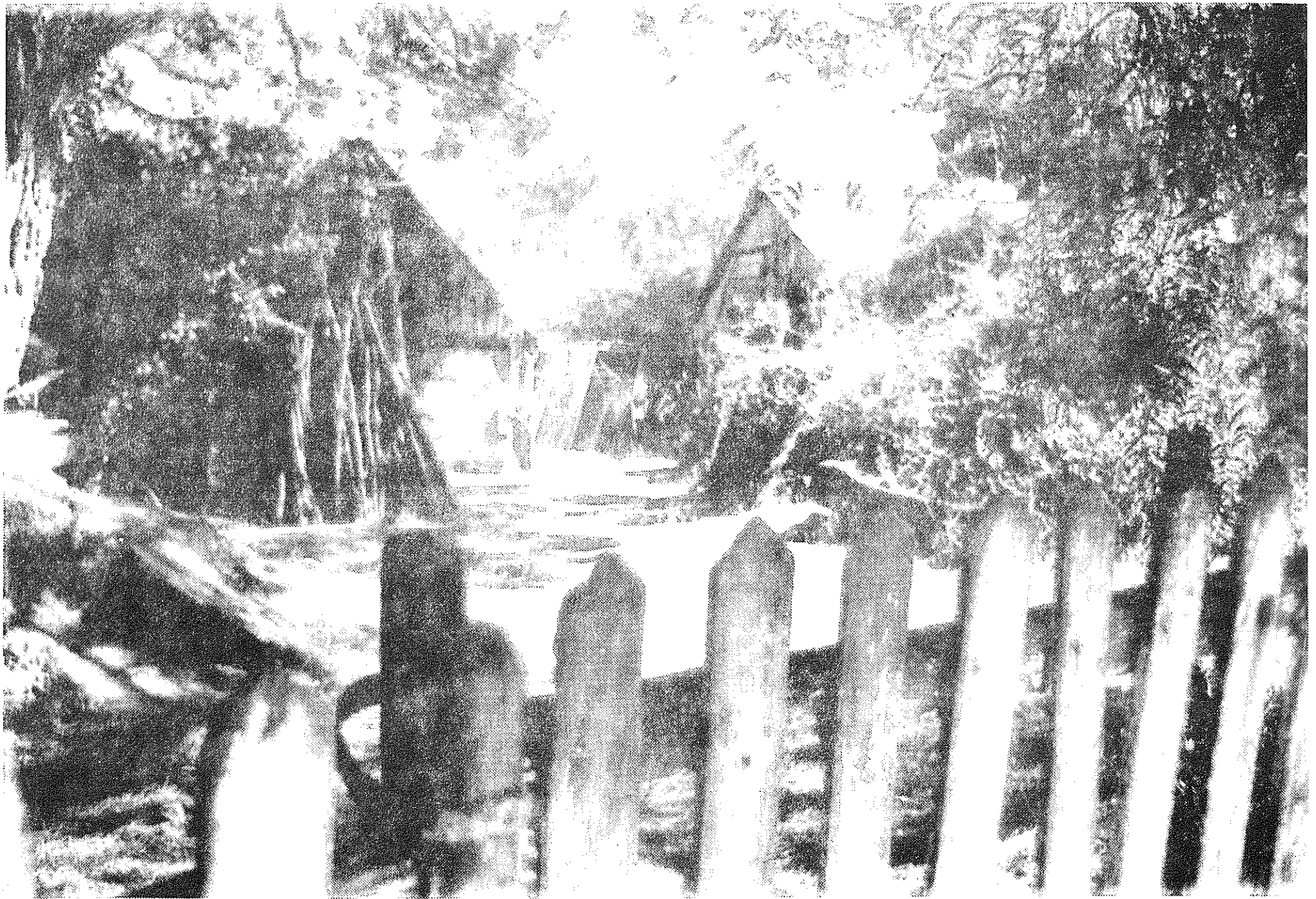
SOUTH ELEVATION



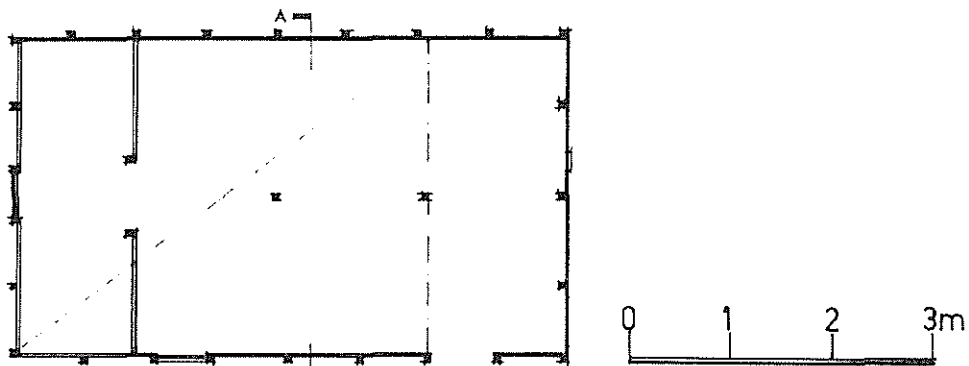
WINDOW
HOOD
DETAIL

GRIFFITH'S HOUSE LOT 5 VICTORIA STREET

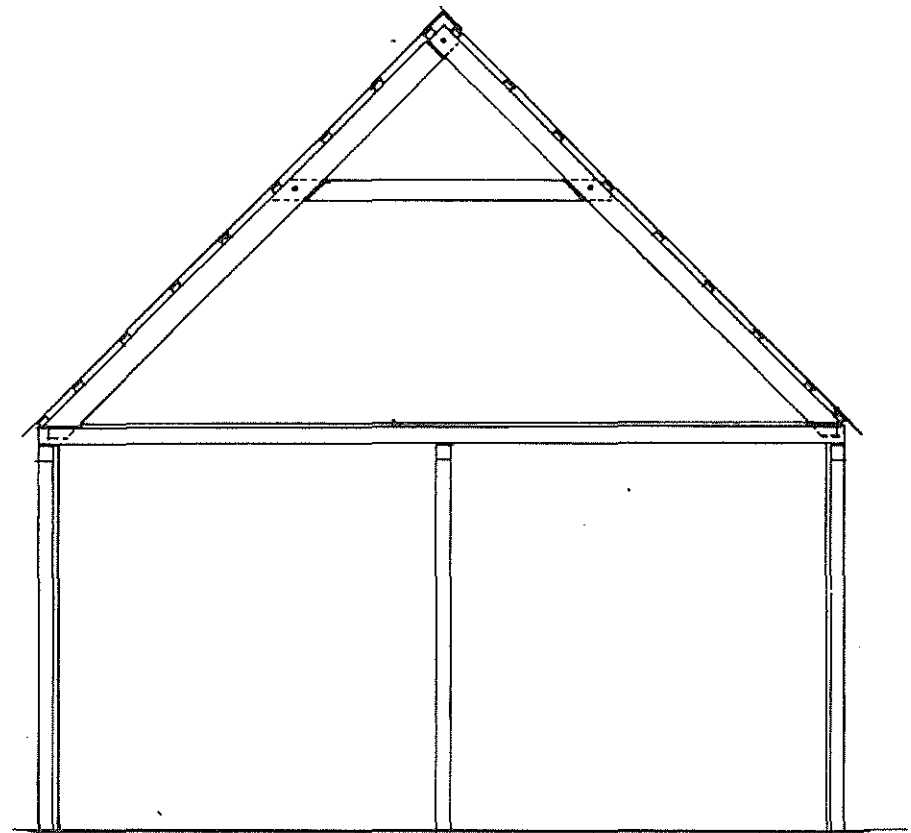




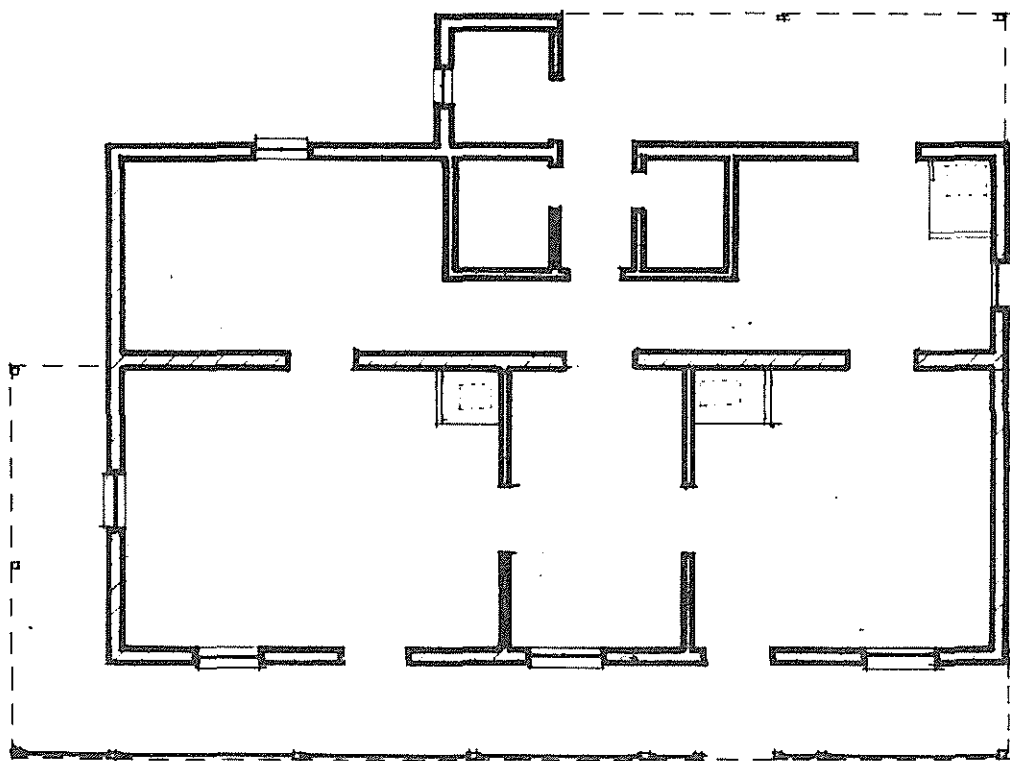
Post House Lot 7, Victoria Street



ORIGINAL HOUSE AND BARN

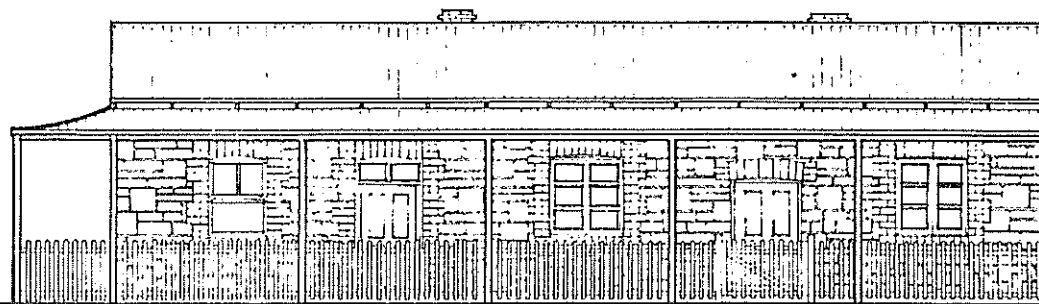
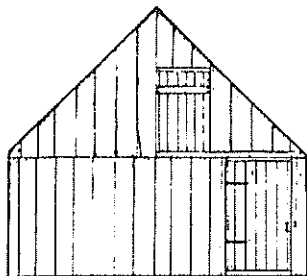


SECTION THROUGH BARN A - A

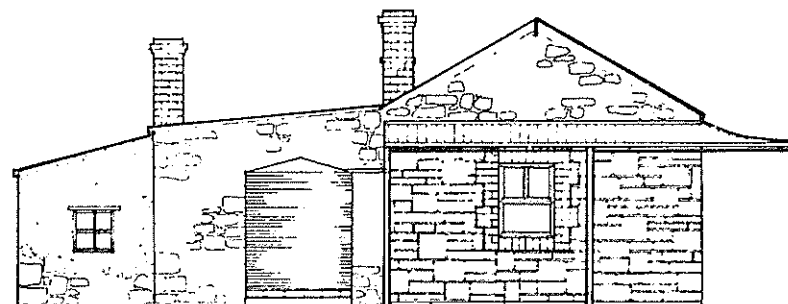
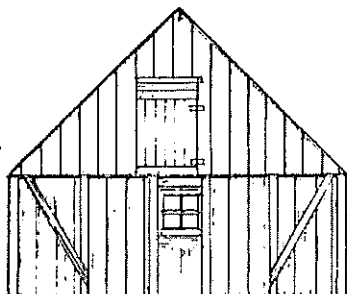


PLAN OF NEW HOUSE (Approximate)

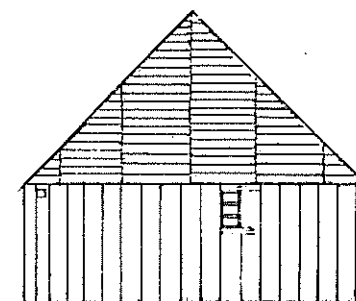
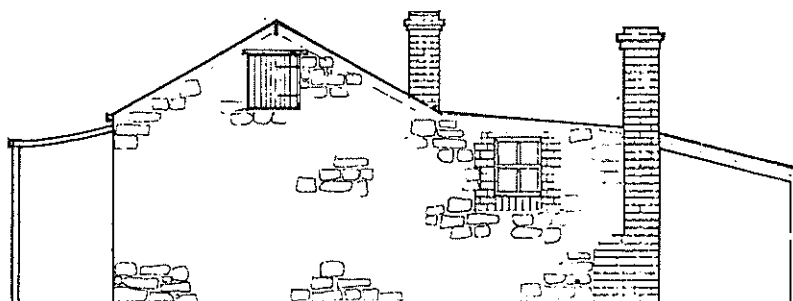
POST HOUSE LOT 7 VICTORIA STREET



ELEVATION TO VICTORIA STREET

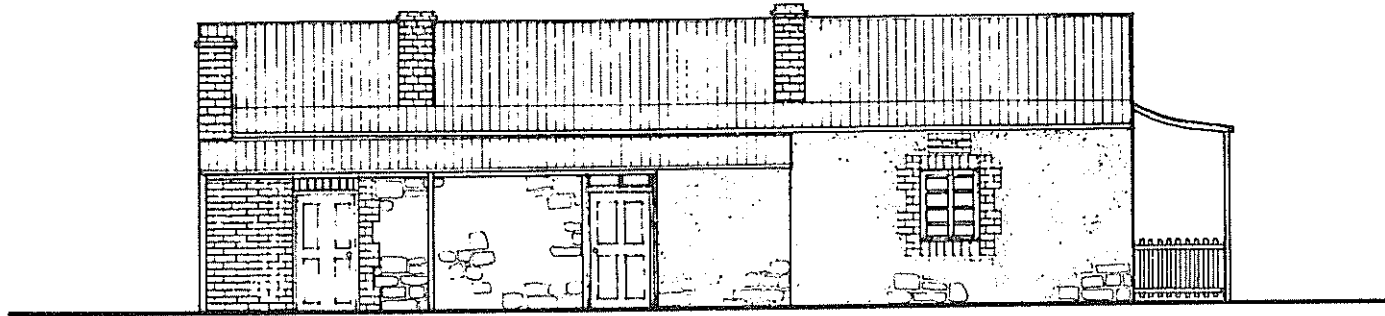


WEST ELEVATION

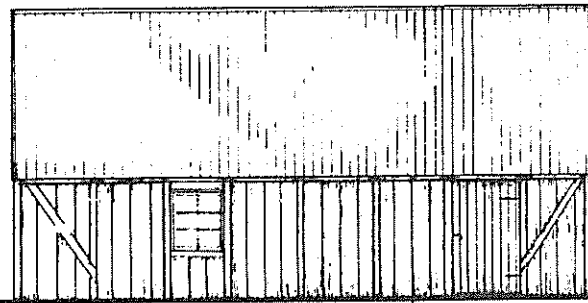


EAST ELEVATION

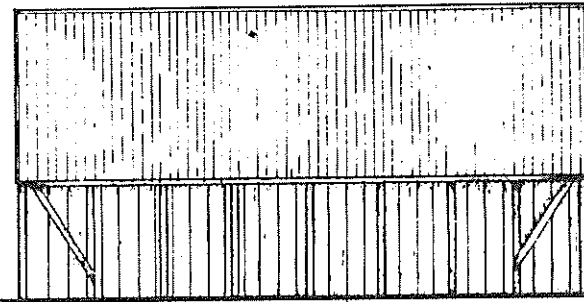
POST HOUSE LOT 7 VICTORIA STREET



VIEW 4



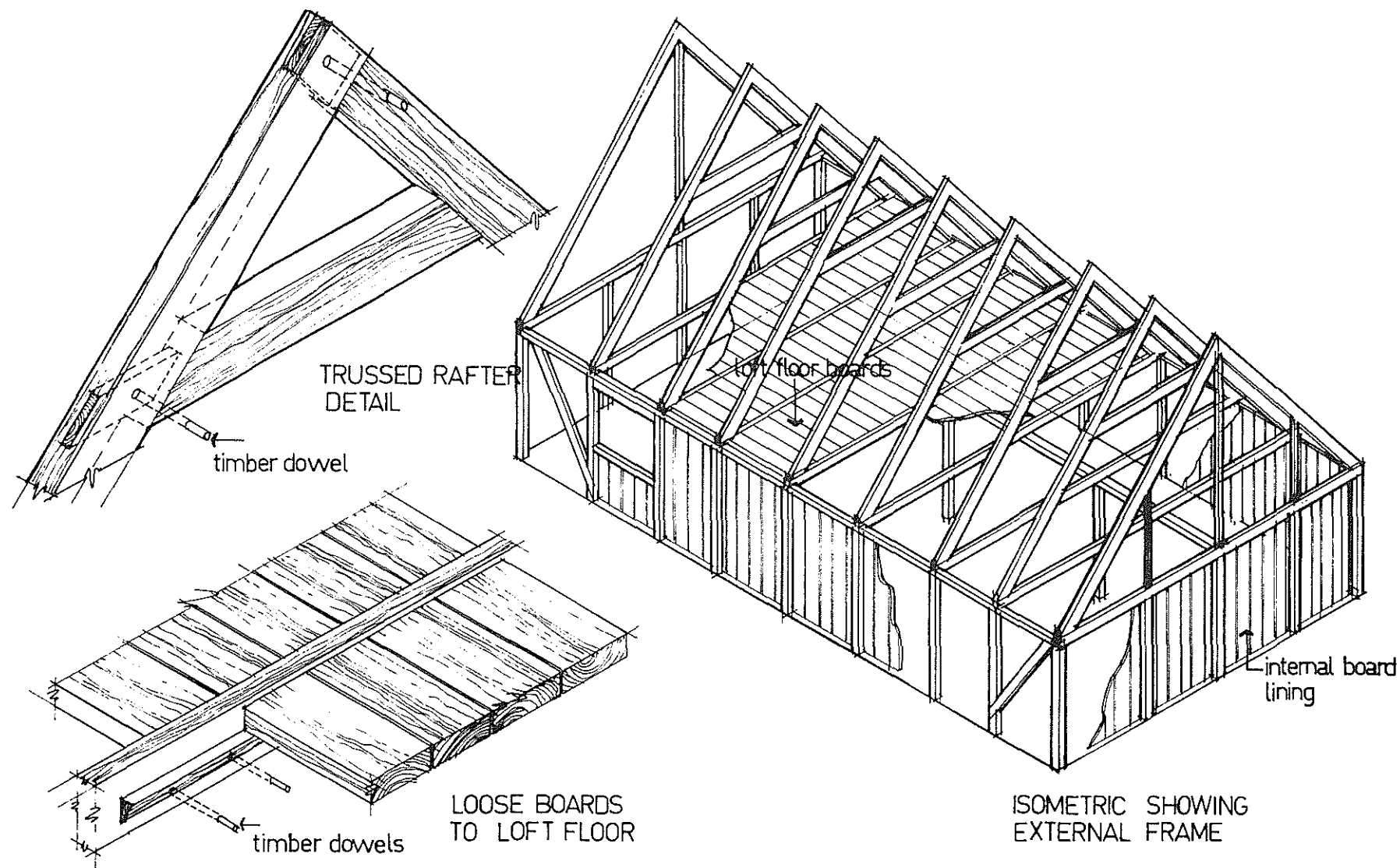
VIEW 5



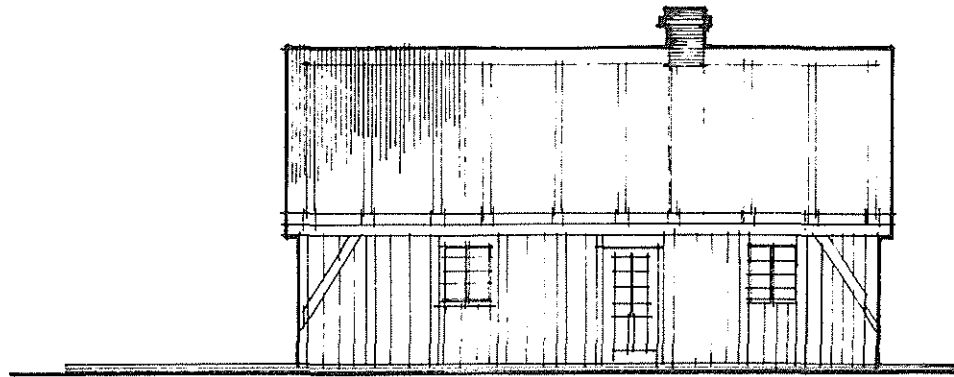
VIEW 6



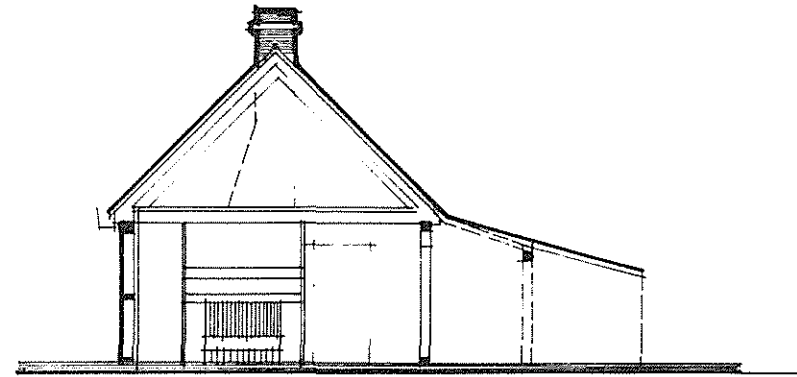
POST HOUSE LOT 7 VICTORIA STREET



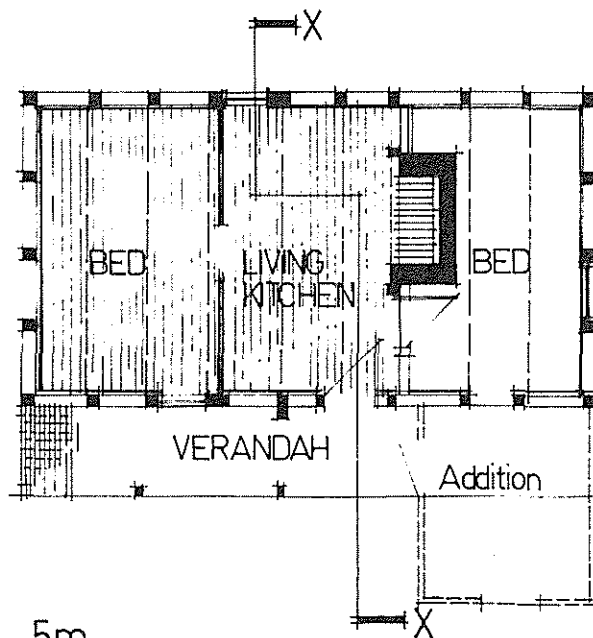
FRAMING DETAILS OF POST'S BARN LOT 7 VICTORIA ST.



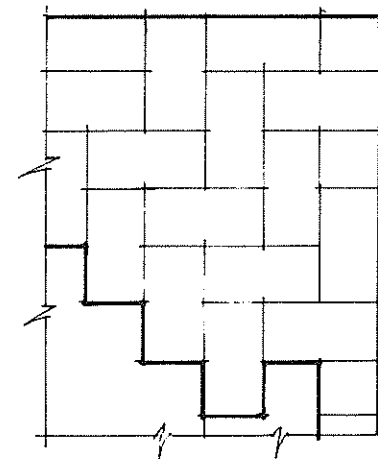
SOUTH ELEVATION



SECTION X-X

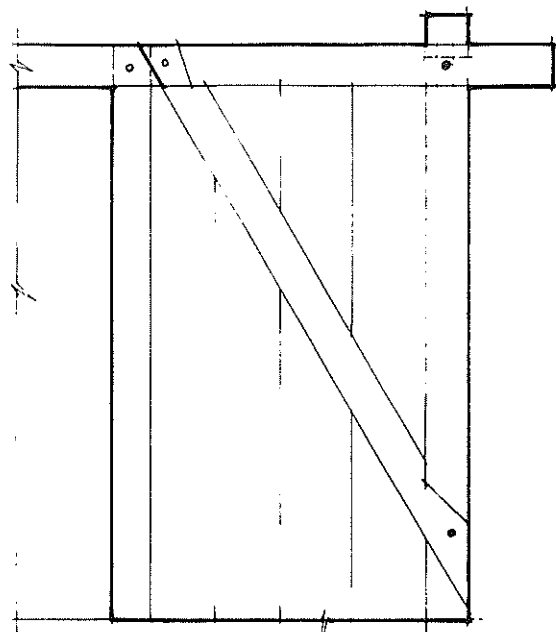


PLAN



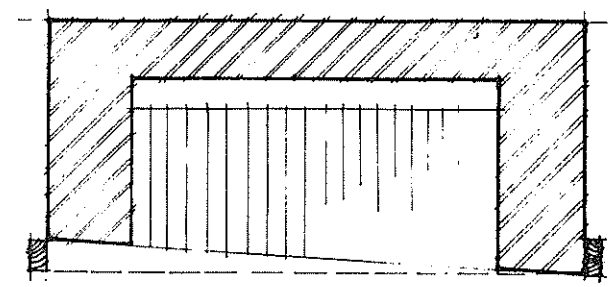
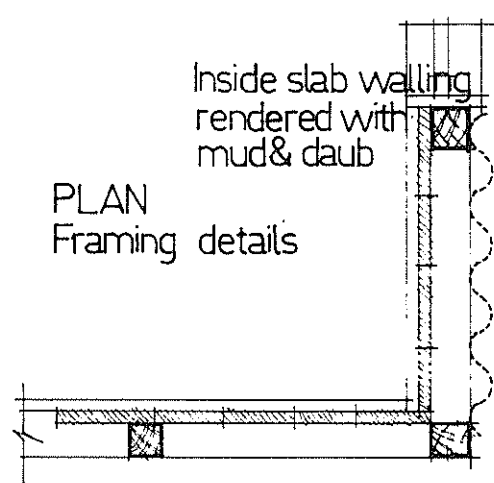
DETAIL PLAN OF
PAVING TO VERANDAH

TIMBER FRAMED HOUSE LOT 9 VICTORIA ST.



ELEVATION Framing details

PLAN Framing details

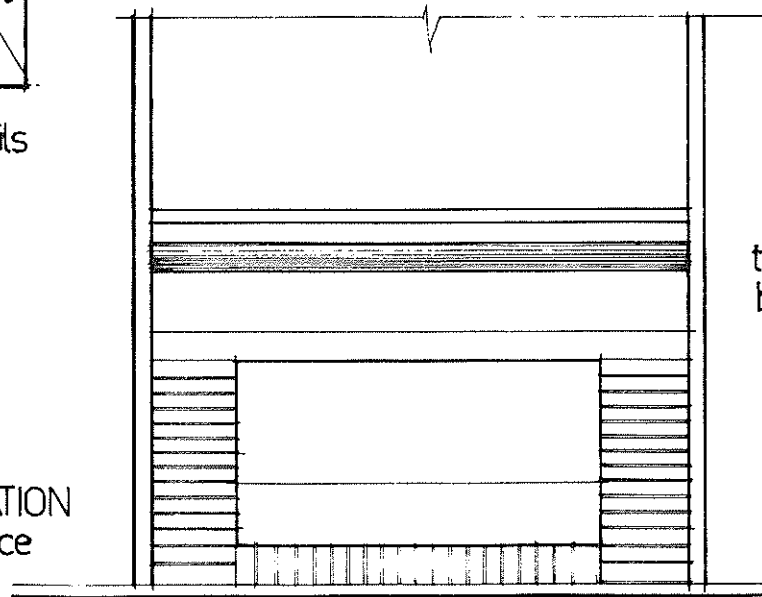


PLAN Fireplace

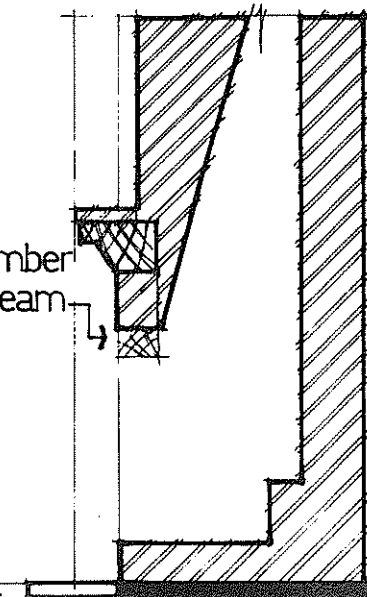
g.i. covering

Timber post

ELEVATION Fireplace

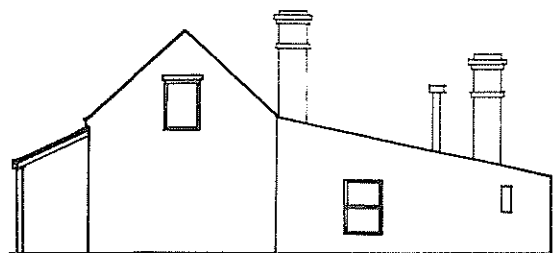


timber beam

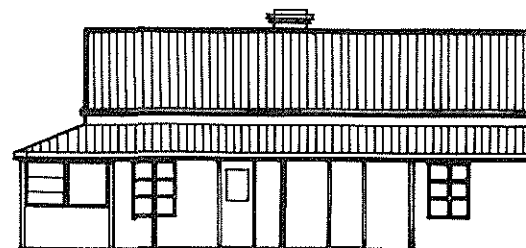


SECTION Through Fireplace

DETAILS of HOUSE LOT 9 VICTORIA ST.



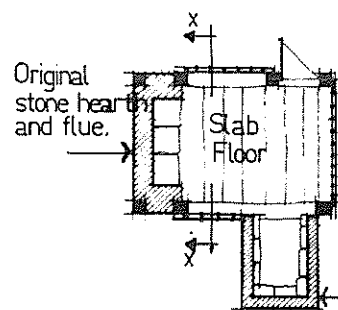
NORTH ELEVATION



EAST ELEVATION



Flat iron roof
replacing shingles

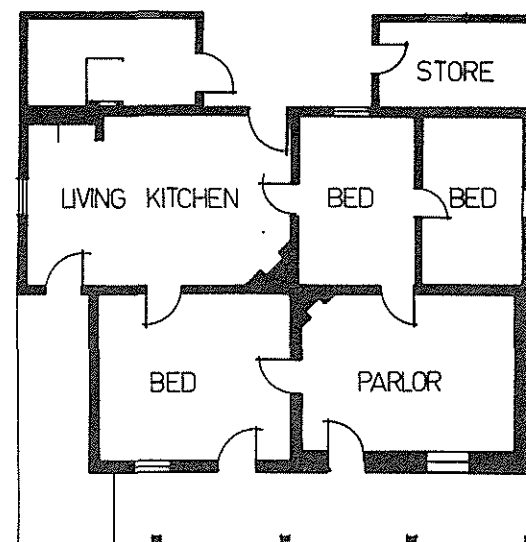
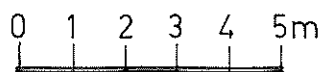


Original
stone hearth
and flue.

Slab
Floor

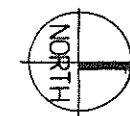
TIMBER FRAMED SLAB HUT
WITH SHINGLE ROOF

Brick and stone
based smoking chamber.

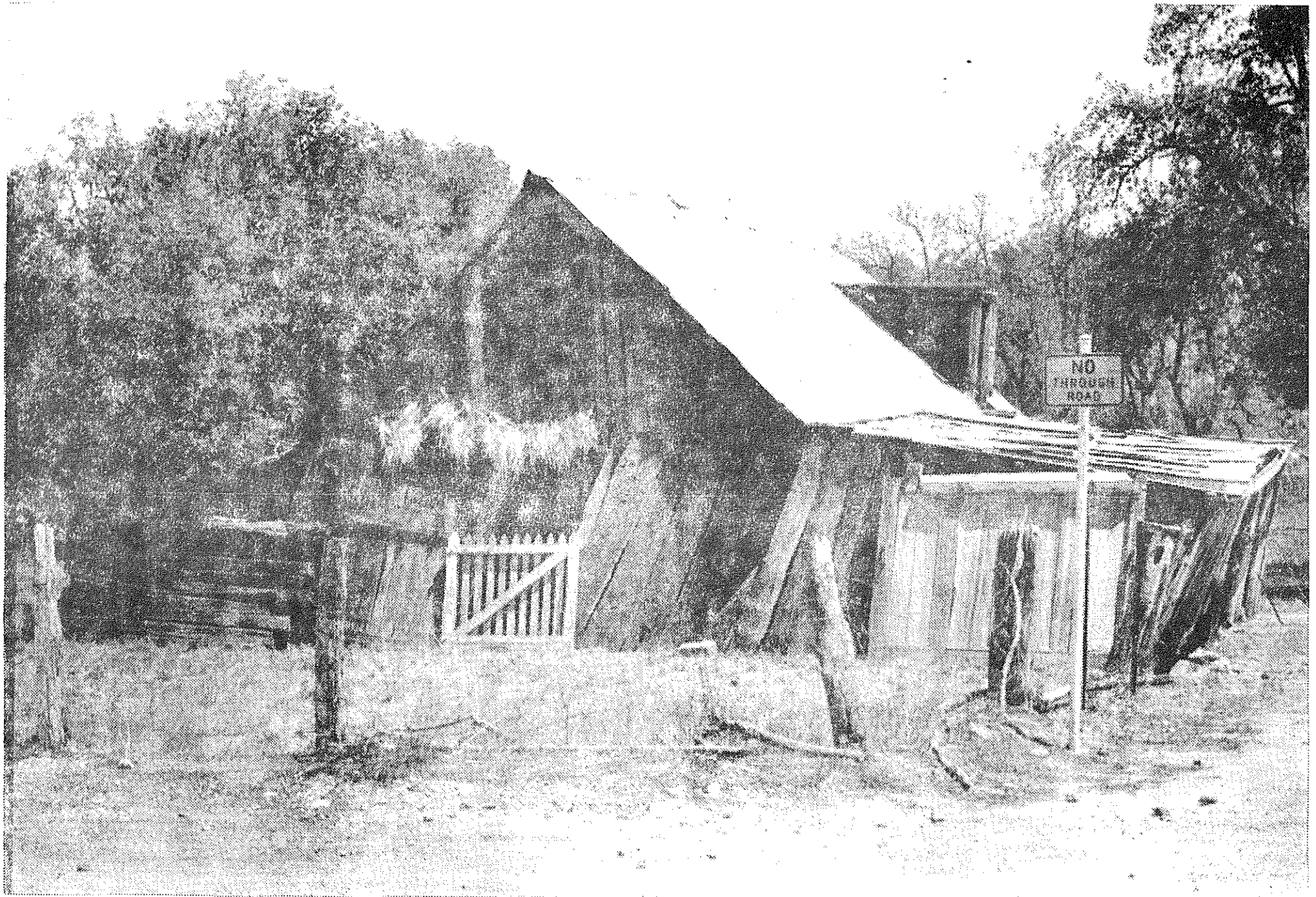


HENNING'S OLD COTTAGE (Paech Family)

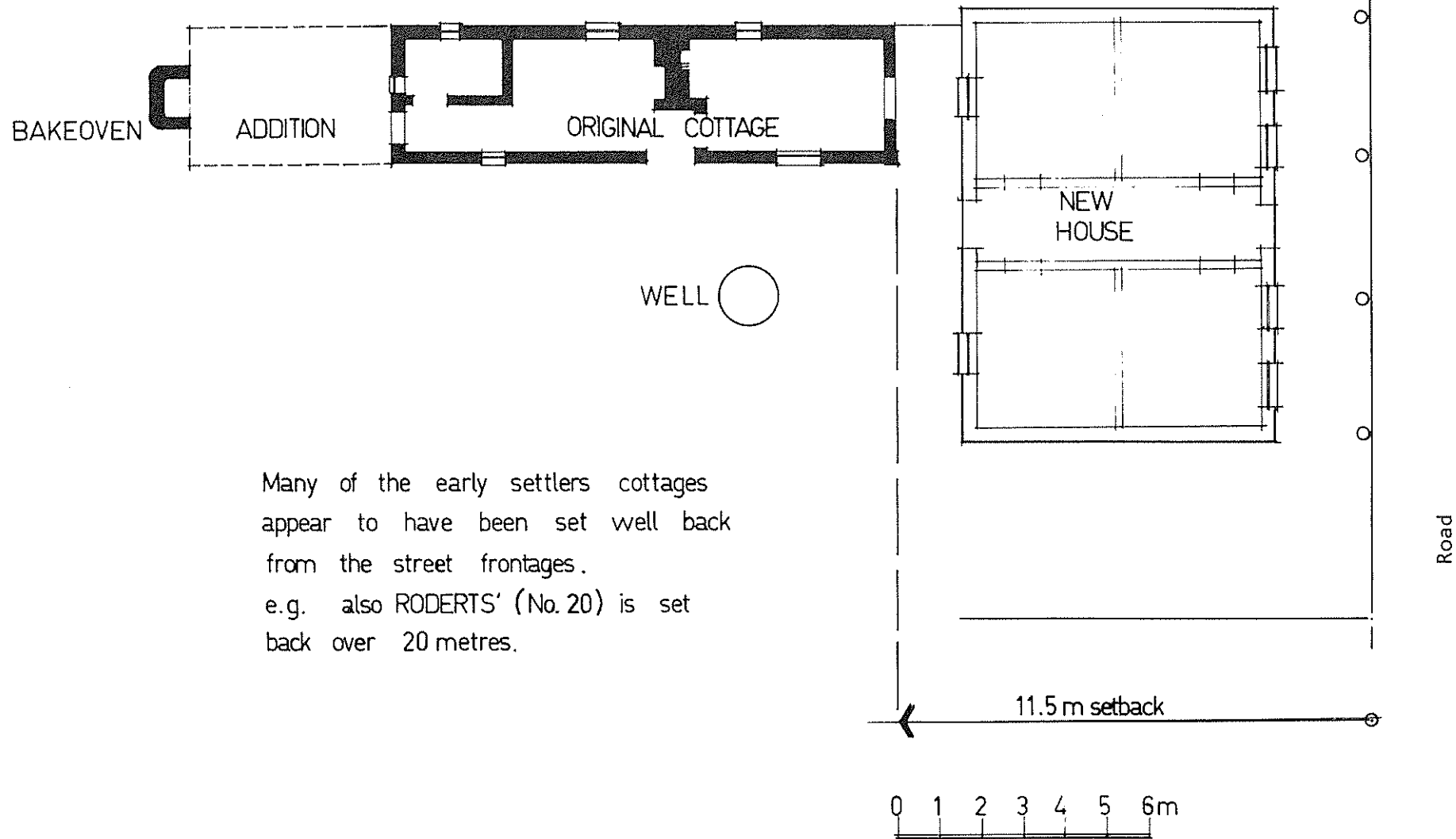
FLOOR PLAN



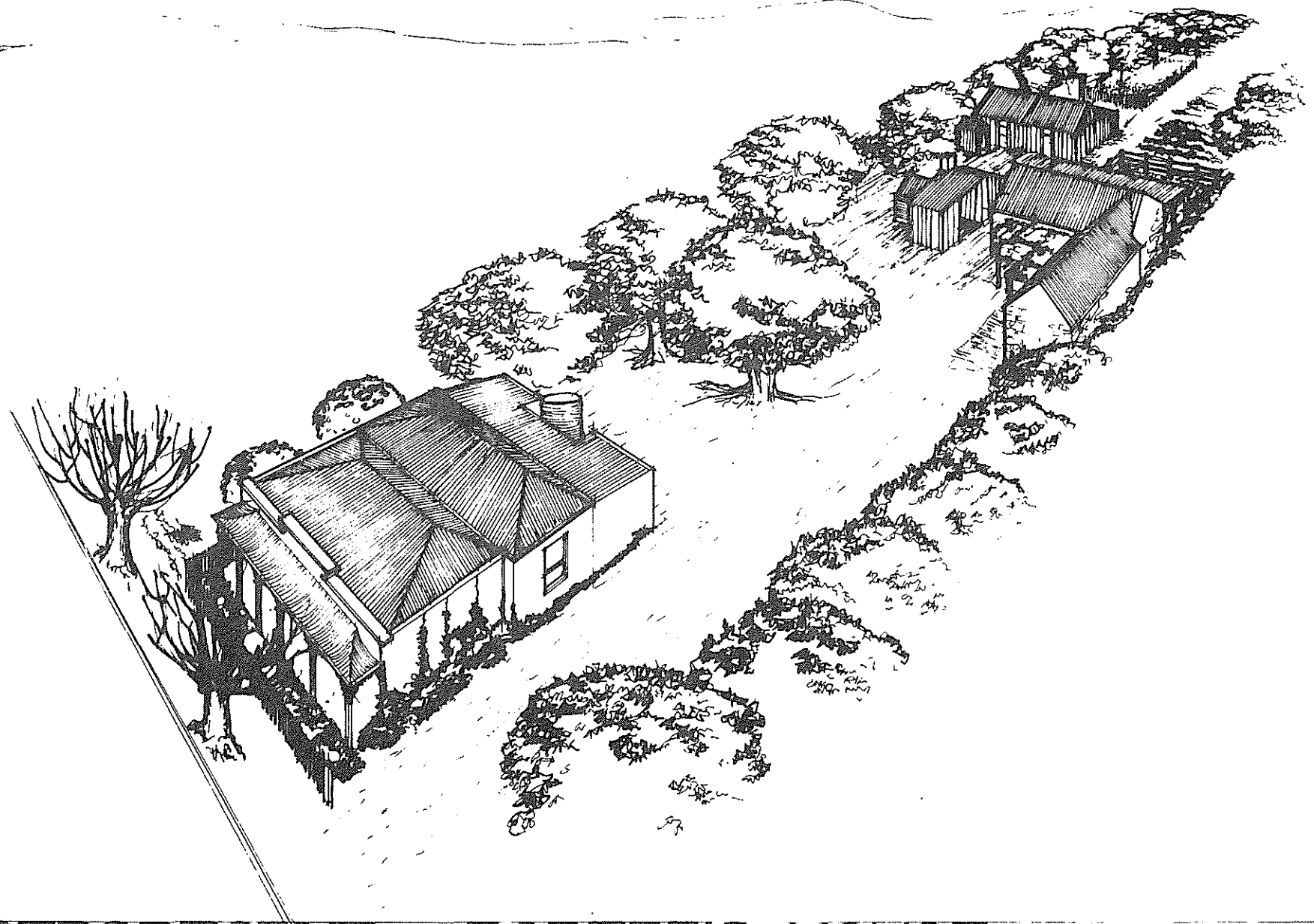
HENNING HOUSE LOT 11 VICTORIA STREET



Hennig's barn on the corner of Victoria Street and Church Street



NO. 79 MAIN ST. HAHNDORF



PERSPECTIVE OF RODERT'S HOUSE ALLOTMENT No 20

CHAPTER 3 THE SETTLEMENT OF HAHNDORF
PART 4

HAHNDORF: AN EXAMPLE OF CULTURAL TRANSFER

Australia offers many examples of the strong impact of culture upon landscape development but none more vividly than does the settlement of Hahndorf. Indeed, to understand the landscape of Hahndorf is both to appreciate the underlying influence of culture upon man's use of this environment and to acknowledge the pervasive dictate of a new physical environment. Hahndorf dramatically attests to the significance of the cultural and physical elements interacting to form a new unique landscape.

Lowenthal said "Each social system organises the world in accordance with its particular structure and requirements: each culture screens perception of the milieu in harmony with its particular style and techniques."³⁶ It is not therefore surprising that the Hahndorf landscape is quite different from that developed in surrounding districts with similar physical environments but settled by persons of English cultural origin. Nor is it surprising to find that Hahndorf is also quite different from the region in Brandenburg, from which the original settlers came. The changes are evidence of the cultural adjustments which had to take place for the emigrants to make this piece of the Australian environment into an acceptable, albeit altered, German image.

36 Lowenthal, D., 1972, *Geography, experience and imagination: towards a geographical epistemology* in Davies, Wayne (ed), *The Conceptual Revolution in Geography*, University of London, London, p.87.

The cultural experience of the migrants in their homeland and the different physical conditions in this part of the Adelaide Hills interacted together to form a new and unique landscape. The fine interaction which occurs between a society's culture and its physical environment is most easily observed amongst groups of people who move suddenly to new environments.

The settlers in the Hahndorf valley were transferred quickly and virtually without intervening stops to this quite different Australian environment. No settlers had preceded them. There was no well developed pattern of information flow through letters from relatives and friends. They had no conditioning opportunities to prepare them for the new environment as did later settlers. They therefore saw this new landscape entirely through the peasant eyes of their own limited cultural experience.

Furthermore the circumstances of their migration assured that their culture remained intact throughout their transfer as theirs was a group migration. They moved like a whole community. Single persons or families cannot transmit their culture as effectively as groups of people can do. But these settlers came out together on two ships. Even during the migration process they maintained a full spread of their culture, its language and religion. No process of acculturation was required of them since no contact with other people took place.

Then on arrival in South Australia they settled in a valley which although only 30 kilometres from Adelaide was at the time quite isolated. The physical location thus severely curtailed outside contacts. As a result a high degree of internal social interaction and cultural

reinforcement was encouraged.

The social barriers created by the differences in language and religion helped to reinforce the effects of the physical isolation. In cultural terms the community therefore continued to function and organise itself much as it had done at home. The social status and authority of the pastor further reinforced the process of cultural retention and isolation as opposed to the acculturation and social assimilation which more commonly accompany long distance migration.

But these people had not migrated to a new country. They had merely shifted to other lands attracted by the economic goals of land ownership and the cultural belief of a religious freedom. The very nature of the migration and the role of the church in its achievement inevitably suggests that the persons who migrated would be conservative and culturally ethnocentric.

However, severe dislocation and cultural adjustment would have been forced upon these settlers had they not been able to find an area physically suited to the imprinting of a German village. South Australia offered a few such areas of which Hahndorf was one. Their very early arrival, so soon after the first British settlers, was fortuitous in enabling them to acquire this fertile valley. A year or two later and probably neither this area nor that of the Barossa Valley would have been scored so indelibly into the South Australian landscape.

Fortunately Hahndorf was available and suitable for conversion into the image which the settlers held of their homeland. The prerequisites were there and the original selectors were able to envisage Hahndorf's potential as an environment in which homeland conditions could be replicated.

In actual fact the Hahndorf valley is quite different from the Brandenburg plain. The settlers found a fertile, alluvial valley surrounded by steeply sloping hills of gravelly loam. By contrast, Brandenburg is an extensive plain, not characterised by such irregular terrain as that providing the setting for Hahndorf. Fertile soil is more evenly spread. A large mature river, the Oder, associated with swampy flats, traverses the area. But Hahndorf lies in a valley carved out by a number of youthful creeks which join to form a tributary of the Onkaparinga.

A comparison of the maps on pages 87 and 91 of the Hahndorf and Zullichau³⁷ areas will show quite different patterns of relief. A metric map at comparable scale is not available for the Adelaide Hills. The Hahndorf area thus has a contour interval of more than twice that of the Zullichau map. But to insert more contours on the Hahndorf map was unnecessary and confusing. It is quite evident that the hilly nature of the new area did not replicate the undulating plains of home. But at a micro scale, a not impossible feat for people from small villages, the actual locale of the Hahndorf valley itself was sufficiently similar to encourage settlement.

37 Now in Poland and renamed Sulechów. Schwiebus has been changed to Swiebodzin.

The climate of the two areas is also quite different, Brandenburg being both colder and drier than Hahndorf. Mt. Barker is the nearest recording station to Hahndorf and Poznan the closest to the villages of Brandenburg plain. A comparison of the vital meteorological data for these two places will show significant differences.

	Mean Max Temp °C	Mean Min Temp °C	An.Av. rf. mm.	Effective Rainfall Months
38 Mt. Barker	19.6	7.9	781	8.7
39 Poznan	17.6	-2.6	522	11.2*

The rainfall pattern is particularly important because the settlers, culturally conditioned by their farming experience at home, planted vines by the dry farming method of last century; that of deep trenching the soil. Yet Hahndorf, with its heavy winter rains, was actually too wet for vines. But the dry summer, to people accustomed to a wet summer, made them believe the climate to be a dry one. The seasonal variation played an important part in their adjustment since they had been familiar with rain throughout the year with a slight maximum in the summer. In the new land all of their farming practices were affected but especially the growing of vegetable crops. The long summer droughts made it very difficult for them to obtain sufficient water for their intensive style of agriculture.

38 Australia, Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology

39 World Weather Data

* Berlin is nearest location for which this detail is available.

Despite these physical differences, of which they were largely unaware, the settlers attempted to recreate their familiar farming environment. Thus the location of fertile soil and the availability of water in the creeks in summer were important determinants of the farm and village layout and of the land tenure system which developed. Hahndorf is therefore a classic example of the way in which a migrant group's desire to replicate its culture is reflected in the locational decisions made.

The pattern of agriculture and the system of land tenure which developed cannot be understood exclusively in terms of either the physical environment of the new land nor the cultural expectations of this tightly knit community of immigrants. The unique landscape that became Hahndorf is the result of a fusion of these two forces.

In contrast to the familiar linear or nucleated structure of the villages from which the peasants emigrated, Hahndorf assumed a distorted form right from its inception. Semi-subsistence farmers, conditioned by their livelihood pursuits at home, perceived water availability, soil productivity and access factors as their economic priorities. The structure of the village and its surrounding farm land reflected the emphasis these farmers placed upon the physical factors.

Early Hahndorf then was not a linear or cluster village with the main street aligned in the centre like those in the homeland of Brandenburg. Rather the house blocks allocated to the initial families

were laid out on 38 of the first 150 acres in a U shape with the church at the crossroads in the centre. The more hilly land on the south side of the town did not become incorporated into the community until later and was purchased by individuals and not the group as a whole.

The location of the houses showed a carefully worked out compromise between all of the cultural and economic requirements and the dictates of this extremely varied site. The U shaped distribution allowed the inner and more productive, flat, alluvial land to be reserved for intensive farming. Each house block, following the Brandenburg pattern, had to possess sufficient rich soil to allow house gardens. Thus the houses were built right on the street edge using minimum good soil. They were not clustered in the centre of the site, as in Brandenburg, because of the complex distribution of these valley soils and the location of the creeks.

By this layout, the requirements of close living and security from outside forces which had been so important in the politically unstable situation at home, could be achieved. At the same time maximum use of the terrain was possible. Early maps suggest that each family was granted at least three and usually four separated pieces of land. Each had a house block, a section of land in the area of rich soil in the centre of the village and at least one piece of less fertile gravelly loam on the slopes. In addition many families had access to a "spade" or "seed" block which was a very small area of land used, presumably, for seed

production.⁴⁰

The map available for 1857 of Northern or original Hahndorf shows these requirements resulted in an intricate subdivision of land with ownership in scattered strips. Without an understanding of the cultural and economic forces at work, such early subdivision of farmland in sections smaller than an acre, appears quite incredible at a time when there was so much unused land in the country.

To ensure an equitable distribution of land in such varied terrain each farmer had to take his blocks scattered in different areas. Only in this way could such a small area of land support nearly 300 people living in close quarters. Each time the community acquired more land a similar principle of distribution occurred. It has been suggested that even the first pastor had his garden and orchard land well separated. Further subdivision took place when parents passed land on to their children. The map on page 121 shows the degree of subdivision, which had resulted by the time the first survey map was drawn in 1857. The scattered blocks belonging to Gott Schirmer are good examples of the pattern of strip farming and fragmentation which was developed by these German settlers and which made Hahndorf so different from areas settled by British farmers. This map also shows the land owned by the Hutchinson family. By 1857 some five families of English origin had moved into the thriving community of Hahndorf. In fact the

40 Mr. Allan Wittwer, Hahndorf. Pers. Comm.

street on which Hutchinson and others lived became known as English Street and is still named that today. These new residents were forced to fit into the cultural pattern of land subdivision which had already occurred. Hutchinson was fortunate enough to purchase two adjacent house blocks, but the farm land that went with them was very scattered indeed.

However the ideal of equality could not remain forever. It soon became obvious that some families were acquiring more resources than others. Some had paid off their ship's passage and were not carrying debts. They had a head start. Some by diligence, good management and good fortune were able to produce more for external markets. Thus even by 1857 it was already clear that some families had acquired more land than others. Many of the original settlers had moved to obtain larger areas of land elsewhere. Several of the names of the first immigrants do not appear on the 1857 maps, but many new families had apparently moved in.

The smallest plots allocated (map page 121) in the initial settlement were in two areas of flat land. These "spade" blocks were thin strips some as narrow as 2 metres. Proximity to water is presumed to be the reason for their existence. In both areas the water table is very close to the surface and natural wells occur in the creeks. Even in the summer of 1977-78, after three unusually dry years, water could still be found very close to the surface in the creeks at these

two locations. These blocks were not fenced and they did not have access roads. Presumably farmers walked across neighbour's blocks to reach their own. Together with seeds for the vegetable gardens these small fields were also used to grow mangolds, a variety of large beet fed to cattle.

The system of land tenure was strongly influenced by the patterns of the homeland. The first settlers grew the products they had known and being essentially subsistence farmers geared to small market outlets they grew a diversity of products. Vegetables were especially in demand for the English settlers in Adelaide and surrounding districts, many of whom were loath to take up farming and had bought the land for speculation rather than agriculture.

Thus the 'German gardeners', as they were called by the neighbouring English farmers, not only grew sufficient vegetables for their own needs but also brought produce down to the Adelaide market each week. Later they also traded at the growing markets in Mount Barker and Woodside. Peas and potatoes were the main vegetables for home consumption as well as for sale. An early report suggests that of the 480 acres owned by the community by 1840, potatoes were occupying about 100 acres.⁴¹ Presumably this is a general figure to suggest the significance of potatoes as a major subsistence and cash crop. The South Australian Almanac of 1844, which records the acreages of individual farmers, gives a total of 34 acres of potatoes for the whole community. But in those four years the agricultural patterns had changed somewhat as more land was acquired and wheat increased in importance.

41 Papers relative to South Australia, 1853, p.100. S.A. Archives.

Pigs and cattle were the chief animals in the early economy. Unlike the non-German areas, all households owned at least one pig. They were, of course, the basic requirement for the German sausages. But unlike cows they were not part of the market system and no family owned more than three pigs. According to the South Australian Almanac of 1844 all families possessed cattle. Most had four or five and two of the households owned as many as seventeen. Cattle were important for subsistence purposes and along with peas, potatoes and eggs, they provided the main cash source for the community in the early days. A letter dated the 17 November 1841 describes the villages as owning nearly 500 cattle at that date.⁴² It is reported that the community owned one bull as common property.

By 1844 only seven families owned any sheep and these were primarily persons who had obtained grazing land away from the village of Hahndorf. The absence of sheep was in strong contrast with English settlements, but there were some goats. According to the 1844 Almanac only ten families owned horses. Eight draft oxen were also described in the 1841 letter, but later comparisons cannot be made as draft cattle were not distinguished from milking animals in the 1844 Almanac.

On the sloping land outside the immediate town blocks, each family had been granted at least one strip of less fertile, hill country. Every family in Hahndorf had an acre or more of wheat on the slopes and about one third of the farmers

also grew barley. The 1840 report quoted previously, suggested that 100 acres, or an average of two acres per family, were planted to wheat at that date. By 1844 the Almanac recorded some 260 acres of wheat at Hahndorf. Wheat grew rapidly in importance as more land was brought under cultivation and the export of wheat came to be a major source of cash for the growing economy. Wheat is no longer grown in the area but the remains of a water mill, a windmill, and a steam mill used originally for grinding flour, attest to the early importance of wheat production.

Vines were important initially and were a direct cultural transfer. It was usual for each family to grow some vines for its own wine production. Later some families began to specialise in vines. But the area was not very suitable for vines even when farmers changed their early techniques to those more suited to the local climate and soils. Whilst their relatives in the Barossa Valley increased their wine production the Hahndorf Germans were forced out of vines into crops more suited to the locality. The last vineyard in the area closed early this century.

During the early years of Hahndorf the population was one of flux and instability and this possibly enhanced an interchange of innovations, services, business management and of course land ownership. Early Hahndorf was in many ways a semi-staging community. New arrivals from Germany came here until they could find land elsewhere. There was considerable in and out migration from this small town for much of last century.⁴³ Population growth was rapid and the small land area of Hahndorf could not support even the natural increase let alone

42 Brauer, A. "Hahndorf. One hundred years." Lutheran Almanac, 1939.

43 Mr. R. Butler, Hahndorf. Pers. Com.

the immigration. Thus the search for land suitable for small-scale intensive and virtually communal farming spread to many districts. There are several towns in the Adelaide hills and along the River Murray which were settled by persons of German origin and Lutheran allegiance who had their first Australian experience at Hahndorf.

Whilst the movement of people was great, change within the town itself was relatively slow. Cultural retention and the continuance of the German language and the Lutheran religion were assured by the arrival of new settlers from the homeland.

Unlike most other refugee migrants these early settlers were not totally isolated from their cultural roots. Indeed they were more separated from the culture of their neighbours in their country of adoption than they were from that of the homeland. New arrivals reinforced cultural ties and helped prevent the cultural assimilation into the wider South Australian community.

Cultural conservatism reinforced by the early fragmentation of land, meant that by the 1950s the land pattern and much of the livelihood of residents was little different from that of a century ago. Certainly the crops had altered as the climate and soil became better understood. But these were adjustments that required little radical change in the structure

of the community. A map⁴⁴ drawn in 1953 reveals very little difference in land ownership patterns from the maps in 1857. The Lutheran church, functioning as the omnipresent overseer of community affairs, assured the continuance of a relatively conservative group which believed in the equitable distribution of productive land. Of course, economic priorities, population pressure and individual differences gradually eroded this aspiration. But land fragmentation had been so great that consolidation and changes in farming practices were difficult to achieve.

The imprint of cultural difference and environment adjustment are thus clearly to be seen on the landscape even to-day.

⁴⁴ Gale as Gildings F. "A German Settlement of Hahndorf." Hons.B.A. Thesis Uni. of Adelaide.

EARLY HAHNDORF 1857 (with examples of fragmentation).



1857

SOURCE : Land Titles Office

"What a glorious country South Australia is, richly
endowed by nature in every respect! This Colony
offers the hard-working settler a vast smiling
field, a beautiful clear sky, a healthy climate,
everything here combines to reward the emigrant
for his efforts."

- Moritz Mendel, 1844*

CHAPTER 4 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PART 1 DEVELOPMENT & DAILY LIFE

DEVELOPMENT

"Concerning my people ... the whole community at Klemzig, Hahndorf and Glen Osmond is doing well; we have had only three cases of death during the last five months. Our gardens have yielded plenty of vegetables and though the crop of potatoes is rather poor this first year, still we have at least as many as we want for our own consuming and for seed ... It is only the people at Hahndorf and Glen Osmond who have to pay for the eight tons of potatoes advanced to them so kindly by you last year. They will pay for them to Mr. Rowlands gradually as far as they can, being you know under the obligations to Captain Finniss also and having been obliged by Mr. McFarlane to shear thousands of sheep, without being paid for - most of their wages being deducted by Mr. McFarlane and also half of their wages by Captain Finniss on account of the provisions served out to them by these gentlemen. But though these circumstances are not very advantageous, still the whole community possesses by the blessings of God about eighty cows and as many calves at present, a stock that will increase under God importantly within a few years and enable us for the removal to Flaxman Valley ..."¹

In many ways, the colonists had moved from one noble estate to another, paying back the dues owed through their labour. However, they now had an

enticing goal; the dues were finite, and their labour was not a life-long service to an overlord but a means of eventually owning, maintaining and enjoying their own land and its produce.

After their arduous journey from Port Misery to Hahndorf, the settlers immediately started clearing the land and constructing temporary huts of branches, parts of packing cases, tarpaulins and Kangaroo grass. Until the first crops of radishes and potatoes were harvested, they lived on boiled grasses and berries, and kangaroo and possum meats.

"At first our principal means of subsistence were buttercup roots, which we had to grub out with our hands, and opossums, the catching of which we learnt from the blacks."²

During the first few months, sickness was rife among the Germans, with the inadequacy of food and shelter compounded by the wet and cold winter. However some land was cleared with hand-made wooden hoes in time for spring sowing. Barley and wheat (the latter costing £1 per bushel) were sown by hand, and the ground harrowed with a forked branch fitted with wooden teeth. Their fresh vegetables, together with butter and eggs, soon found a ready market in Adelaide which had been importing food at great expense from the eastern states. Around midnight, the women and older girls set out on the

* Moritz Mendel, from Mecklenburg, in a letter to Germany in 1844 after four months in the colony. In Triebel, L.A., Manuscript Notes on the History of the South Australian German Population.

¹ Letter from Pastor Kavel to Charles Flaxman in England, 16/1/1840. S.A.A.

² Johann Christoph Liebelt - in Wittwer, E.A., Liebelt Family History p.9

long walk to Adelaide, carrying the heavy baskets of produce. In the early morning, they usually stopped at a stream to tidy themselves before selling their wares in the city streets. Prices were high. Radishes sold for 1 shilling a bunch, with cucumbers and lettuces a shilling each. Butter brought 3/6 per pound, potatoes 6 pence a pound, and a loaf of bread cost a shilling.³ Some of the proceeds went towards provisions, such as sugar and tobacco, and then the German women tramped back to Hahndorf, keeping a sharp eye out for thieves.

The money went towards the repayment of their debts, and the purchase price of more land. Within the first two years, the most pressing debts had been paid, and another 240 acres acquired from the government at £1 per acre.

In September 1840, Kavel wrote to Angas:

"At Hahndorf ... there are about 80 acres growing grain, besides 40 or 50 acres sown with potatoes and vegetables ...

With regard to the chapels and schools of my countrymen I observe that three schoolrooms, a large one at Klemzig, another large one at Hahndorf, and a small one at Glen Osmond have been built by my countrymen with their own means without raising any subscription among our fellow colonists. These three rooms serve

on Sabbath days and other occasions for a chapel ..."⁴

The church and education were obviously of the utmost importance to the colonists, who also faithfully followed the guiding hand of Pastor Kavel. His role was that of mentor, confidante, judge and businessman. Johann Liebelt recalled:

"Pastor Kavel used to travel between Hahndorf and Klemzig to minister to us ... No policeman was required, and the pastor's word was law, as we looked upon him as our Kaiser".⁵

In 1840 the first church was built in the middle of the U shaped settlement. It was a mud walled building which remained in constant use until the congregation decided to replace it with a new one of Hahndorf stone. This new one was erected around the old, dedicated in 1859, and called St. Michael's Lutheran Church. As with its position in the centre of the village, so was the church in the centre of the settler's thoughts and activities. On all Sundays and Church holidays, services were held in the morning and evening. With the exception of Monday and Tuesday, the evenings were spent with most members assembled in the church for religious instruction.

³ Wittwer, op.cit., p. 12

⁴ Letter from Pastor Kavel to George Fife Angas, 11/9/1840. S.A.A.

⁵ Johann Christoph Liebelt - in Wittwer, op. cit. p. 9

"The Rev. Mr. Kavel ... possesses a considerable degree of authority amongst them, and is treated by them with the greatest respect. Without any other than moral control, his influence is so great, that in any dispute, or the punishment of minor offences, he is able to exercise full authority over them, without having to call in the aid of the local authorities; the offender being simply admonished, and with complete effect, from the pulpit, after the divine service."⁶

Religious, business and social life was ordered around the Lutheran church and pastor. In this concentrated rural community, relatively isolated from contact with Australian settlements, there was little incentive to copy customs and attitudes which differed greatly from those familiar in their homeland, and much security in retaining their own values and patterns of living. A militant church and a greatly respected pastor were the cohesive forces in establishing and continuing this attitude.⁷

This need and acceptance of the familiar and the traditional was reflected in the choice of certain crops and cultivation methods, the styles of the more permanent houses and outbuildings built in the 1840's and 1850's and in the

6 Dutton, F. South Australia and its Mines

7 Borrie, W.D. Italians and Germans in Australia p. 196

settlers' domestic life.

"Though frugal and industrious to an extraordinary degree, they are a slow, plodding class, with many conventional prejudices ... Their houses and cultivation are in the style of their own country, and living as they do entirely to themselves, amalgamation with the English portion of the settlers is a rare occurrence ..."⁸

Their small allotments were laid out in neat sections, usually starting with a kitchen garden next to the back door of the house, then the orchard, then a wheat, barley or potato field and finally pasture for the cattle. One visitor observed in 1850:

"Four miles from (Mt. Barker) ... is Hahndorf, a village essentially German in name and nature. On the way we observed a great many thriving potato crops, and cornfields that seemed to have yielded good harvests ... On each side of the road were cottages of the Germans, with their particular thatches, which looked ponderous and substantial ... The houses are very various, of stone, wood, pisé and a combination of all; but there are some neat though rather dull-looking structures, with upper floors. The inhabitants are nearly 500, chiefly Germans - industrious, good-

8 George French Angas, South Australia Illustrated

humoured, obliging, and, in many cases, intelligent ..."⁹

These people were certainly quick enough to recognise the colony's need for vegetables and dairy produce, as Ferdinand Kavel wrote in January, 1839, about a month after landing in South Australia:

"Fruit and vegetables are high in price, because the English, who reside here, are mainly merchants and not agriculturalists."¹⁰

Wisdom was also shown in their concentration on subsistence farming and diversification of crops which enabled them to survive fluctuations in the market and bad seasons. This traditional self-sufficiency supported them during the 1841 depression, whereas many of the English settlers had concentrated on land speculation, rather than farming, and were thus ruined. Soon, the writers and journalists of the day were pointing to the Germans as model colonists. Again, during the 1850's gold rushes in Victoria, when enormous

9 E.M. Yelland (ed.) Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia 1850-51 By Old Colonist (Melbourne, 1970) pp. 183-4. A rather patronising but accurate account.

10 Ferdinand Kavel, Letter to Brethren in Silesia, 27/1/1839 - from Triebel, Part 2. Ferdinand was Pastor Kavel's brother.

numbers of South Australian men travelled to the gold fields, most of the German farmers preferred the painstaking but assured prospect of increasing returns from the land to the risky and largely illusory chances of sudden wealth elsewhere. Their preference in this regard was, of course, mightily reinforced by a desire to pay off their massive debts and own their land, and the counsel and control of the Pastor, in holding the congregation, and thus the settlement, together. This attitude paid off, with a bumper wheat harvest in 1851, rising prices and a voracious and expanding market in Victoria. Throughout 1852, flour brought £19 a ton in Adelaide and much more in Victoria, with shipments by sea to Melbourne amounting to £192,000.¹¹ More land was cultivated and for greater returns.¹² The following statement by George Fife Angas, who owned much of the Barossa Valley which was farmed by German settlers, would have been echoed resoundingly by Messrs. Dutton, Finnis and McFarlane.

"I suffer less, perhaps, than any employer of labour, in consequence of the aid the Germans render me as farmers, shepherds, sheepshearers, etc. Few of them have left the colony, and as the farmers who rent land from me have the

11 Added to this must be the inestimable quantity of breadstuffs taken overland by enterprising carriers.

12 Pike, D. Paradise of Dissent - South Australia 1829-1857 p.452.

right of pre-emption, they hope to buy their farms in time, and therefore stick to the soil with tenacity; while their strong regard for their religion, and attention to its ordinances, tends to depress the desire for gold digging. So in my present need I am being repaid for my patience towards them in waiting so long ..."¹³

However, despite these good returns from the land, and the glowing pictures of German prosperity painted by contemporary journalists, the people of Hahndorf were still impoverished and only slowly improving their economic condition from that experienced in Eastern Germany. They had been poor prior to emigration, had incurred many debts for travel, land and farming resources and had large interest repayments. Men, women and children all worked hard.

"Out of doors they are weeding, or watering, or building, or fishing, milling, washing, cutting wood, or carrying water. Within doors the housewife ... is engaged in bread making, butter making, cooking, cleaning, or some such occupation, Not a soul is idle."¹⁴

The much praised industry of the settlers was a

13 George Fife Angas, in Hodder. op.cit. p. 334.

14 "The Village of Klemzig", The Southern Australian, 1/5/1839, p. 3 - and doubtless the same sight was to be found at Hahndorf!

basic and exhausting means of survival. The women worked alongside their men in the fields, tilling the soil with primitive single furrow ploughs, sowing by hand and harvesting with scythes; they were the best shearers in the district; they tended the vegetable gardens and carried the produce to Adelaide; they helped erect the houses and then tried to keep them clean; they cooked, and washed; they bore the children and often saw them buried. The necessities for life were still made by hand: shelter, tools, clothing and utensils.

"The men tan their own leather, and the women card and spin wool, and knit stockings",¹⁵ and whenever they could, they hired out their labour throughout the Mt. Barker district:

"In order that no opportunity may be neglected of improving their time and their circumstances, those of the able-bodied among them, who can be spared from home, find employment with the neighbouring farmers and settlers in the capacity of shepherds, labourers, or servants."¹⁶

It is little wonder the above writer concluded:

"These people may be safely set up as models for emigrants. They would 'get on' anywhere".¹⁷

They 'got on' the way they always had - the only way they knew - through sheer hard physical work.

15, 16, 17 "Views of South Australia in Britain" The Adelaide Observer, 24/5/1845 p. 8

However, the steady growth of the township and the gradually increasing prosperity of its inhabitants from the 1850's on, came through the expanded opportunities given by South Australia to its colonists. The Germans could save money and buy land, plough profits back into the purchase of more land and livestock, and could eventually work solely for themselves. Hahndorf was also strategically located on the main road to Mt. Barker and Murray Bridge. Service industries could and did quickly set up business. Within a year of settlement, the first inn was built. Called the German Arms, it was "a primitive and rustic little hostelry, celebrated in its day for home-made bread, sweet fresh butter, and delicious bacon".¹⁸ Shops, smithies and a corn mill were built in the Main Street, and all prospered.

The growth of Hahndorf is shown by the type and amount of information in the State Almanacks and Directories as well as the actual information itself. In the South Australian Almanack for 1841, there is the one entry:

"Hahndorf Village. 54 German Families - Farmers - Hahndorf - 100 cattle, 5 horses, 80 (acres) wheat, 40 potatoes (and other vegetables)".¹⁹

In 1844, the inhabitants, all farmers, are listed

18 Edward Holthouse "Reminiscences of the Old Port", The Adelaide Observer, 1/9/1888 p. 42

19 South Australian Almanack, 1841

by name, with their individual holdings, for example:

"Gallasch, John, 6 acres wheat, $\frac{1}{4}$ do. barley, 1 do. potatoes, 5 cattle, 1 horse, 2 pigs."²⁰

Twenty years later, in 1864, new occupations are listed, such as licensed teacher, saddler, wheelwright, brickmaker, storekeeper, sawyer, carpenter, baker, machinemaker, blacksmith, miller and stonemason.²¹

In 1877, the range of services offered widens more; residents now include a watchmaker, lime burner, postmaster, commission agent, medical practitioner, miner, distiller, shoemaker, charcoal burner, wood carter, mason, well-sinker, dressmaker, public school and professor.²² By 1888, the diversification of skills available include such particular skills as journalist, headmaster and second master, Hahndorf College, tanner, tinsmith, and the ultimate specialist, the pork butcher. At the end of the century, in the Directories for 1893 and 1898, additions included painter, cabinet maker, wine-dealer, laundress, music teacher, stationman, bark merchant, jam maker and several millers.²³ And in 1893, the population had risen

20 South Australian Almanack, 1844, Country Directory

21 S.A. Directories for Districts of Onkaparinga and Echunga, 1864

22 Directory 1877

23 Directories, 1893, 1898

from the 1841 total of 54 families, to 740 inhabitants, with the village containing 140 houses.²⁴

This increasing range of services and professions reflected the growth of viable industries in the town and the greater amounts of money flowing through the community. The original settlers were basically farmers who, however, could and did turn their hand to anything. As with their farming, a judicious mixture of various cash and subsistence crops and animals, so with their diverse abilities they manufactured most of their material necessities by themselves or with friends. Even those colonists known as craftsmen or such like, still were supported by their agricultural work. For example, in the Hahndorf Directory of 1844, the local publican is listed as:

"Lubasch, Gottfried, German Arms, 3 acres wheat, $\frac{1}{4}$ do. barley, $\frac{1}{2}$ do. potatoes, 90 sheep, 13 cattle, 2 ponies, 4 pigs, 4 goats."²⁵

Through such means as hard work, painstaking accumulation of capital, and the purchase of leased land, the Germans made Hahndorf a thriving settlement.

"We used to grind our wheat with stones worked by hand, but after a while Mr. Wittwer started a watermill at Cox's Creek. A windmill was then erected on what is now known as Windmill

Hill (in 1842), and it was not long before Mr. Wittwer bought a small engine and started a mill (in 1864) in Hahndorf (on the Main Street). After this the old huts were gradually replaced by more substantial buildings."²⁶

The feelings of security engendered by the actual fact of final ownership of their properties, together with the increasing importance of the village's situation on the main eastern road had many spin off results. Larger and more enduring residences were constructed, and service industries for the growing pass-through trade as well as for local needs were housed in structures along the Main Street, thus rapidly creating a mix of residential and commercial use on either side of the road. Hahndorf's appearance changed from that of a strict farmlet village Hufendorf to one that combined the Hufendorf's long narrow strips of land behind the houses facing the street, with the closer together, commercial buildings and building complexes of the street village Strassendorf.

Business premises such as Martin's wheelwright's shop,²⁷ the Haebich family's blacksmith's shop,²⁸ Sonnemann's bakery²⁹ set up in 1857, and Kramm's minute mud hut establishment of two hand

²⁴ Directories, 1893, 1898

²⁵ South Australian Almanack, 1844

²⁶ Johann Christoph Liebelt - in E.A. Wittwer, op. cit. p. 10

²⁷ Now nos. 21 and 23 Main Street

²⁸ Now no. 73 Main Street: Storison Arts and Crafts

²⁹ Now no. 72 Main Street

looms manufacturing woollen yarn, in 1869 the progenitor of the present successful Onkaparinga Woollen Company at Lobethal, are examples of the different industries that originated from the late 1840's on.

The fate of the milling industry helps illustrate the development of Hahndorf, its changing bases of industry and the rise of different agricultural uses of the land. First the water mill at Cox's Creek, then the windmill on the road to Mt. Barker, which was the first stone mill in South Australia, and finally the machine run steam mill in Main Street were built for the greater amounts of wheat grown by both the Hahndorf settlers and by local farmers.

From the first, there were steep increases in the acreage of wheat grown from year to year. In the 1842 Almanack, 80 acres of wheat were attributed to the Hahndorf settlement, compared with 189 acres in the 1844 Almanack.³⁰ Correspondingly, the total acreage of wheat for the Mt. Barker district rose, in the space of one year, from 259 acres in 1841 to 514 acres in 1842. The windmill was kept busy, grinding the wheat brought by local farmers and later on, by settlers from as far away as those on the Murray lands. However, as most of the available surrounding land came to be worked, the

30 This latter figure excluded those "Hahndorfers" who farmed outside the township sections 4002, 4003, 4004. If their plots were added, the total would jump to 275.5 acres.

increase in wheat growing slackened, especially as much of this land was more suitable for other crops or for grazing. Many of the earliest settlers moved to the richer wheat lands in the north, vast areas of which were opened up by the passing of Strangways Act in 1869. Similarly, the land around Paechtown and Friedrichstadt was intensively cropped, and small settlements of farmhouses were created in the 1850's and 1860's.

As large amounts of grain began to be produced in the new northern and western regions of the State, and were milled in those areas, so wheat growing became less profitable in the Adelaide hills areas. Overcropping had also decreased the fertility of some of the land, giving less return per acre. Stock grazing, particularly dairy farming, was seen as a viable alternative by many farmers, who combined this new commercial activity with larger orchards and market gardens. This development was later greatly helped by the advent of superphosphate and clover which improved the quality of pasture.

Gradually, as other mills were taking most of the custom from Hahndorf, as well as the local area itself was producing less grain, the Hahndorf mill turned to wattle bark crushing and bone crushing. In the 1880's, with increasing activity in the gold mines of Echunga and in reefs just outside Hahndorf, Mr. Wittwer, the mill owner, erected a battery of stampers for the crushing of quartz, as well as new gold sifting machinery. This diversification of the mill's crushing capacity enabled it to survive as an economic unit until

1923, when it finally ceased operations. Wittwer's son then used the premises as a base for his wood, grain and flour business.

The rise and fall of the wheat growing and milling industry and its changing role in the town's economy and lifestyle was echoed by that of the wattle bark industry. Wattle bark and gum were quickly found to be essential ingredients for the tanning of hides, and the long process of wattle stripping, drying and boiling with hides soon became a major industry in the wattle covered slopes of the Hahndorf district.

In the South Australian newspaper of May 9th, 1843 it was reported that:

"an important advance has been made this season in one article of colonial production. Large numbers of men, women and children are engaged in picking gum throughout the country to the distance of 25 miles around Adelaide."

The gum was worth £15 per ton, and £40 per ton in England. Pickers could make 7 shillings a day. Bark export was carried on after 1844, and the returns appeared regularly in the Register.

On May 10th, 1845, the value of exports for the first quarter were: bark £305 for 95 tons 15 cwt., and gum £1981.10.0 for 1002 cwt. Certainly gum was a very valuable export commodity, in a time of severe depression in the colony. However, there was a conflict between the ways in which the gum and the bark were obtained: the picking of gum did

not injure the tree but the stripping of bark killed it. Many people argued that the gum was the more valuable product and suggested that other trees be found that possessed the same tanning qualities as wattle bark. An outcry over the stripping of the wattles and the urge "to arrest the destruction of the valuable trees" appeared in the Register on April 30th, 1845.

"... the last three years great destruction has been done to the wattle by stripping off the bark, so great indeed that for ten to twenty miles around Adelaide and even more, there is now scarcely a living tree to be seen either on Crown Land or Private property ..."

This anonymous writer to the Editor suggested that stripping be prohibited on Crown land because:

"a greater export would be made in the articles of gum which will be found to be far greater source of profit than the bark, besides saving the tree and it will thus, year after year yield a rich harvest to the industrious and often needy settlers when other occupations of agriculture and pastoral pursuits are at a stand still."

But the bark from the Broad Leaf Wattle - *Acacia pycnantha* - and the Black Wattle - *Acacia decurrens* - were very high in tannin and excellent for tanning. These two types grew naturally and thickly in South Australia, especially in the Mt. Barker district, and a wattle bark industry soon became established, supplying bark not only to the

local tanneries but also to the other colonies and Great Britain. Initially a supplementary income for many settlers who conveniently stripped and killed the trees as they cleared their land for farming, wattle cultivation and stripping came to be full time occupations for many country people and side line profits for many more.

In 1858, Heinrich Storch started a tannery near the Onkaparinga bridge, and his sons, Hermann and Albert carried on the business after him till the early 1900's. The tanning process required the wattle bark to be crushed and ground before it was boiled with hides, and Wittwer's Mill, losing custom from the wheat farmers, took on the bark crushing and supplemented the tannery's operations. This was not an unusual step, as one contemporary journalist observed that in some areas the grinding of bark is "a sort of adjunct to flour milling".³¹

The leather industry thus employed many full and part time workers, from the wattle strippers and gum pickers, to those who prepared and boiled the hides, and the leather craftsmen. A wattle stripper was invented by a Mr. Golder from the Kangarilla district, a type of roller which stripped the branches quickly and efficiently, and this accelerated the growth of the industry. Whole families earnt money from this source. Edward Hennig, born near Hahndorf in 1901, recalls tales

his father told him of stripping bark when he had no labouring work, and his own experience of collecting branches as a child. He also relates that:

"We used to collect wattle seed by shaking branches and collecting seeds onto a tarpaulin underneath. Seeds would then be cleaned and sold for one shilling per pound. These were sent to South Africa, which later took over the wattle industry from South Australia."³²

Mr. Hennig's memory was an accurate one. In the late 1890's and early 1900's, seed was sent to Natal, where, after the 8 to 10 years for the trees to mature, the cheapness of the native labour and closeness of the British market enabled its productivity quickly to undermine the industry in South Australia. By 1904 the cheaper South African bark was imported into Australia duty free. Tanneries bought this bark rather than the more expensive local product and the amount of wattle stripping lessened dramatically, all but disappearing within a few years. In its heyday, it had provided sorely needed extra income for the debt-harried farming settlers of Hahndorf, contributed to the expansion of services and wealth in the township, helped support the milling concern and enabled the colony of South Australia to first survive, and then prosper.

³¹ Sutherland, George Our Inheritance in the Hills : being a series of articles by a special correspondent. (Adelaide, W.K. Thomas, 1889)

³² Interview with Mr. E.A. Hennig, of 1 Victoria Street, Hahndorf. By A. Marsden 4/5/1978

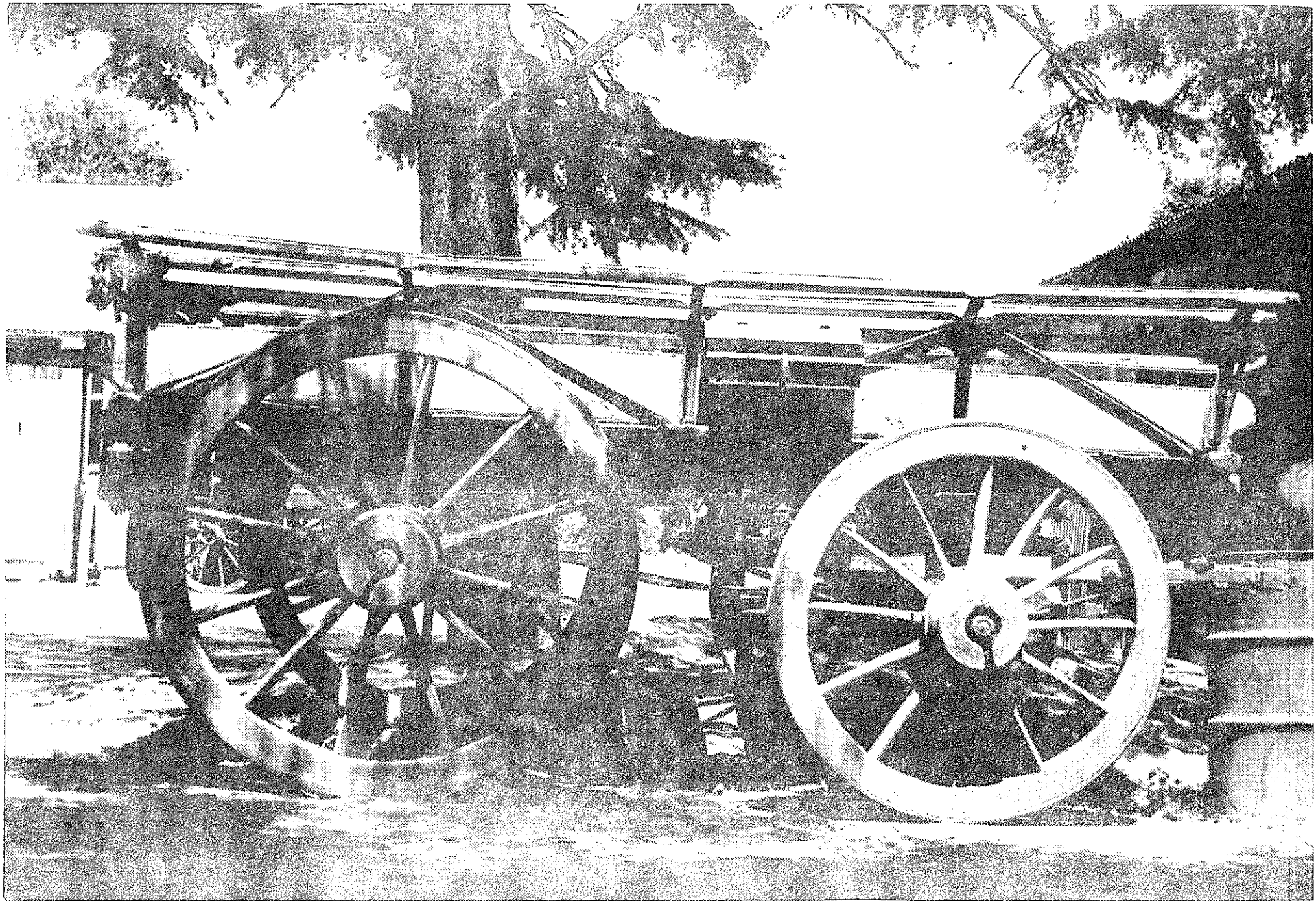
It can be seen that the Germans at Hahndorf were quickly integrated into the economic structure of the infant colony, first through their vegetable and dairy produce, then in providing services for the traffic on the main eastern road. Their mill ground wheat from miles around, their wattle stripping in the most thickly Acacia wooded area of the State provided income and work for other areas. In economic terms, their absorption into the life of South Australia, with their practical recognition of prevailing shortages, financial needs and commercial possibilities (while still retaining a stolid peasant near self-sufficiency) were immediate and enduring. In these public interactions with the rest of South Australia, they were new colonists who had adapted successfully; privately, however, in their village life, customs and religious and social attitudes they were culturally segregated, unassimilated in the environment of their time.



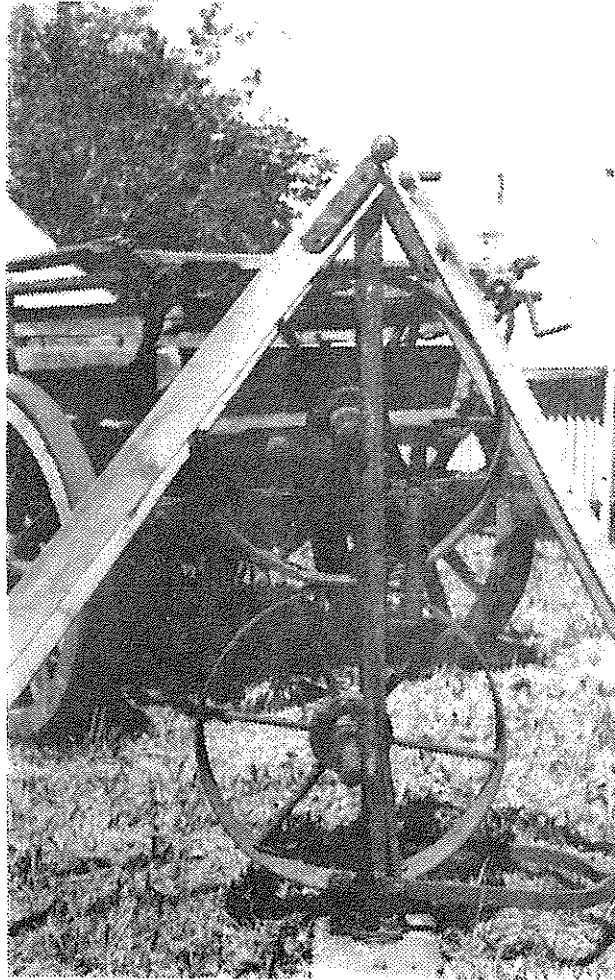
Early settler's two roomed cottage showing clearance of surrounding woodlands



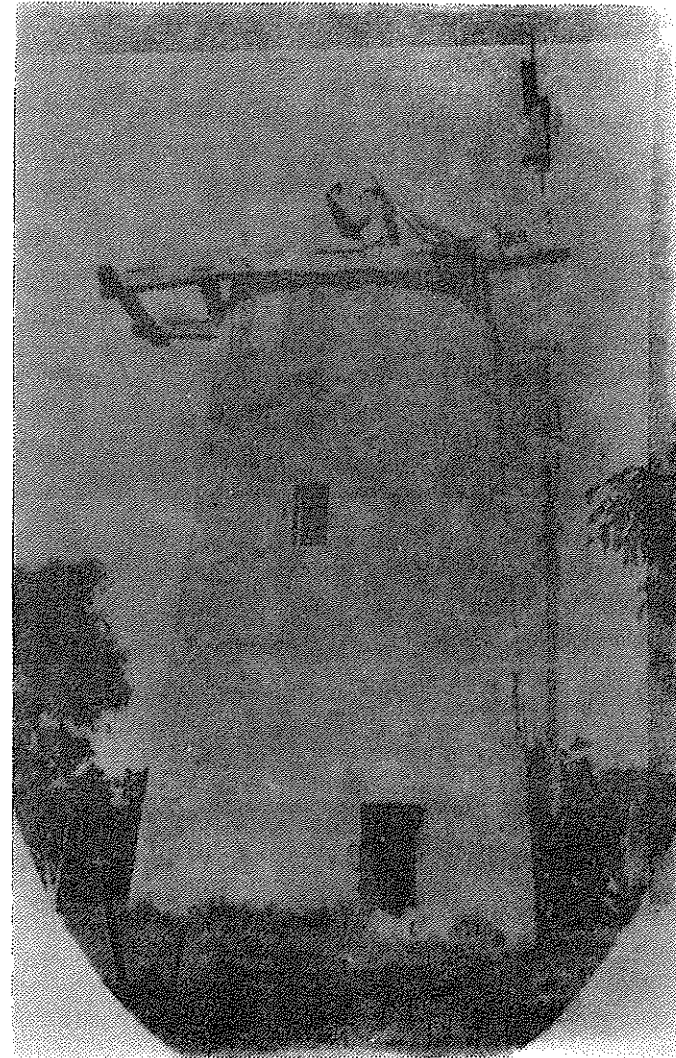
Pioneer German family outside their slab sided cottage



A German Waggon - a square framed unsprung cart



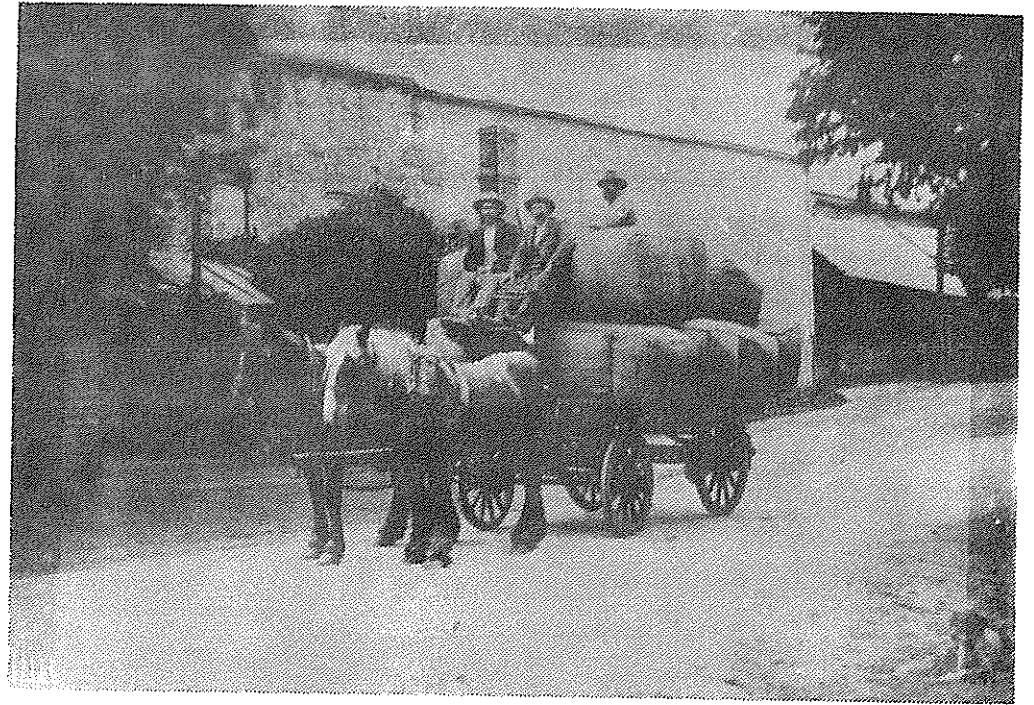
A Wattle-bark Stripper
- a local invention which
stripped the branches quickly
and efficiently.



Wheat growing was one of Hahndorf's
earliest 'cash crops'. In 1842
Nixon built this Windmill on the
Mt. Barker Road.



Another key farming activity was sheep rearing. Germans, men and women, were regarded as the best shearers in the State



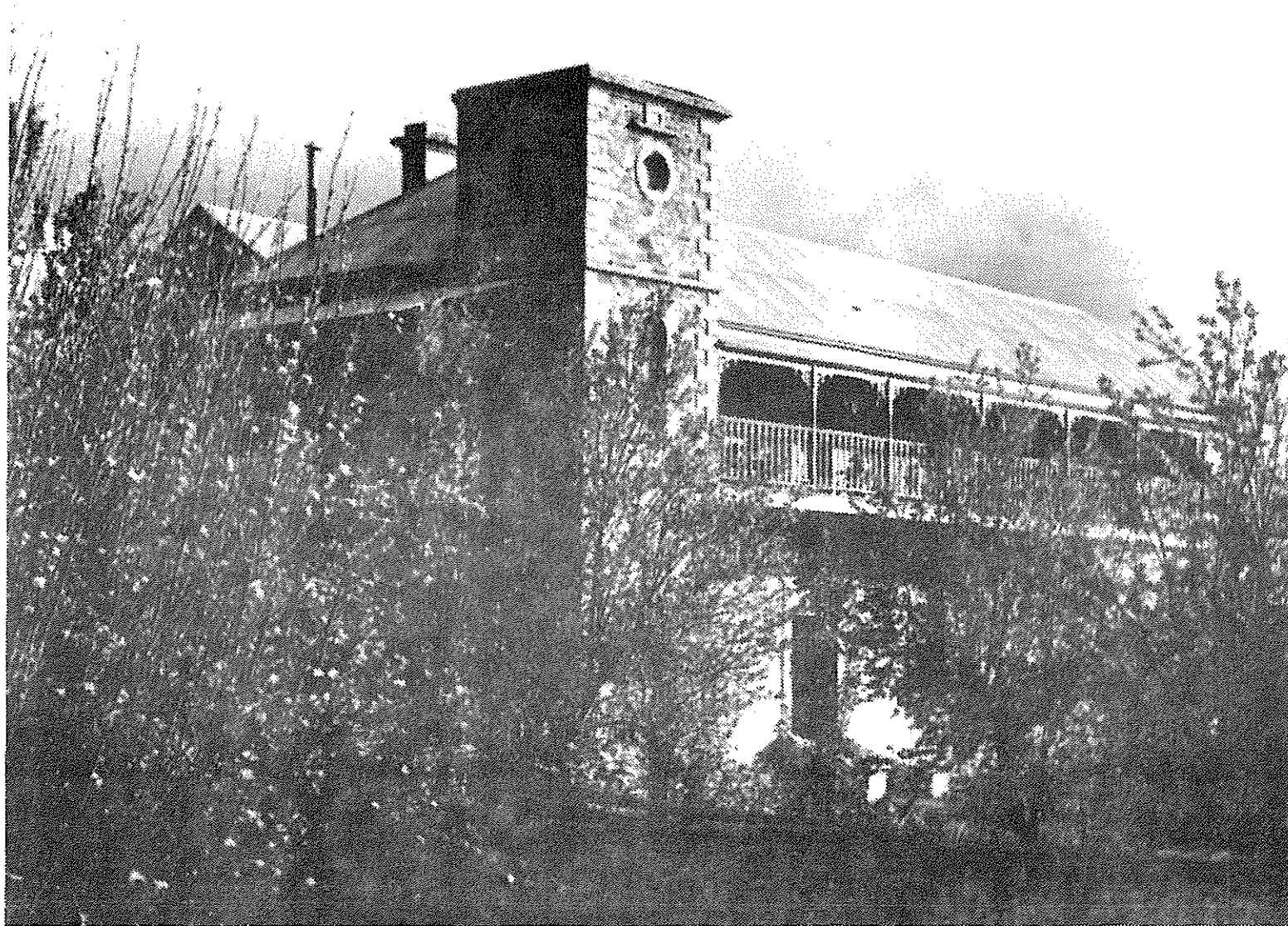
Bringing in the wool clip. A 19th century scene outside Wittwer's Mill in the Main Street



Hahndorf's location soon made it an important service centre. Within a year of settlement the Union Hotel had opened its doors. (Sketch on front cover) In 1880 the license was transferred across the street to a new Union Hotel. (the present-day Hahndorf Inn)



The New Institute Hall built in 1893



The Hahndorf Academy begun in 1857

CHAPTER 4 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PART 2 DEVELOPMENT & DAILY LIFE

DAILY LIFE

"The Pastor's word was law..."³³

This attitude of acceptance and obedience to Pastor Kavel, in matters both spiritual and temporal, enabled the colonists of Hahndorf to survive and consolidate during the critical first few years of settlement. It was a traditional, necessary and cohesive force in the community. But with the advent of a new group of immigrants, with their own strong and righteous religious leader, Pastor Gotthard Fritzsche, who came to disagree violently with Kavel over many matters, the Germans' customary acknowledgement of their pastor's daily guidance and good judgement plunged Hahndorf into prolonged internal wrangling.

In most cases, loyalty to one's own pastor prevailed, and the colonists again, as they had all previously done in Germany, disassociated themselves from an opposing school of Lutheranism, this time at a formal meeting of the Church Synod at Bethany in 1846. The two new churches were the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, (led by Kavel), and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, (led by Fritzsche); moreover, religious fervour was such that, as the century advanced, six separate synods developed throughout Australia,³⁴ with many and varied dissenting congregations building their own churches within sight of each other.³⁵

33. Johann Liebelt. See p. 110 for full quotation.

34. Borrie, op.cit. p. 195.

35. As at Light Pass and Nain, in the Barossa Valley.

In Hahndorf, legal proceedings were necessary to determine the ownership of church property, with St. Michael's Church eventually ceded to Pastor Fritzsche's congregation. Many of Pastor Kavel's flock left Hahndorf to found Nain and Gruenberg in the Barossa Valley where they were nearer his base at Langmeil. His remaining adherents built St. Paul's church at the southern end of the village, as far away as was possible from the other church. In the late 1880's, old St. Paul's was superseded by the construction of a new St. Paul's, an imposing structure that well symbolized the strong faith (and separate identity) of its worshippers.

Thus Hahndorf spread out along the Main Street, both in a physical sense with its new buildings, and in its religious and social life, with two spheres of dominance at either end of the street settlement. Far from weakening the influence of the church as a factor in keeping alive Deutschtum - the German language and culture - these internal squabbles and resultant splits helped keep alive allegiance to its various branches.³⁶ And with this deep support, the churches exerted a dominating influence on education, political leanings and community events.

Education was an immediate priority with an open air school starting lessons from the first days of settlement in 1839. While at first continuing to teach only the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, with the major emphasis on religious studies, as had been the case in their home land, the quality of schooling rapidly improved, especially

36. See Borrie, op.cit. pp 195-196.

with the opening of the Hahndorf Academy in 1857. An institute of higher learning, it gained an enviable reputation (with occasional fluctuations in fortune) throughout the rest of the century.³⁷ The size of the Academy building, sited prominently on Main Street, with the Lutheran Primary School alongside, point to the importance placed upon education during those years. Predictably, education too, was not free from dispute, with teacher W. Strempel disagreeing with his brother, Pastor Strempel, and opening a public school in a Main Street residence in 1876. As a government institution it did not offer religious instruction, which was probably the bone of contention between the two brothers. W. Strempel probably preferred, also, to be paid by the State on a regular basis.

This episode raises the significant point that not all "Hahndorfers" were German and devoutly Lutheran. The influence of the majority set the tone for the minority and the newcomers. Firstly, in the many years before adequate state schools, German children in areas of group settlement could only acquire their education in a German Lutheran School, as in Hahndorf, the Barossa Valley and parts further north. Secondly, although later immigrants were motivated more by economic than religious considerations, the evangelicalism of the original Lutheran settlements quickly influenced both newcomers to

37 The Academy provided a sound English and German education to both English and German students, and the English students' religious requirements were a factor leading to the building in 1886 of St. Paul's Anglican Church in English Street.

established country towns and newly formed group settlements. Thirdly, most of the German population were among the first landowners, usually stalwart supporters of the church, who could define the social and cultural life of the community. Later arrivals and dissidents encountered a flourishing religious and traditionally German life style which they could embrace, remain separate from, but be overshadowed, or reject and depart. Thus for these reasons Lutheranism, through its churches, schools and social power, was the basic force that created and continued the essentially German character of Hahndorf.

There were other institutions and customs, however, that reinforced and were reinforced by the church's concept of national traditions. The secular German language press responded to and fostered a continuing interest in German ideas and ideals. Essentially commercial ventures, weekly papers such as the Südaustralische Zeitung, the Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung and the Australische Zeitung ³⁸ concerned themselves with a passionate interest in the fate of the German states and with the economic and social growth of their adopted country. In an editorial on the 1st of June, 1866, the Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung, commenting on the threat of war between Prussia and Austria, addressed its readers:

38 The South Australian Newspaper, the Tanunda German Newspaper, and the Australian Newspaper respectively.

"Thank God that you are here! Offer your loyalty and love to the country which received you hospitably and offers you a tranquil home." ³⁹

Much of the space was given to local educational reports and church news, and to the activities of German clubs and societies like the Lieder-tafel (singing group), King's prize shoots, amateur theatricals, bands and athletic meetings. These societies, with their meetings, social gatherings and community festivals, contributed significantly to the creation and maintenance of a familiar German atmosphere in Hahndorf. Various small town bands also flourished during the latter part of the century, with a Hahndorf Brass Band featuring prominently at the Arbor Day celebration of 1890.

The Mount Barker Courier reported:

'At 11 o'clock the Hahndorf Brass Band - which kindly gave their valuable services gratuitously and used the new Higham instruments lately purchased - played on the balcony of the Hahndorf College.... the children marched four abreast behind the band.....at the oval pine trees were

39 Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung , 1/6/1866 - in Borrie, op. cit. p.201.

planted by the children....Dr. Muecke addressed the children in German....Mr. Byard addressed the assembly in English....the Band played 'The Watch on the Rhine' and 'God Save the Queen.'⁴⁰

This account illustrates not only the role of music and musicians within the community but also the ingenious and heart-felt dual allegiance to Germany and Australia, and the use of the German language which was still the familiar home speech in 1890. Church choirs and song groups also proliferated, coming into their own on Sundays and at festival time.

However, it was in their private, domestic life that the settlers most retained those customs and cultural idiosyncrasies so conditioned by their German background. A major reason for this lies in the extremely high ratio of female to male immigrants, indicating the strength of family migration to the colony.⁴¹ Whilst single men tended to disperse amongst the Adelaide population, families usually established group settlements or moved into such areas, of which one of the most attractive as well as the oldest was Hahndorf.

40 The Mount Barker Courier, 22/8/1890 in E.A. Wittwer, Hahndorf Town Band 1926-1976 (1976) p.3.

41 See Table 1, page 146 which gives details of the period of residence of German born surviving at the date of the census of 1861, as well as the ratios of male to female emigrants from 1836 to 1861.

TABLE 1
GERMAN-BORN SURVIVING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA
IN 1861, BY DURATION OF RESIDENCE

<i>Year of Entry to South Australia</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Females per 100 Males</i>
1836 - 1840	245	226	471	92.2
1841 - 1845	317	265	582	83.6
1846 - 1850	1,641	1,389	3,030	84.6
1851 - 1855	1,369	1,047	2,416	76.5
1856 - 1860	1,191	990	2,181	83.1
1861	43	37	80	86.0
Unspecified	73	30	103	41.1
1861 Total	4,879	3,984	8,863	81.6

*From Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia
(Sydney, 1954) p. 159.*

*And up to 1876, the ratio of females to males
was around a high 75%.*

Ibid. p. 161

Family life was, throughout the last century and on into the present one, an enduring bastion of German traditions - in attitudes, dress, food and amusements. Memories of these things are the most strongly recalled by descendants of the original Hahndorfers. From recent interviews with several of the oldest residents of German descent, a general picture of family life at this time clearly emerges.

The father was definitely the head of the family who made all the major decisions. "His word was law",⁴² and "he was the one who gave permission if you wanted to go out." The Lutheran faith was not only preached but practised, with parents believing that "it was a God-given duty to look after and reprimand their children." The children were brought up in the Lutheran faith "right from the word go - we always had the fear of the Lord - that stirs up your conscience - once it's there, it stays." Grace was always said before meals, and sometimes after as well, with the father then reading aloud from a Devotional book in the evening. Devotions read after breakfast would "bring in your daily protection and blessings for the day, Lords Prayer, benediction and return thanks."

⁴² All quotations, unless stated otherwise, are directly taken from transcripts of interviews with residents by A. Marsden, March to December, 1978.

The whole family attended church on Sunday mornings, with the children often returning for Sunday School for two hours in the afternoon. Religious events were celebrated without fail: the austerity of Lent, the lolly eggs of Easter, and the children practising hymns for Christmas which they would sing in the church on Christmas Eve before receiving surprise packets of sweets. Baptism (with four sponsors for the child), confirmation and marriage were all important milestones which were duly celebrated at church, and with a feast at home. In the evening Christian songs and folk songs were sung at home around the piano in the parlour or to a piano accordion, and parents would read stories, both English and German and in both languages, which were "all with good morals to train us so that we would do likewise. No silly nonsense."

Children either went to the Lutheran Primary School, next to the Academy, or to the State School, attending German class beforehand. Teachers kept strict discipline and homework was set each night, which was usually supervised by the mother. Schools also had their own cycles of celebrations, such as Arbor Day, Empire Day and the school picnic which extended to the families and the township as a whole. Community events formed the third cycle of celebrations in a year, with King's rifle shoots, youth concerts and band performances. Funerals and weddings, with feather picking parties and tin-kettlings, were also perceived as occasions for community participation.

The Federschleissen (feather picking) was a happy social occasion when the female friends and relatives of the betrothed couple gathered to pick goosefeathers for the couple's mattress and quilts. Songs, drink and slabs of German cake made the rounds amidst the flurry of feathers. More boisterous still was the tin-kettling when the just married couple were assailed with a cacophony of sound, which only ceased when food and drink appeared and energy ran out. Finally of course, families usually with their babies and children, regularly visited their relatives and friends, neighbours and local shops, creating in Hahndorf an intricate pattern of social interaction where nearly everyone knew nearly everyone else.

"We used to look forward to the weekends... with a lot of cooking and baking and giving visitors afternoon tea and tea and that."

These inter-relationships extended out to neighbouring German settlements, to relatives in Lobethal and Birdwood (formerly Blumberg) and over to the Barossa Valley as well.

There was week day clothing and "Sunday clothes" which were usually taken off immediately after returning home from church. Almost all the clothing was made by the mother, with material bought from the local draper. Girls wore pinafores to school, and floral and striped cotton dresses with embroidery to church. Boys wore blouses down to the waist, short knickers to

just below the knees, long stockings and sturdy boots. For church they wore grey knickers and blouses till they reached fifteen or sixteen years, when they proudly changed over to long grey trousers. The women usually bustled around in voluminous aprons, dressing up in dark dresses down to the ankles and a piece of jewellery, and the men lived in their strong, home-made working moleskins, bringing out their grey and black suits, watch chains and sober hats for the important weekly church attendance.

The duties and status of each member of the family were clearly defined. Father invariably sat at the head of the table in the kitchen, with mother either at his side, or facing him at the other end. The children were often segregated by sex (as at church) on forms each side of the long table and ranked according to age. In the larger families, the boys slept in lean-to's at the back of the house while the girls shared a second bedroom near their parents. Hard work was the norm, with children expected to do their share.

"I had to get the cows and feed the fowls, get the wood in, help pick vegetables, do whatever needed to be done."

The traditional division of labour between the sexes was extended to the children's jobs, with the girls usually working with mother inside the house, helping cook and clean, and the boys labouring outside. Gardening was a major chore, for it provided the family with much of their food, as well as herbs and spices for home-made medicines.

One of the most obvious and persistent characteristics of a culture is its food, and in Hahndorf different climatic conditions, new foodstuffs and increasing prosperity augmented rather than ousted their traditional sources of food. Each family had its pigs and cow, fruit trees, vegetable patch, potato plot and fowl yard. The pigs were killed each winter and ricewurst (pork scraps and rice), leberwurst (pig liver) and metwurst (pork and beef) were made by grinding the meat through a mincer, adding saltpetre and spices and smoking the finished wursts in the smokehouse. Cucumbers, beans and cabbages were pickled in brine and stored in cellars or attics. Each family made its own butter, and put cream in front of the fire to sour and turn into cottage cheese. Surplus eggs, dairy products, wursts and vegetables were sold to grocers in Adelaide. And on Saturdays, the bake-oven was fired up, and the whole week's supply of bread and cake was cooked.⁴³ Apple and plum puddings, honey biscuits, beer cake, apple streusel, potato cake, rye bread and wheat bread were baked in vast quantities, and shared by family and friends.⁴⁴

Thus the families and the community of Hahndorf cherished and maintained their own ways of living, adapting where necessary and advantageous, but enjoying the freedom to retain their essential Germanness. Perhaps this process is best

43 See ch. 5 for specific descriptions of how a bake-oven worked.

44 See Appendix D for several recipes that have been handed down from mother to daughter.

illustrated by their use of the English and German speech.

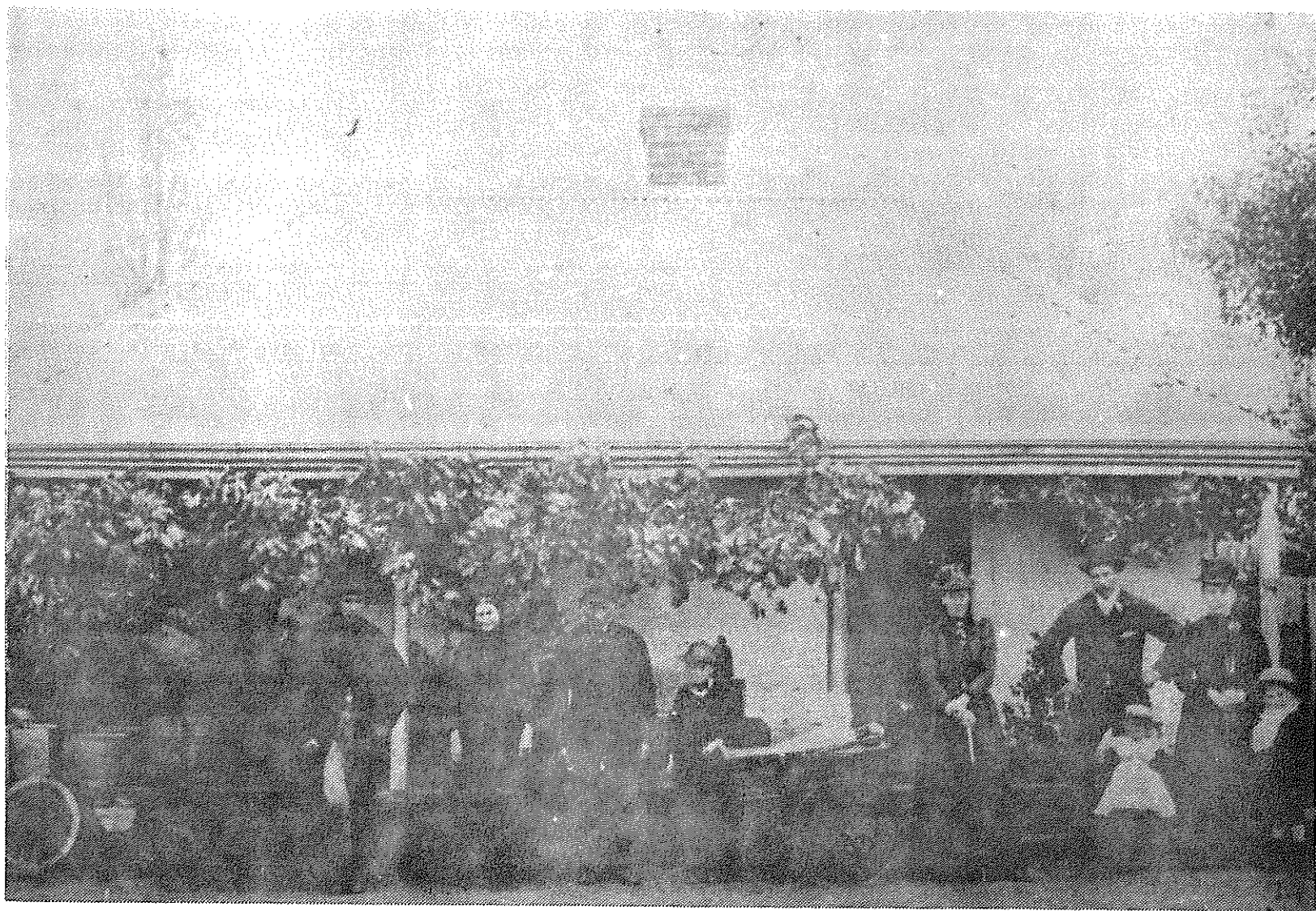
At school, the curriculum set out the course of studies for religion, reading (from Luther's Bible), writing and singing in German, with the other subjects - arithmetic, geography, history etc. - detailed in English.⁴⁵ In this way the German language, customs, songs and hymns were passed on to the young, who also gained a practical use of English and a working knowledge of South Australia.

Fluent German was spoken in the home and church, about family life, the community, and religious affairs. Loanwords from English were integrated into German to cope with such topics as farming and the Australian landscape. English was used in talking about subjects outside these domains: business, industry, transport.⁴⁶

45 Course of Instruction for the German-English Lutheran Schools in South Australia, 1892.

The German language expressed the old life, the home life, and English the new life and the outside world. This dichotomy between their public and private lives was, however, one of the factors leading to the frightening misunderstanding of and hostility towards the Germans' descendants at Hahndorf in the Boer War, and ultimately their persecution during the First World War.

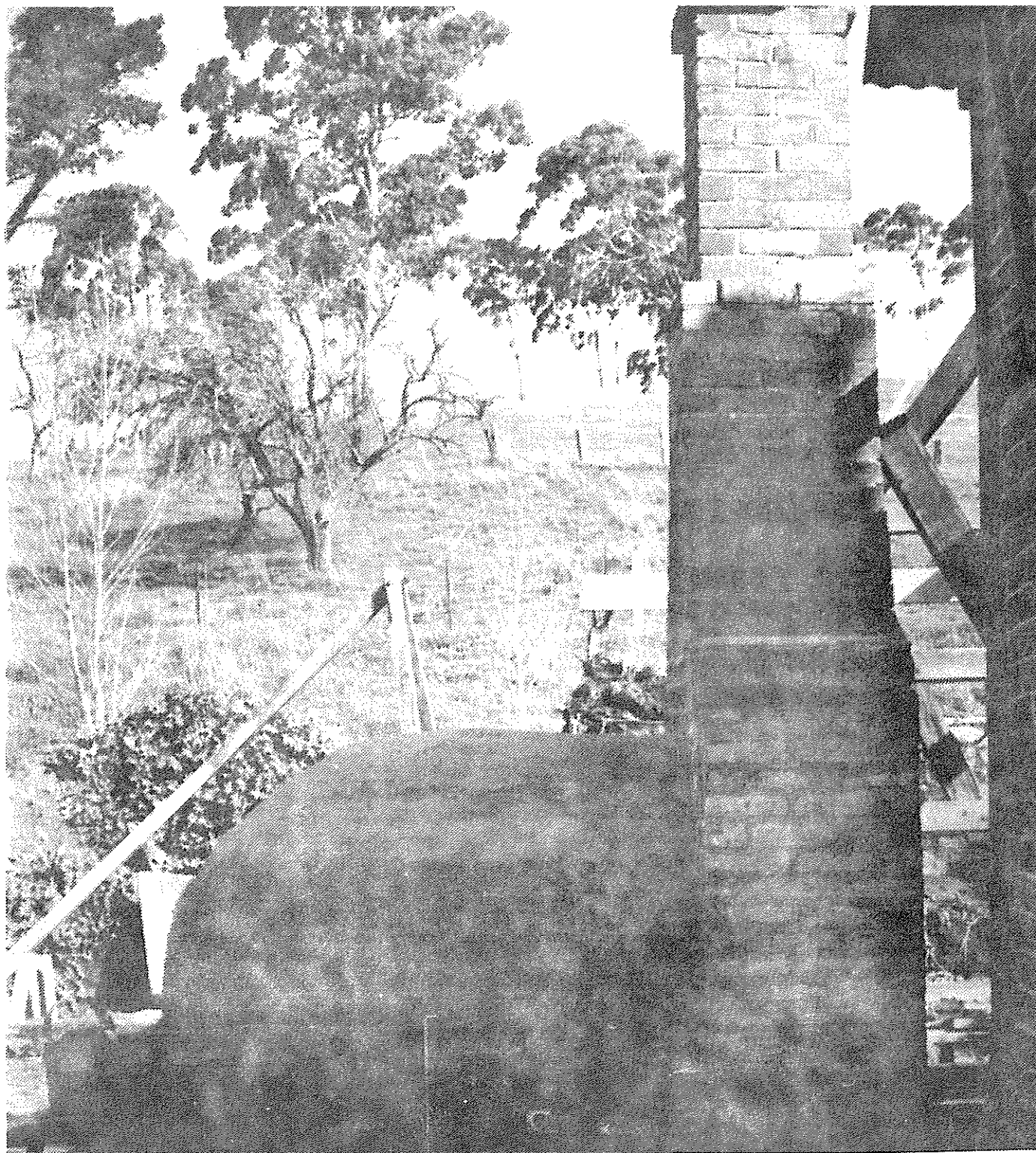
46 Clyne, M.C. "Decay, Preservation and Renewal: Notes on Some Southern Australian German Settlements." In A.U.M.L.A. No. 29, May, 1968, p.36



Black clothes were worn for best, for celebrations, weddings,
and funerals

'Baking was often a weekly affair, usually on Saturdays'.

The outside bake-oven
House No. 2. Paechtown.



CHAPTER 5 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PART 1 HOUSE FORM & CONSTRUCTION

PLAN TYPES AND SPATIAL ORGANISATION

Fortunately, some primitive colonial structures have remained, so that we are able to gain an insight into early houseforms, the various construction techniques employed and the ways in which they were used by the occupants. With the tangible evidence, plus contemporary descriptions by early visitors such as Hallack in 1892, supplemented by Sir Hans Heysen's drawings, a broad appraisal of Hahndorf's architectural evolution can be made. From humble beginnings in 1839 to its architectural peak in the eighteen fifties, a true Hahndorf style emerged which remained unequalled anywhere in Australia.

As soon as the Germans arrived, they, like their fellow English colonists, had to improvise, making do with whatever materials were available. Timber from their packing cases, stones, mud, branches and grass were common building materials with which their first rude dwellings were constructed.

The small structure behind Hennig's house in Victoria Street (old section No. 11) is a good example of an early single roomed hut. Although its occupiers were blessed with a brick chimney and attached brick bake-oven, similar buildings, perhaps two-roomed and without chimneys, were probably used by the colonists.¹

Simple hearth-houses, that is, single roomed

dwellings without a chimney, were not uncommon in Europe. Barley points out that these were called 'fore' or 'fire' houses and were in general use in northern England until the late 17th century.² Their drawbacks, however, may be discerned from a description made in 1833 of a house near Bremen, by Frederick Steines. "The hearth was in the spacious middle room of the house and since they have no chimneys the smoke of the burning turf permeates the entire house and finds its way through the great door on which account everything in the house, the people included, looked black".³

The ancient saxon tradition whereby man, animals and goods were all housed under one roof, - common even in twentieth century Mecklenburg, proved to be a rare combination. The barn on section 3833 Hd. Onkaparinga is the only house-barn that we have come across, but it must be pointed out that there were two distinct building stages, the barn being the first.*

A common house plan which appears both at Hahndorf and in the Barossa Valley is the through passage hall plan, usually with cooking arrangements Flur Kuchen haus. Thiele's cottage, 102 Main Street, Hahndorf is a good example of this plan type as well as the Paechtown farmhouses.

A closed passage plan similar to plan C on page 43.

1 The sooty underside of the roof shingles suggests either that smoking was done in the attic space or the flues were later additions.

2 Barley, M.W. The English Farmhouse and Cottage

3 In Van Ravenswaay The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri p. 156

* See page 189.

is often found in Hahndorf. These two roomed farmhouses with central cooking hearths and back-up bedroom fireplaces were located end-on to the street and to one side of the narrow fronted allotments Hufen. They were set well back from the street alignment probably to allow for a front garden (see page 111).

Three complete cottages have been identified. No. 34 Main Street, Hahndorf is still very complete. Hidden behind its yew hedge it has a stone paved yard and well. The later extensions are clearly indicated. No. 79 Main Street, Hahndorf has a complete two roomed cottage located behind the new house. This is similar to No. 13 Victoria Street with a small end room acting as a ground level cellar. There still remains the outside bakeoven. Behind Haebich's half-timbered house (75 Main Street) is another two roomed cottage which is now incorporated into the larger complex.

Although we have located a number of black kitchen houses in the Barossa Valley (the Keil house in Bethany and the Schmidt house in Light Pass are excellent examples) no black kitchens in the true sense of the meaning were found at Hahndorf. Instead meat was smoked in the large fireplaces or in detached smokehouses.

The cooking hall was not only used for preparing the family meals but also for cooking and curing the pork products for which the German settlers were renowned. The large vaulted openings over the fire hearths or small doors opening on to hanging rails or hooks in the chimneys were used to smoke and cure these small goods. Their central location and the general loftiness of these cooking areas

helped to maintain temperatures at an even 20° celsius, one of the requirements for obtaining satisfactory pork products.

The location of bake-ovens also varied. Usually domed or barrel vaulted brick structures, with a chimney at its opening, the ovens were either attached to the main building, part of an outdoor kitchen, or detached. Baking was usually a weekly affair, Saturday being the most popular baking day. Ovens were big enough to take about eight loaves of 'wheat bread' and the following procedure for baking is reconstructed from interviews with older Hahndorf citizens.

"To heat the oven, it was filled with wood usually collected by the boys. After all had burnt, the hot ashes were removed with a long handled timber or metal scraper, and the oven floor cleaned with a wet rag attached to a stick." To determine the correct temperature, flour was thrown in - presumably the colouration determined the desired temperature. This knack of determining the correct temperature varied between households. Some housewives could 'feel' it, whereas others judged it by the time it took for a piece of paper to burn. The proven dough was then inserted either on a tray or 'on the brick'. To control and observe the baking process, 'mother looked through a small hole in the metal oven door'.

Another distinguishing feature of a German house is the attic, readily recognized by the gable such as at Paechtown and later dormer windows (Ravenswood on section 4218 Hd. Onkaparinga). Accessible from the corridor or external gable ends, the 'protective' attic was often used as a sleeping, working and

storage space.

Cultural ties associated with the roof are evident in many ancient myths and customs. For example, it was considered a bad omen for women in the later stages of their pregnancies to leave the protection of their roofs. Once a person was unter Dach und Fach, that is, sheltered by a roof, he or she could not be harmed by demons. In Westphalia marriages were sometimes performed beneath the roof hatch for luck. The Richtfest or the topping of the building with the roof structure is still widely celebrated today.

Fully excavated cellars which were common in the Barossa Valley are not found in Hahndorf, and presumably the high water table made this an impossible task. Instead, the rare Hahndorf 'cellar' was only partly below the ground level either attached as on section 3824 Hd. Onkaparinga or detached at Ravenswood.

Where houses were built on a slope, the builders were spared the laborious task of excavation, and the space between the floor and ground level was used to store the perishable goods (as in the Paechtown houses).

The cellars were used for a variety of purposes, either as additional smoke rooms or as dairies and wine stores. Here farm cheese and sour cream was prepared and stored in ideal temperatures and wine fermented and bottled for home consumption.

Variations in the basic spatial organisation of houses in and around Hahndorf, and their relation to their outbuildings are illustrated on page 162. In general, the house with its neatly arranged barn, stable and sheds formed the nucleus of the well organised farmyard. The hard brackish water was hauled from wells only a few metres from the main door. Strong family ties are indicated in houses such as on old house allotment No. 5 and section 2967 Hd. Macclesfield which had a 'granny' flat Altenteil attached to it.

The small farm allotments were laid out in neat sections providing the farmer's family with a variety of produce. Next to the house was the kitchen garden with a large cabbage patch. Although imported European flowers such as roses, hollihocks and poppies were grown there was a large area of garden left for growing herbs of all kinds. The small farmyards had pig-sties, chicken coops and barns, and sometimes small slaughter rooms where the pigs could be killed and their blood and entrails prepared for sausage making. Beyond the farmyard was an orchard, some vines and then a wheat or barley field and pasture next to the creek.

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES

Wattle and Daub

The only clearly visible examples of wattle and daub construction are found in the infill panels of half timbered buildings. Traditionally, wattling consists of a row of vertical stakes fixed to a top and bottom rail, leaving space within which another pliable material (usually straw in S.A.) is then interwoven. Both sides are plastered or 'daubed' with a plastic mixture of chopped straw and mud, making sure that the mixture is well pressed into the interstices. The smoothness of many panels in Hahndorf's half timbered buildings suggests that the builders used a wooden trowel. A coat of whitewash formed of a mixture of lime and water was then applied for protective as well as decorative reasons.


Solid slabs were often used instead of stakes. The pliable material traditionally interwoven between the uprights was omitted, and gaps were filled and the whole wall was plastered - usually from both sides. Many examples of slab walls can still be found on houses, barns, toilets and smoke houses.




Stone Construction

The largest extent of rocks in the Hahndorf district are sedimentary in the form of sandstones or quartzites. Sandstones in shades of brown, white and purple, are relatively soft and can be easily cut and shaped to size, whereas quartzites, although exceedingly durable, are difficult to work and usually break along bedding/jointing planes. Stone footings were provided for all structures,

and the material was often quarried near the site.

Over fifty stone buildings remain along Hahndorf's Main Street. Walls were built of undressed stones laid at random and the mortar was either mud or a mixture of mud and lime. It seems that dry packed walling was not used. Little variation in the stonemason's craft was found in the earlier buildings, and certain details on window and door openings suggest that the same mason may have been responsible. Returns for 1864 list J.A. Weith (sic) as the only resident mason, but presumably many owners built their own stone structures or 'outside' masons were employed.

An early photograph of St. Michael's Lutheran church shows that on the original stepped gable was a first stage of square and smooth finished blocks (ashlar). Window and door surrounds were of accurately cut stonework. To give lateral stability to the walls, tie rods were introduced along all sides, and the externally visible heads were forged to form the following motifs. 

These variations may have been expressions of the blacksmith's art or symbols of long standing christian or pagan beliefs, their traditional significance perhaps being lost. In East Anglia⁵ for example the elongated  or  was used on buildings as an insurance against lightning, and the  motif represented St. Andrew's cross. In

⁵ Evans, G.E. The Pattern under the Plough p. 67

German mythology the Hammer of Thor was represented by a swastika ~~✖~~ by superimposing two ~~✖~~ ties.

Quoins, either bricked or imitated in plaster, as in the second stage of St. Michael's church, were only emphasised at a later stage, and even then, public buildings or those of the wealthy seem to have led the way. The Hahndorf Post Office (1873) and Institute (1893) Ravenswood (probably early 1870's), the houses of Wittwer (c 1865), F.W. Paech, von Doussa and Dr. Aurich (early 1900's) are all stone houses which emphasized quoining, and tend to deviate from the plain, less pretentious earlier "German" stone buildings.

Brick Construction

Bricks were commonly used as ballast on sailing ships and when the "Zebra" arrived in 1838, she was carrying 40,924 bricks. It seems unlikely however that any of these bricks were transported to Hahndorf, but instead, were snatched up by Adelaide builders.

Walls of the building on lot 278, Section 4003 Hahndorf were built of unburnt or 'Adobe' bricks. Approximately 460 x 190 x 140 mm* the bricks as well as the 40 mortar bed consisted of a mixture of clay and fine aggregate. A coat of mud was then smeared on the wall, and further durability was given by coats of whitewash. Although these "German bricks"⁶ were used in other settlements,⁷

they seem to have had little impact on Hahndorf's architecture.

Fired clay-bricks on the other hand were widely used. Brauer informs us that bricks for the Lobethal church were made in 1848 by the settlers, "the womenfolk included".⁸ So too, the Hahndorfers probably made their own.

The brickmaking process involved mixing the clay with water and then kneading the plastic pug into a timber mould, making sure that the mixture was pressed into the corners. An indentation in later machine made bricks, known as the 'frog' was the result of machine-pressing the clay to the sides of the mould. When the mould was removed, the bricks were stacked and slowly allowed to air dry, and the final step was to fire them, probably in crude clay kilns. The relatively poor quality of many Hahndorf bricks, their soft and brittle nature, was probably the result of a short firing time and underburning. Large 290 x 145 x 65 (11³/₈ x 5³/₄ x 2⁵/₈ ins.) sized bricks were used on the house on section 433 Hd Kuitpo, against the smaller and more common 220 x 110 x 65 (8⁵/₈ x 4¹/₈ x 2⁵/₈ ins.) bricks.

In solid brick houses, internal walls were usually single brick, whereas the external walls were always double brick laid in English bond, that is, in alternating header and stretcher courses. James Bleeze was listed as a bricklayer in 1856 (Hahndorf Land and Building Society) and eight years later

6 Pryor, O. Australia's Little Cornwall p. 66

7 Straw was usually used as a binding element.

* These and following sizes are in millimetres.

8 Brauer op.cit. p. 72

still practised his trade (Almanack of 1864). In June 1872 five bricklayers were listed in the Aliens Naturalization list (although none appeared in the Almanacks).

Half-timbered Construction

Despite their similar structural characteristics, numerous variations in detail and workmanship are evident amongst Hahndorf's half-timbered buildings. The significance of these variations, their importance as an expression of the colonists' ideals and the emergence of half timbering as an art form will be discussed throughout this chapter.

To fully appreciate this type of building construction, a detailed analysis of Paechtown house number two has been included in Appendix E. It is sufficient to mention at this stage, that the construction of these buildings required a high degree of skill and craftsmanship.

A half timbered structure is basically a timber skeleton, in principle identical to reinforced concrete and steel framed skyscrapers of the present day. The function of the vertical, horizontal and diagonal members is to transmit the imposed loads safely to the foundations, while the infill panels between the framing members serve to protect the inside from the elements. Because of their non structural application therefore, they can be limited to relatively light materials. Wattle and daub was used in the early half timbered buildings, but as brick became more readily available, it was soon recognized as being

superior. It was more durable than the traditional material, and many homeowners used brick on their houses as a reflection of their prosperity and desired social standing, whilst retaining wattle and daub infill panels on their barns.

The quality of timber used in half timbered structures varied between split and twisted logs, only roughly adzed to shape, to dimensionally perfect members. A wide choice of select grade timber was already available from timber merchants such as John Crawford and Co., Rundle Street, in 1838, but the predominance of Red Gum suggests that the Hahndorf builders cut and prepared their own or purchased it from nearby sawyers. The felled timber was usually cut in saw pits which, as the name implies, was a pit or trench dug in the ground. The log to be cut was supported over the pit, in which one sawyer stood, getting showered with sawdust, whilst the "top-notcher",⁹ the person above, was spared this deluge. A portable sawyer's frame which substituted for the excavated trench or pit was sketched by Heyesen¹⁰ and described by Hallack. "The trunks, were raised by lifts or levers, (they) are retained for sawing purposes by means of iron pins inserted in auger holes bored through the wooden frame work".¹¹

⁹ Freeland op. cit. p. 12

¹⁰ Thiele op. cit. p. 42







¹¹ Hallack op. cit. p. 97

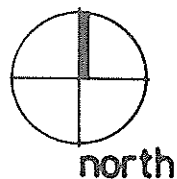
It has been suggested that some German colonists brought out prefabricated houses. Although it is true that a number of English immigrants, such as J.B. Hack, brought with them transportable timber Manning houses, any suggestion that the Germans brought half timbered houses to Australia is unlikely.

There are two basic arguments against this idea. Firstly, Australian native timbers, usually Red Gum, was used for all structural members, and secondly, the lack of documentary evidence which may suggest that even a prototype was imported.

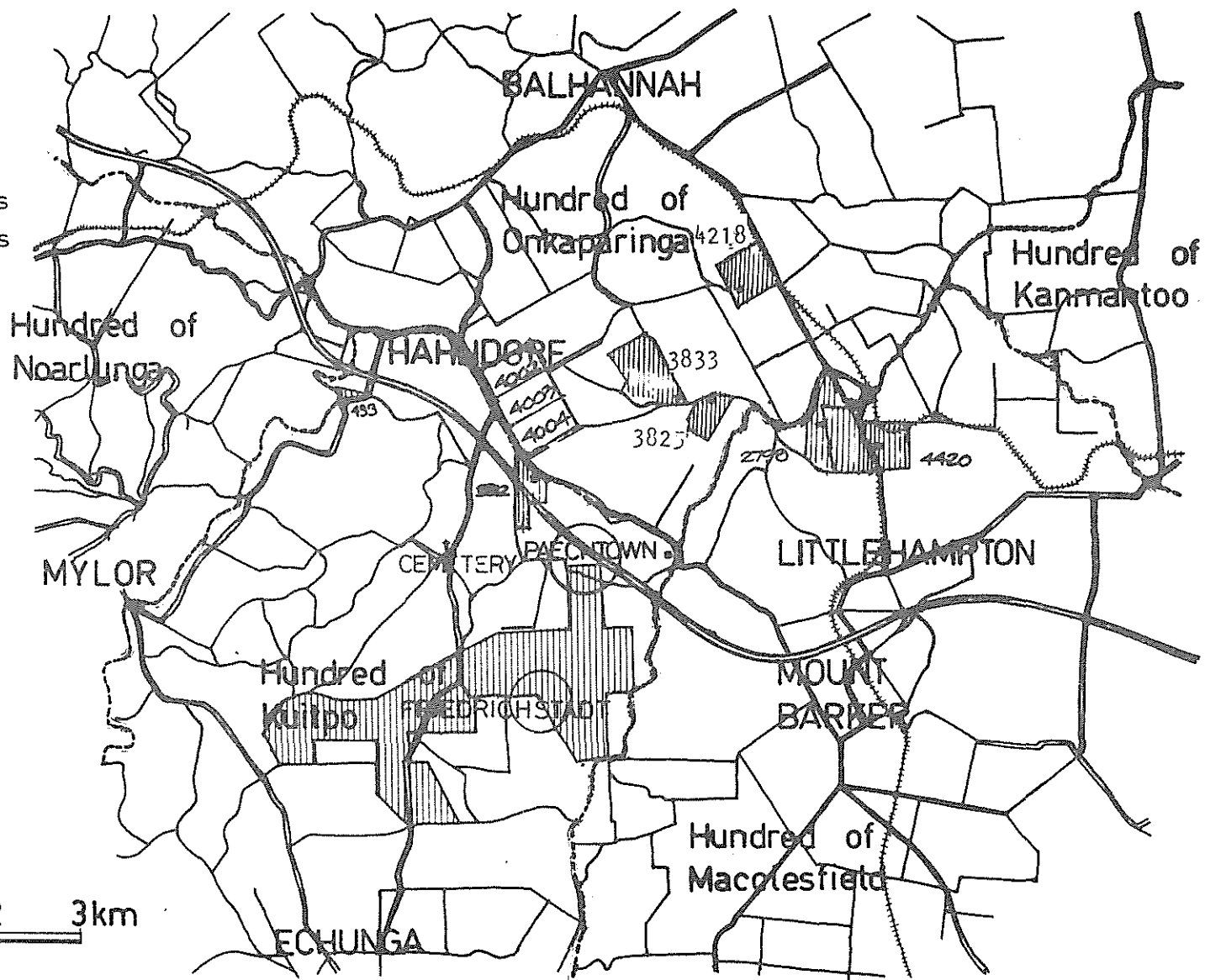
Also, to classify half timbered buildings as prefabricated is an injustice to the builders, for the word was only introduced after the Industrial Revolution, and implies speed, mass production of a multiplicity of components and the exploitation of non-skilled labour. It ignores the care, craftsmanship, and character displayed in these individual buildings.

KEY

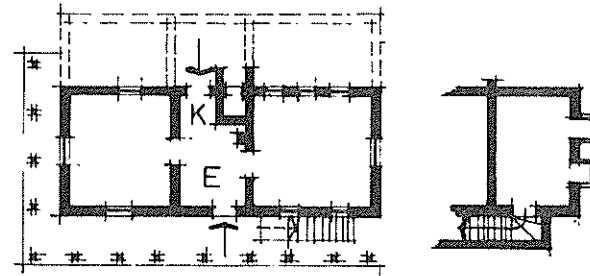
-  Railway
-  Minor Roads
-  Major Roads
-  Freeway
-  Hundreds
-  Sections-Properties surveyed



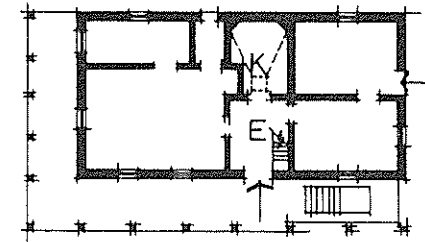
0 1 2 3km



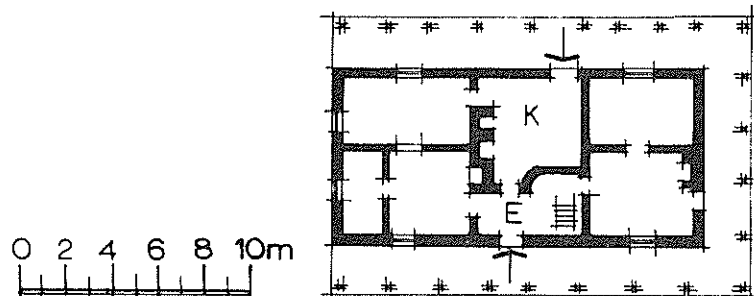
PROPERTIES SURVEYED



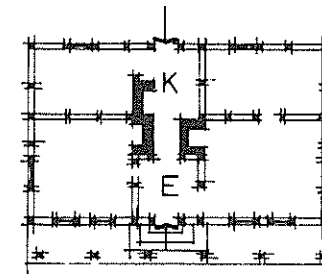
A. Through passage plan.
Tcharke House. Bethany, Barossa Valley



B. Closed passage plan (schwarze küche)
Keil House. Bethany, Barossa Valley



C. Through passage plan
House. Section 433, Hundred of Kuitpo.

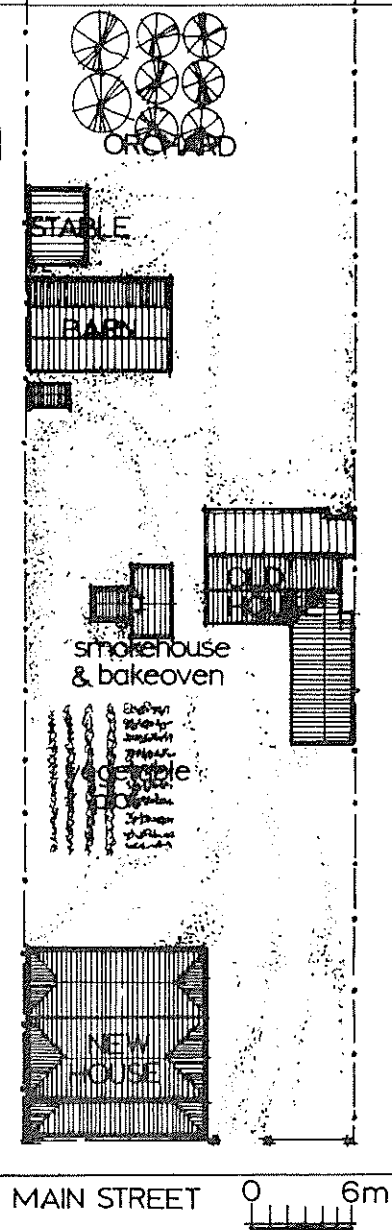
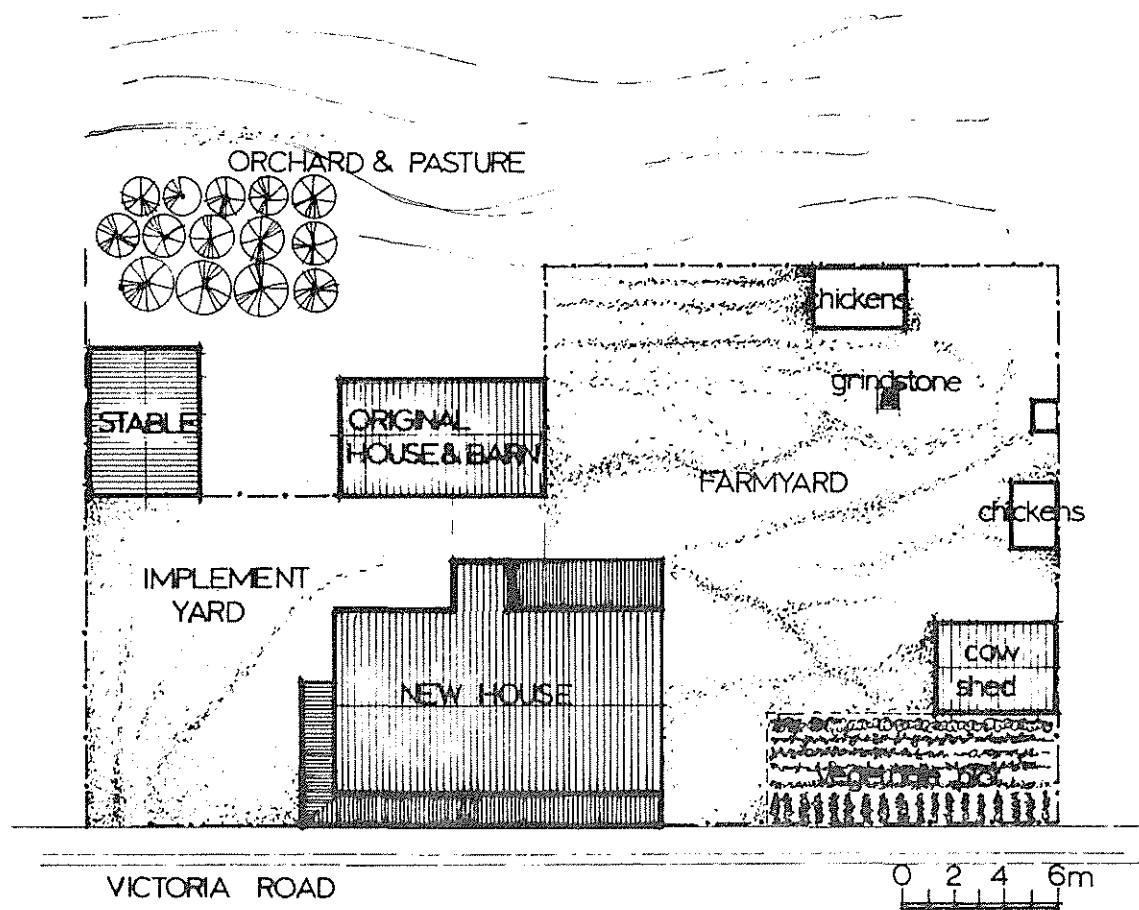


D. Through passage plan.
House No. 2, Paechtoun

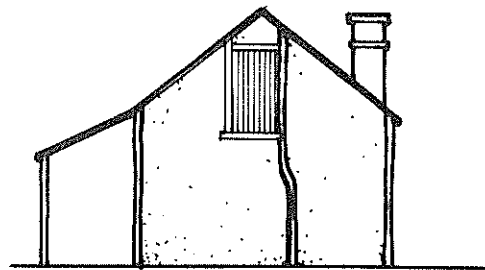
COMPARATIVE PLANS OF GERMAN FARMHOUSES IN S.A.

A. POST FARM LOT No.7
VICTORIA STREET, HAHNDORF

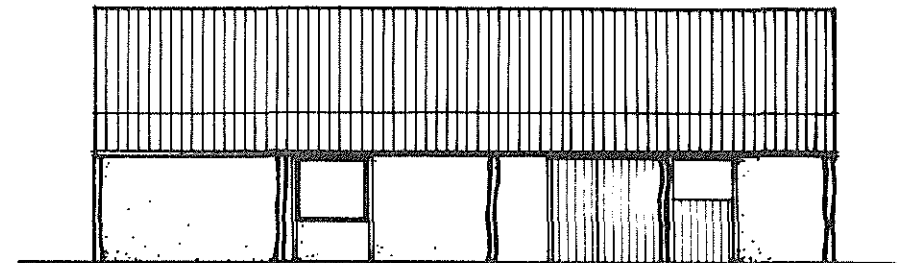
B. RODERT'S FARM
LOT No.20
MAIN ST, HAHNDORF



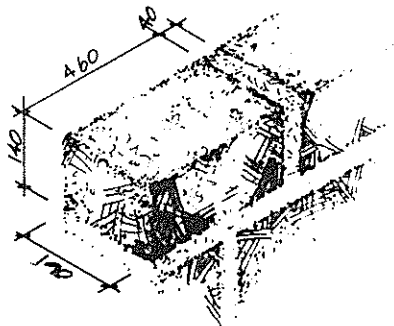
FARM LAYOUTS



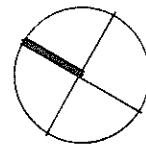
S.E. ELEVATION



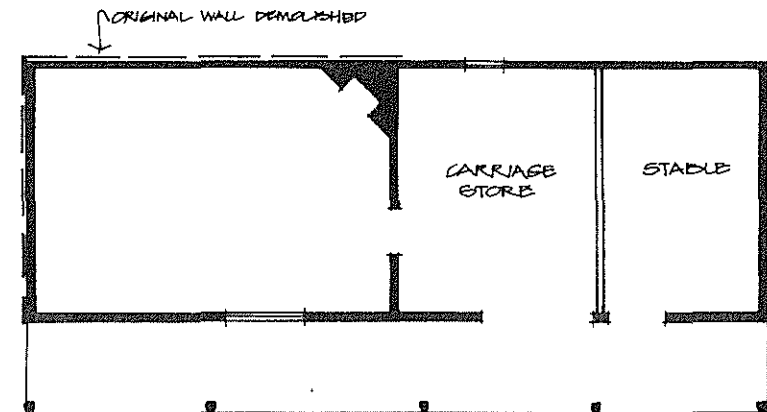
S.W. ELEVATION



ADOBE WALL
CONSTRUCTION



north
0 1 2 3 4 5m



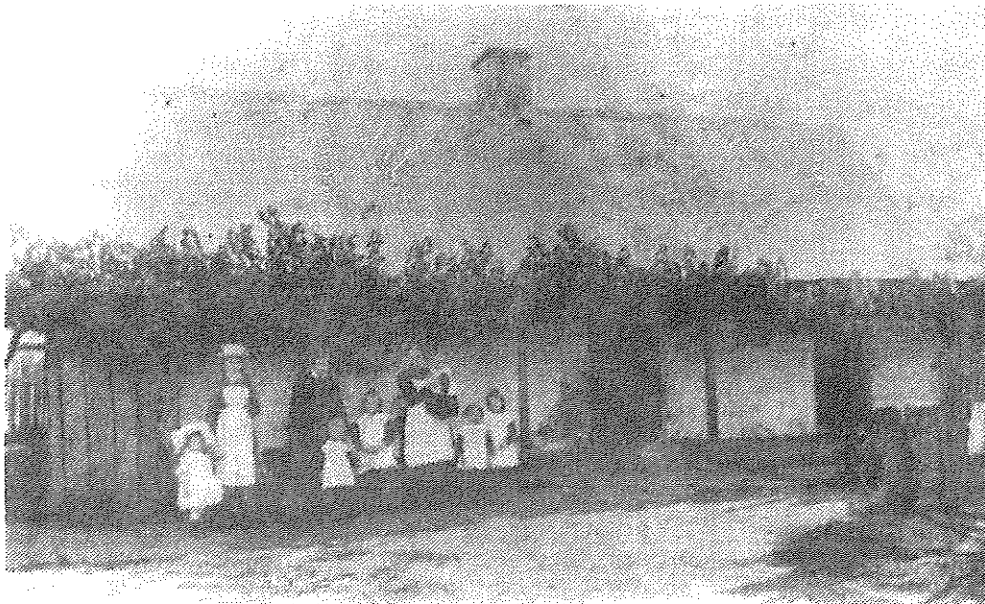
PLAN

LOT. 278 SECT. 4003 HD. ONKAPARINGA

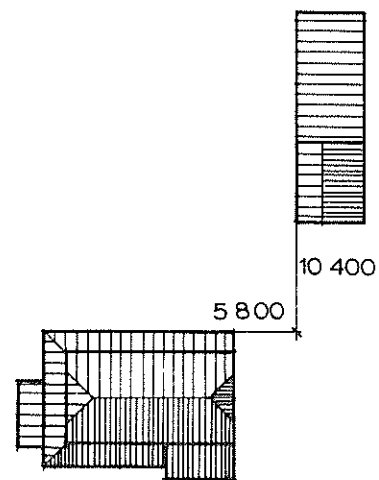
Early Settlers Cottage
(off Balhannah Road).
Sect. 4003, Hd. Onkaparinga.



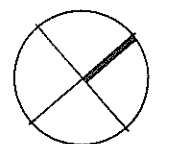
No. 13 Victoria Street,
Hahndorf.



0 5 10 15 20m

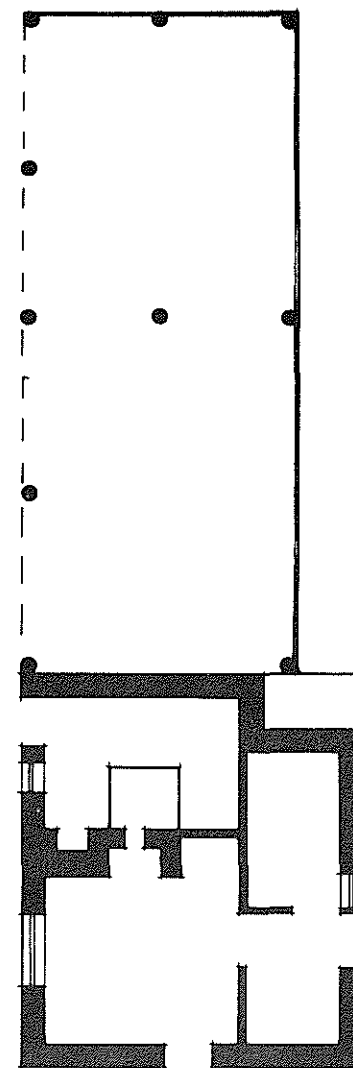


SITE PLAN



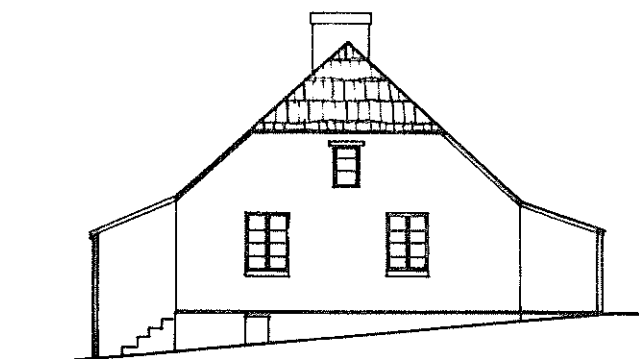
north

0 1 2 3 4 5

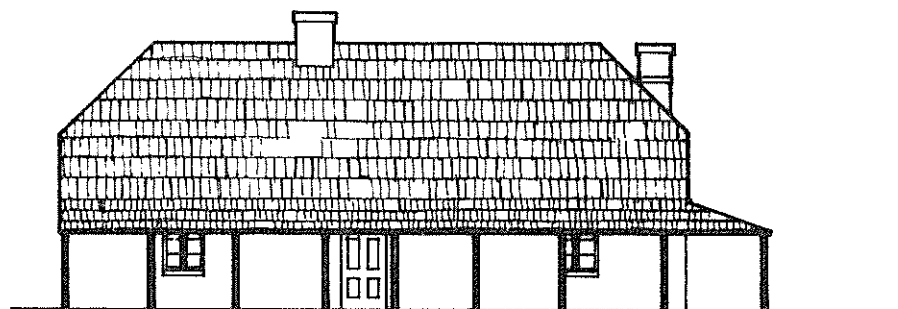


PLAN

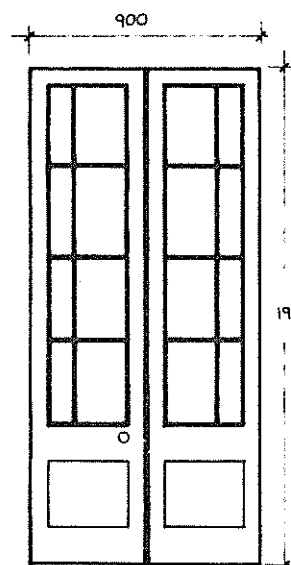
OUTBUILDINGS SECT. 433 HD. KUITPO



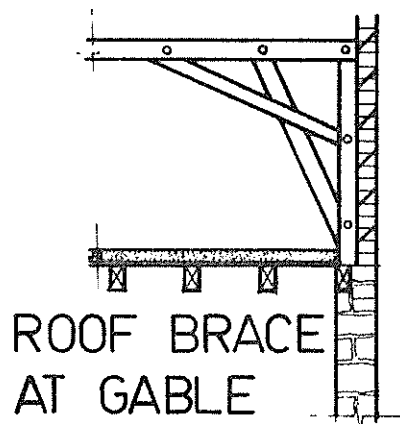
S.W. ELEVATION



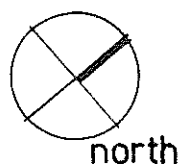
S.E. ELEVATION



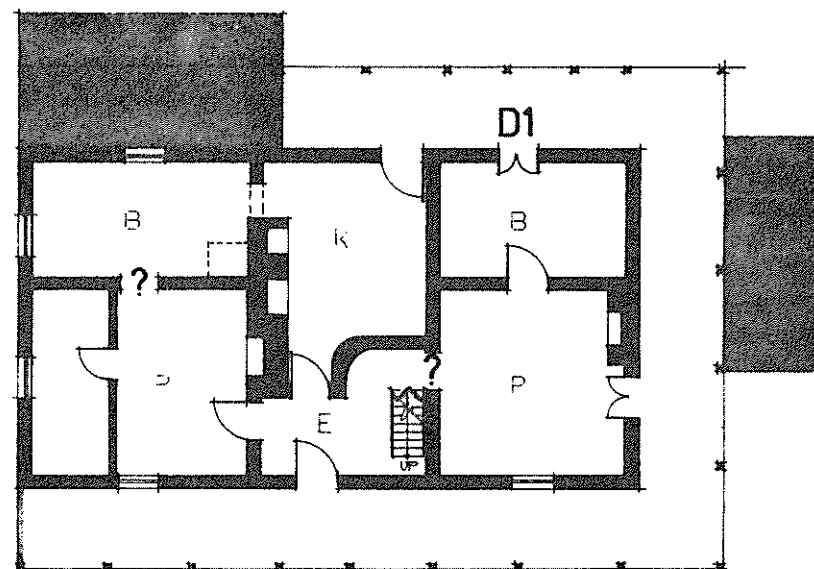
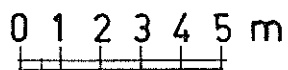
DOOR D1



ROOF BRACE
AT GABLE

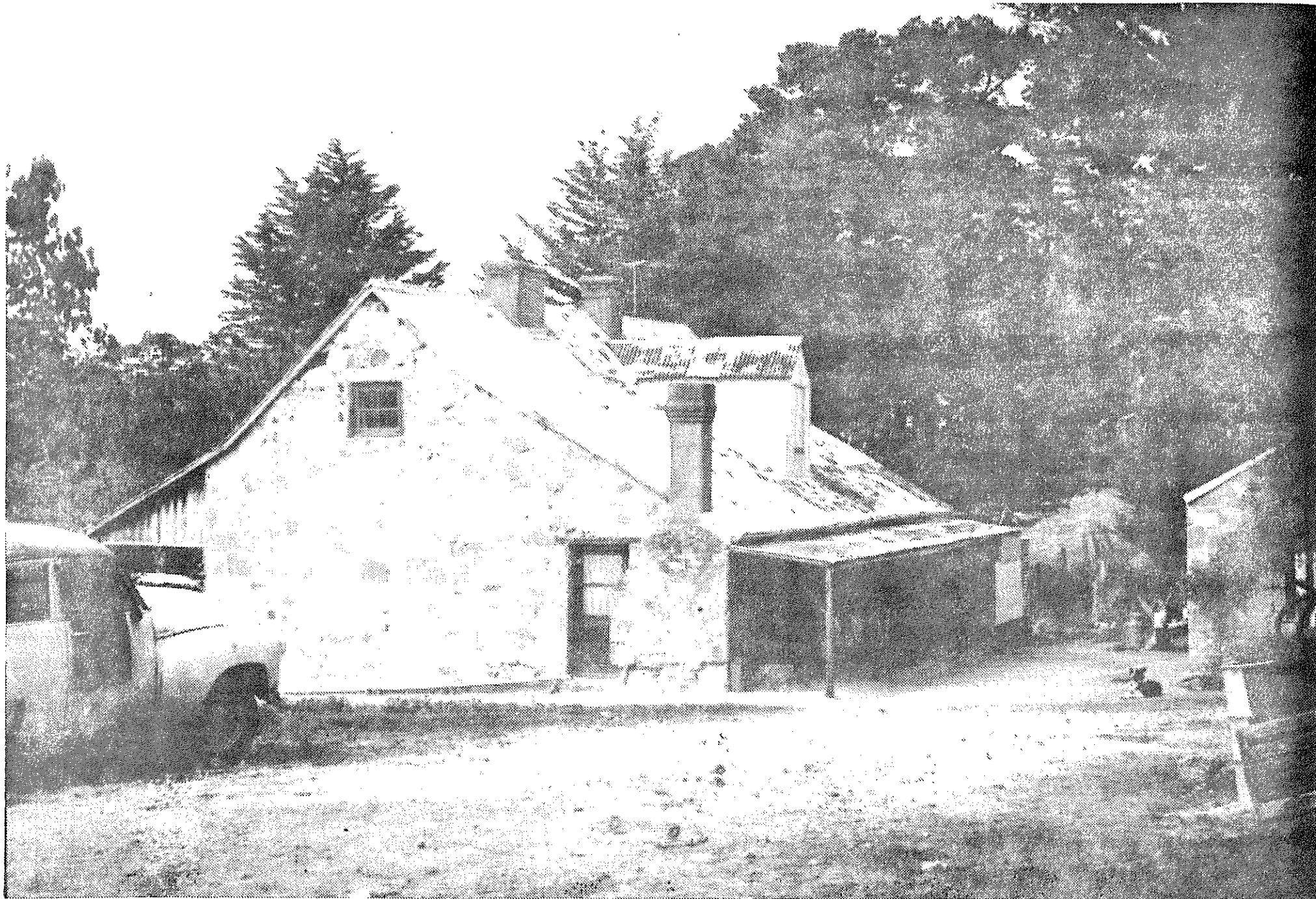


north

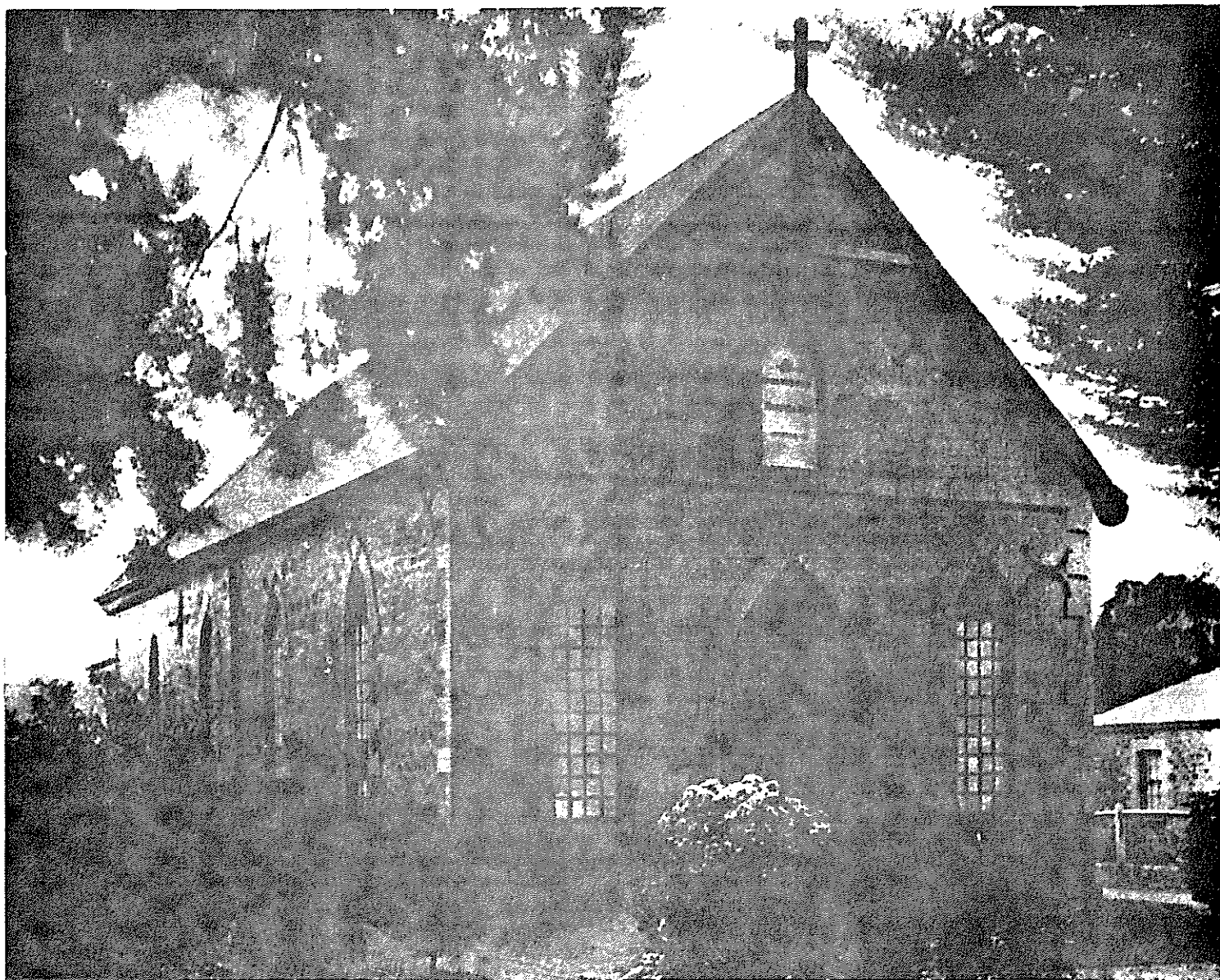


PLAN

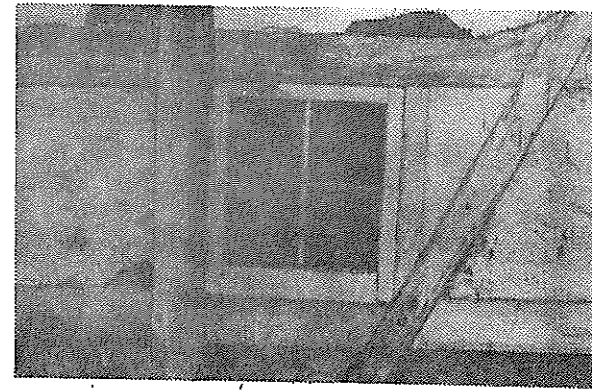
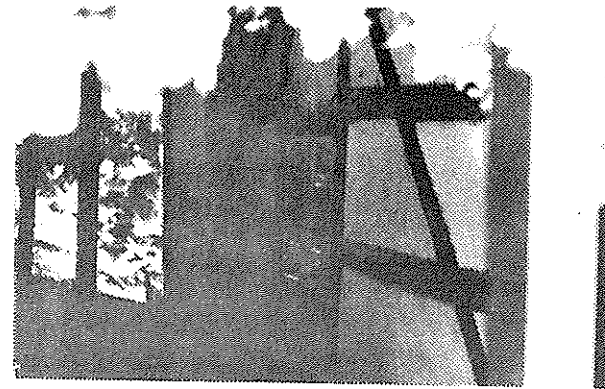
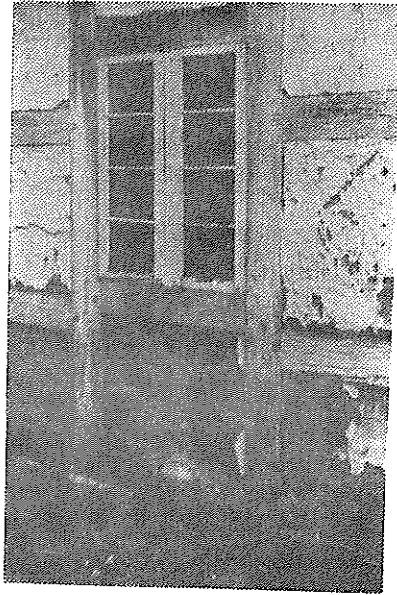
HOUSE SECT. 433 HD. KUITPO



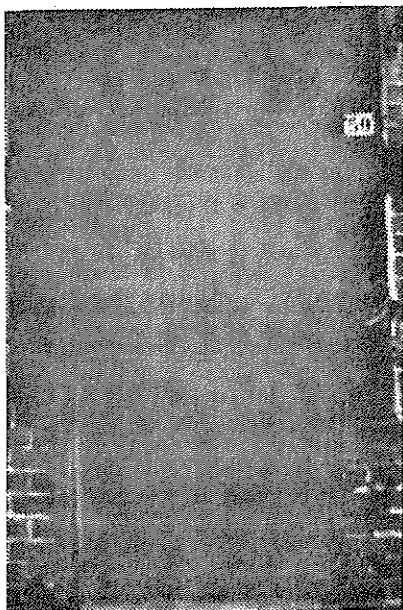
Stone House Section 2967 Hd. Onkaparinga



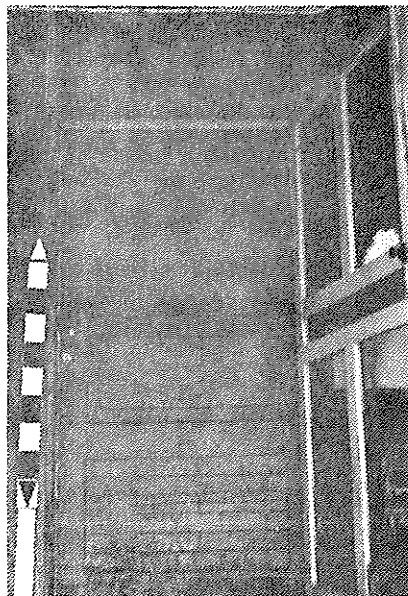
St. Michaels Church (circa 1900) showing decorative iron tie rods to stone walls



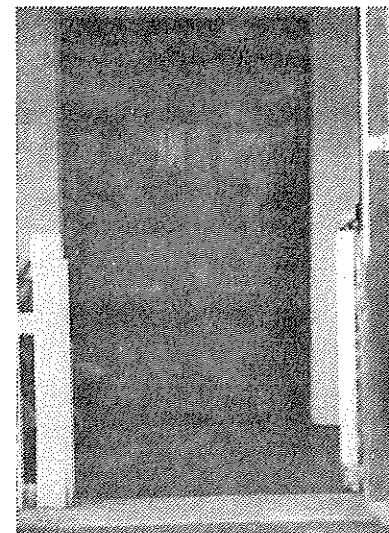
Half-timber framing, wattle and daub, details and window designs to No. 34 Main Street.



House Door Legowo
Poland 1977



House Door Paechtown



Double Doors No. 90 Main
Street, Hahndorf

HALF-TIMBERED HOUSES IN HAHNDORF

In all, about twenty half-timbered buildings remain in and around Hahndorf today, five of which are in the Main Street. There were of course many more. Three complete houses remain, one plastered over on its outside and two with exposed frames. Of the latter one the Haebich house has brick panels and the other wattle and daub (House No. 34). Ironically, a half-timbered cottage which stood on lot 10 in the Main Street was demolished around 1939, Hahndorf's centenary year, to make way for the 'Pioneer Memorial Gardens'. Another one stood on the site of the Hills Earth Movers. Houses like No. 46 Main Street have been partly removed and like the barn on section 3812 Hd. Kuitpo these sturdy buildings became an easy timber 'quarry'. Evidence of its once widespread use is given by Heysen's sketches and contemporary descriptions by Hallack, who visited Hahndorf in 1892.

"In the township's main street, now bordered with elms, chestnuts, and other beautiful trees, are rustic homesteads, which with their verdant framing are indeed pictures ... the houses and their construction commend themselves as useful object lessons to builders on clayey or Biscay cracking soils. One of the oldest was built in 1840 on the Swiss or chalet lines of architecture, as are also many others here and in Friedrichstadt. Thatch for roofing, with brick walls intersected with gum-framing V-shaped, horizontal, and other shaped walled lacings they score anything but cracks, the wooden lacements or bracings preventing the possibility of such. These "German ideas" of building are well worthy of imitation and

adaptation in many other localities."¹²

It is interesting to note Hallack's comment on the picturesque framing. Another observer mistook these as being painted stripes of bright colour which "give an air of picturesqueness that would be delightful to an artist".¹³

The illustration (Page 177) shows the front facade of a number of existing half-timbered buildings in and around Hahndorf, and it clearly indicates the conscious attempt to use the framing members as an art form. Braces were completely omitted on the front facade of Paechtown house No. 2, whilst there were three in Paechtown house No. 3 and four in the Liebelt house.*

In Paechtown house No. 4, convention was broken by placing the braces in intermediate panels. Braces were usually straight, but in the house on Lot 10 (now demolished) and the barn on section 3908, Hd. Kuitpo kinked or curved braces were used, again for visual effects.

There are several reasons why such a large number of these buildings were constructed. Many of the more substantial houses were probably built 12-15 years after settlement took place. For example, the Haebich house was most likely built not long after the family obtained land on the west side of the Main Street in 1850. The owners of these houses were obviously still strongly influenced by their

¹² Hallack op. cit. p. 93 - 94

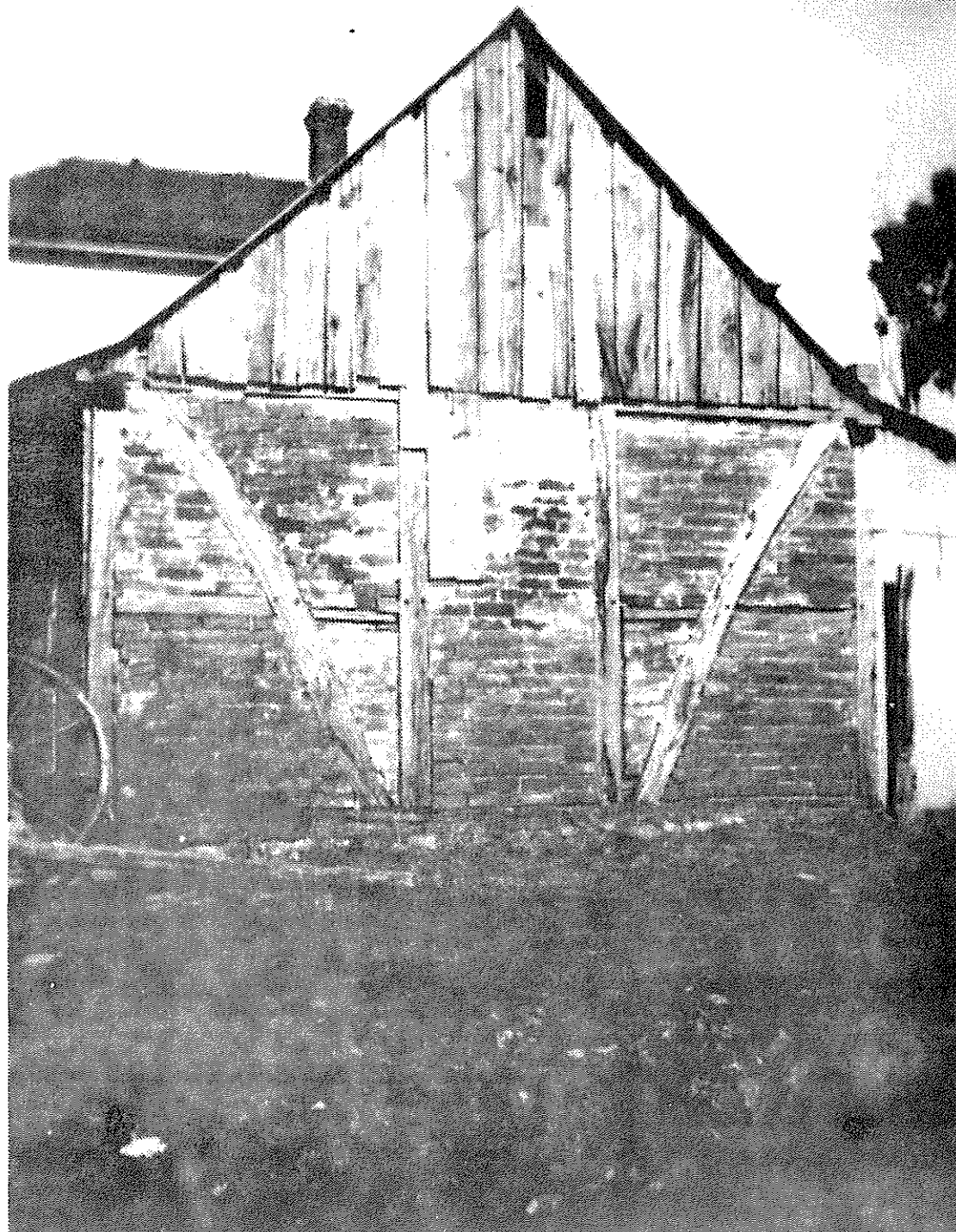
¹³ Douady op. cit. p. 279

* 3902 Hd. Kuitpo

cultural background in East Germany. Many of them, and their fathers and grandfathers before them, had lived in half-timbered houses built for the new colonists. This long cultural inheritance was maintained by the early German settlers because of the remoteness of their settlements from the cultural influences of the capital and the daily use of German which led to a tendency to "measure" things in German terms rather than English ones. Two other factors would also assist. One was that German building tradesman, especially the carpenters, had been trained over a long period of time in the traditional carpentry skills of their particular area of East Germany. The other was that due to initial land clearances there would still be a lot of valuable red-gum available for making building frames. This timber, although of a different colour and grain, would not appear that different to the European Oak which these craftsmen were used to working. Both timbers need long and careful seasoning, in Europe boles of oak were often left in swift running streams for several years in order to drain out their natural sap. In a similar fashion the timbers felled in the Hahndorf area could have been stored in wood yards for a considerable time to reduce their greenness before being sawn up for frames.

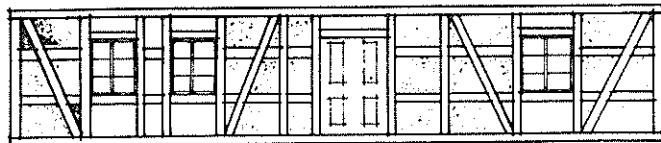
All these different factors may explain why the settlers still chose to use what was a fading art in the European building trade. Parallel conditions existed in the Barossa Valley where some half-timbered houses were built by the German settlers. The difference lies in the density of settlement. Bethany and other German villages were soon overshadowed by the larger townships like Tanunda which were Government

supported and whose commercial and civic Buildings largely adopted the current methods and styles of other South Australian towns. By contrast, Hahndorf was predominantly a German township which, due to its position, rapidly increased its residential and commercial density and therefore had a much larger number of German styled buildings within it. This probably explains its uniqueness, of which there is too little physical evidence left in the form of half-timbered buildings. Only drastic building controls will save those remaining and finally outright purchase will be the only solution.

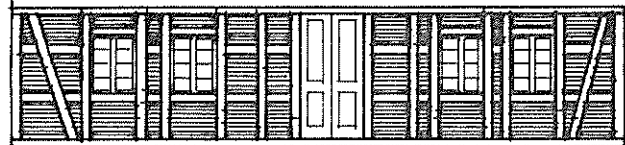


Pioneer Cottage demolished
in 1939 to make way for the
Pioneer Garden!
Note curved wall braces.

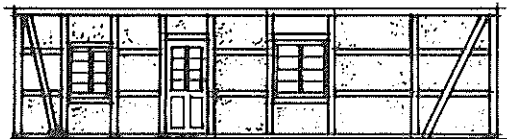




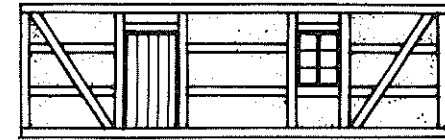
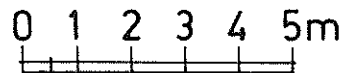
LIEBELT 1



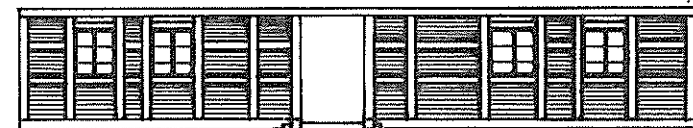
No. 78 MAIN ST., HAHNDORF



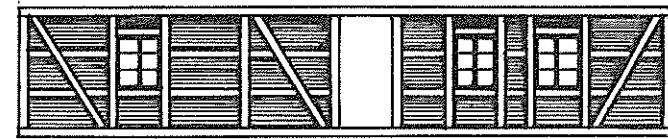
No. 34 MAIN ST., HAHNDORF



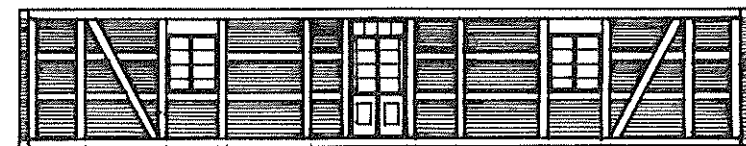
PAECHTOWN 1



PAECHTOWN 2



PAECHTOWN 3



PAECHTOWN 4

COMPARATIVE FRAMING TECHNIQUES

CHAPTER 5 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PART 4 HOUSE FORM & CONSTRUCTION

HALF-TIMBERED HOUSES IN PAECHTOWN.

Lying 3 kilometres to the south-west of Hahndorf is this neat German settlement of half-timbered farm houses and outbuildings. Although it is now dominated by the new hills freeway, its location is superb. The village street follows the line of a rising valley and there are expansive views towards the north looking over the Mount Lofty Ranges.

The land was originally part of F.W. Paech's holding of Friedrichstadt, and in 1853 section 391b was sold to members of yet another Paech family. Four farmhouses were built on this section and adjacent to them several half framed barns. The exact dates of their construction are not known but from a reference in Hallack*, and the fact that the land transaction took place in 1853, it is probable that building began in the mid 1850's.

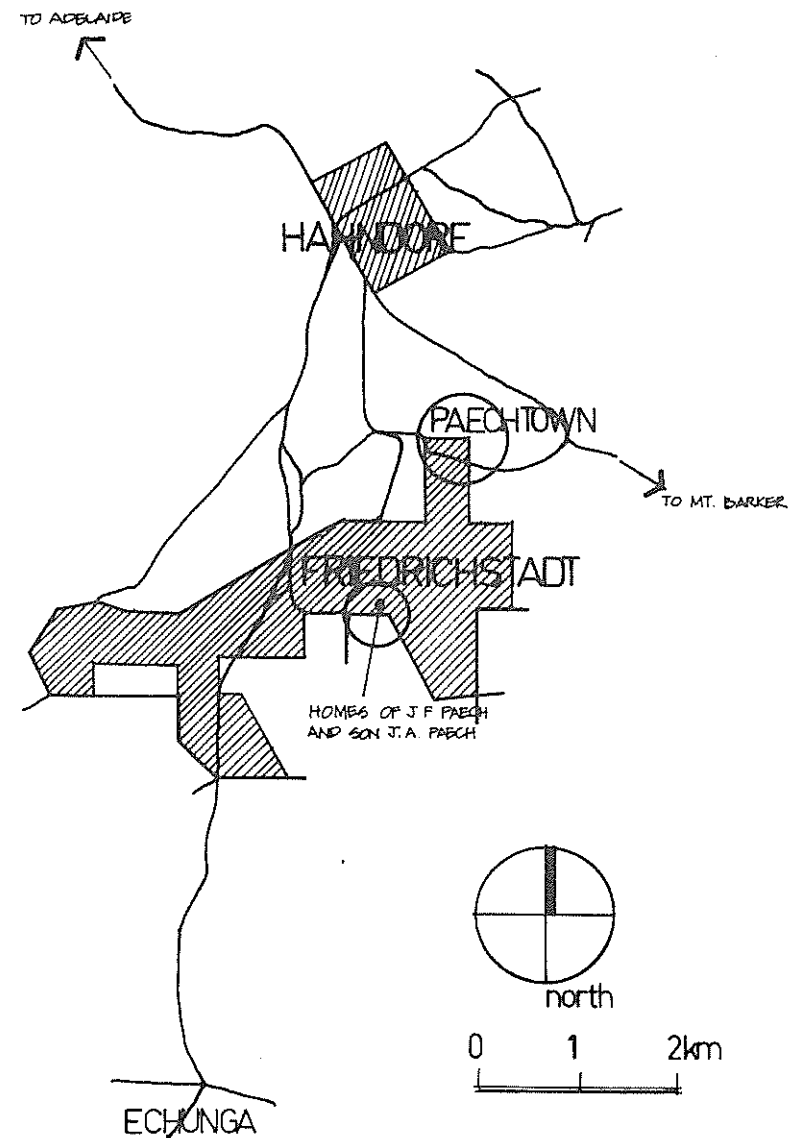
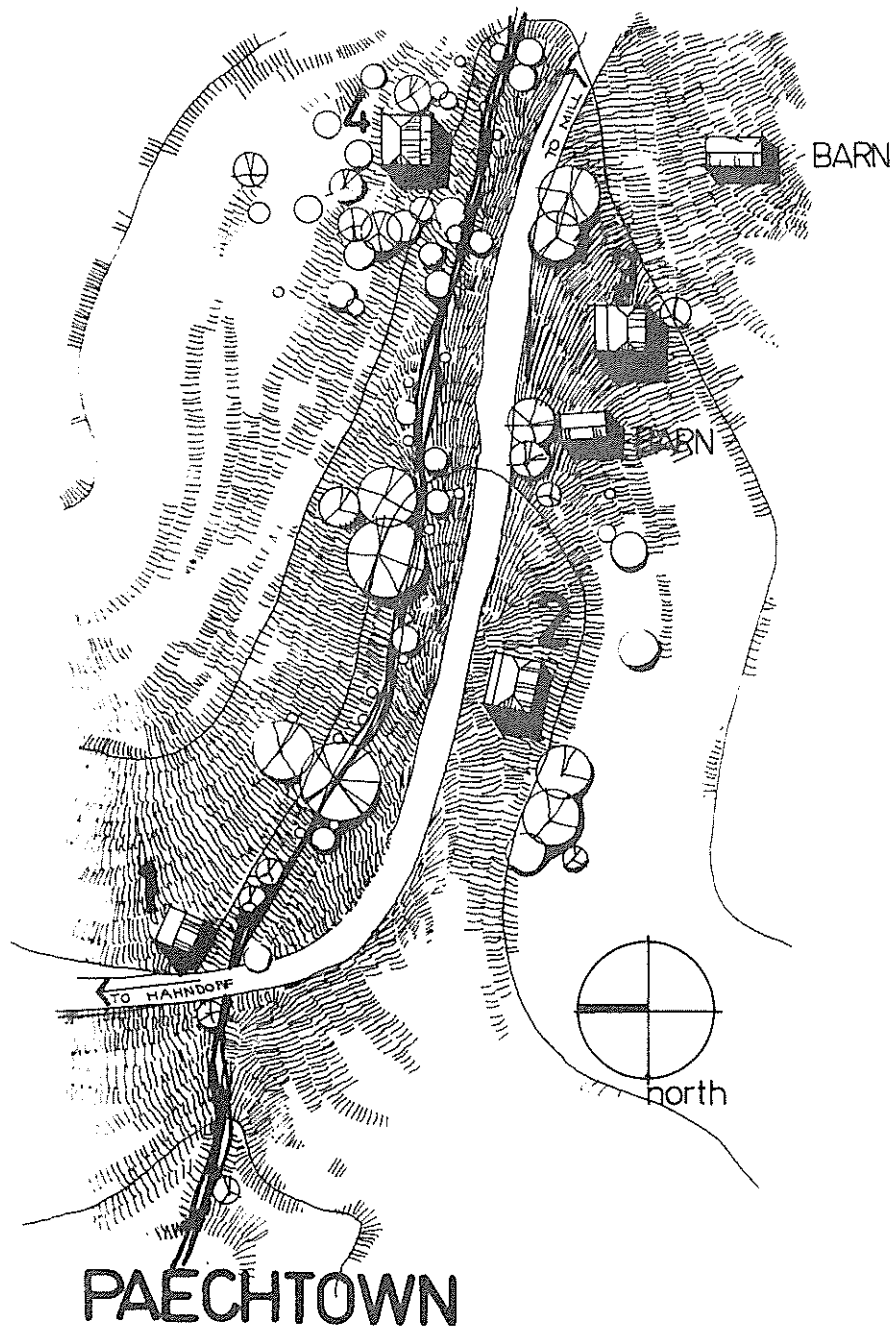
The timber frames to both the houses and barns are magnificent examples of the carpenter's art. Also significant is the use of brick infill panels on the more important and what seem to be the later built houses. Wattle and daub panels infill were used in all barns. This constructional difference is again commonly found in half-timbered farms and outbuildings right throughout northern and central Europe where

brick added prestige and often indicated the owner's social standing.

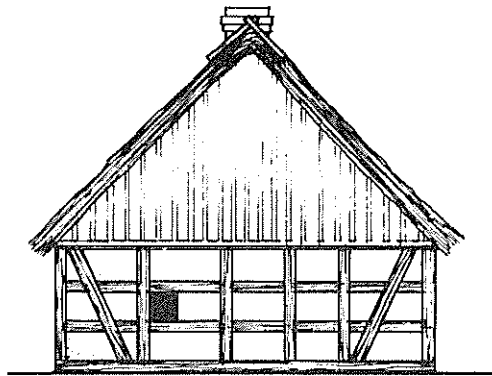
The amazing fact is that these buildings still remain. In the late 1960's, these were either abandoned or in a very dilapidated condition. They could easily have been destroyed then or a little later when the freeway was built. Their survival has been due to an increasing awareness in people's minds about our national inheritance and the tremendous will and energy of their new owners who have virtually had to rebuild them.

Mr. Noble's house (no.2) stands out as the most sensitive restoration and it includes a modern half-timbered addition at the back which truly matches the original house. The Paech farmhouse (number 4 on our plan) has unfortunately added new dormer windows to the attic roof which were not used in the early settlers' houses. This highlights the problem of adapting old buildings to more modern life styles. This problem is further emphasised when trying to convert buildings built for entirely different functions into modern homes. A recent example of this is the conversion of the Paech barn into a house (barn east of house 3 on our plan). Here conflict has obviously occurred and an alien element in the form of a gothicky front door has been introduced. However the beautiful high gabled front of the building is still expressed as is its excellent framework, and the building has most certainly been preserved for posterity.

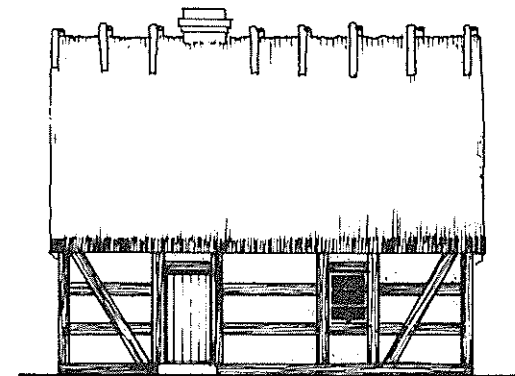
* Hallack, E.H. Our Townships, Farms and Homesteads.... (1892). p. 95



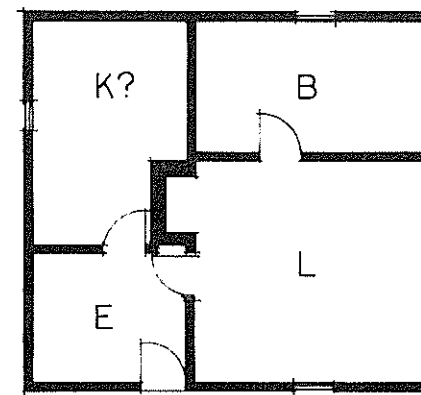
LOCALITY MAP



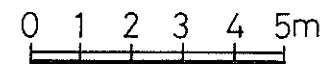
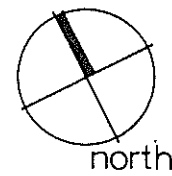
N.W. ELEVATION



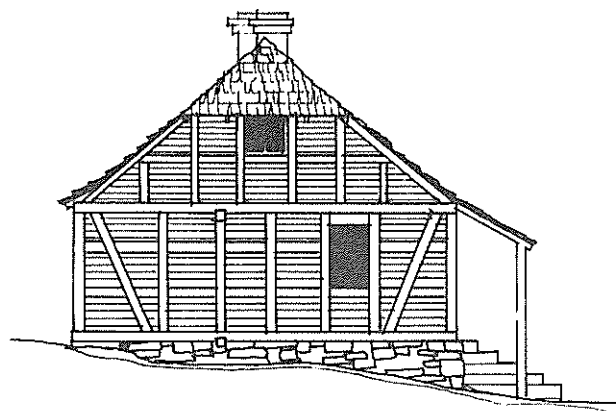
S.W. ELEVATION



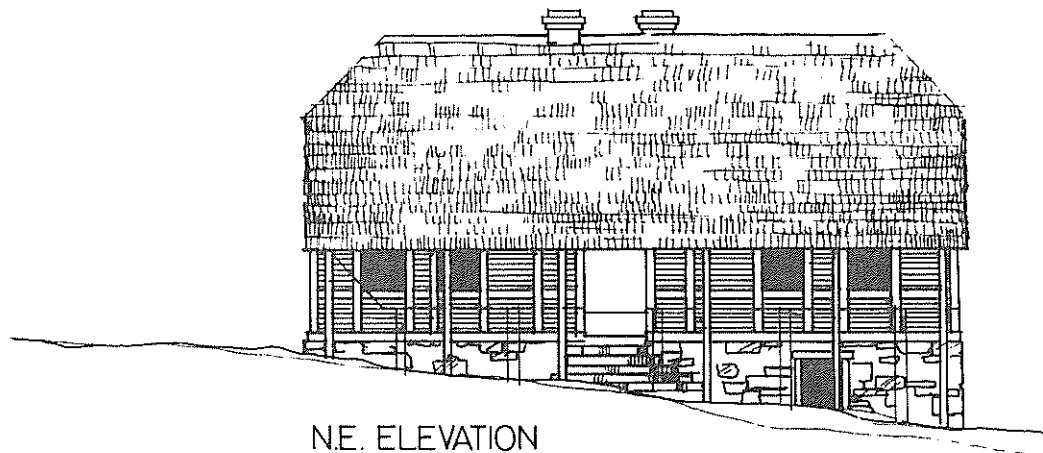
PLAN
entry



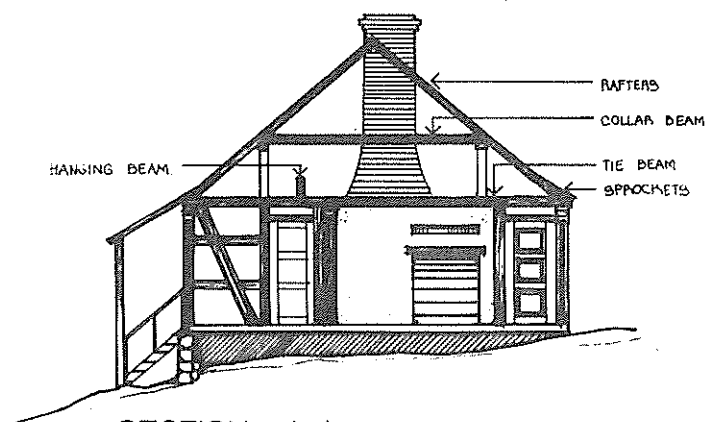
PAECHTOWN - HOUSE 1



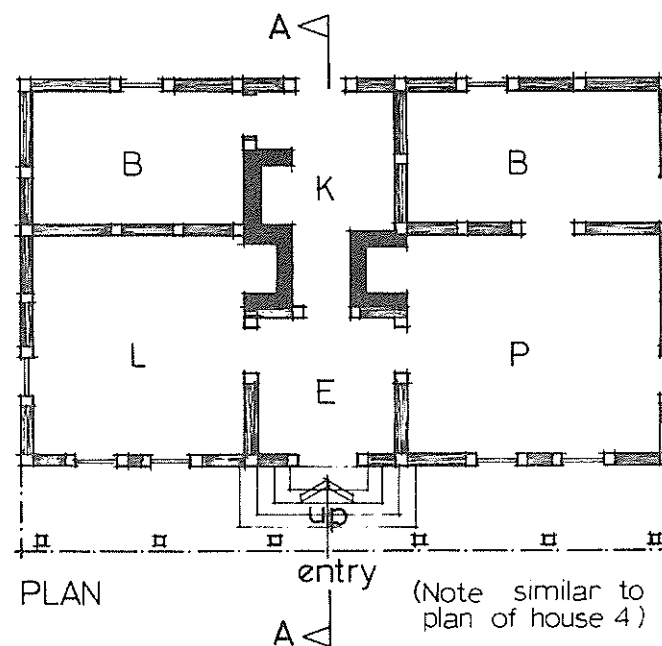
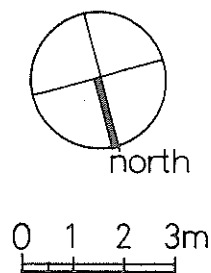
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N.E. ELEVATION

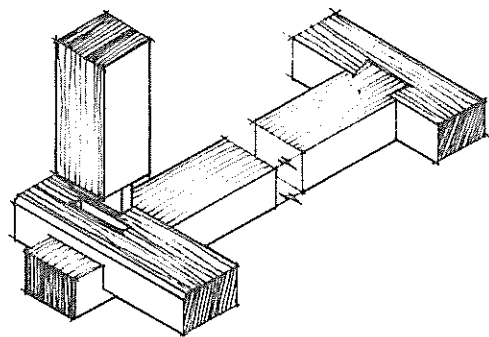


SECTION A-A

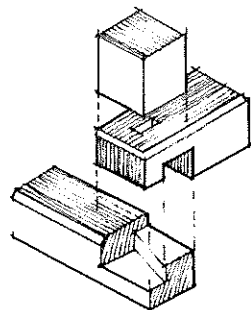


PLAN

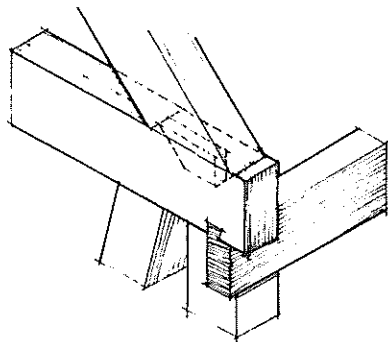
PAECHTOWN - HOUSE 2



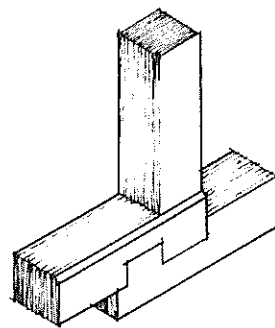
DETAIL 1



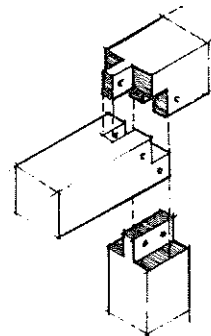
DETAIL 2



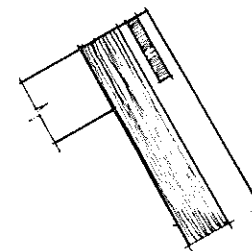
DETAIL 3



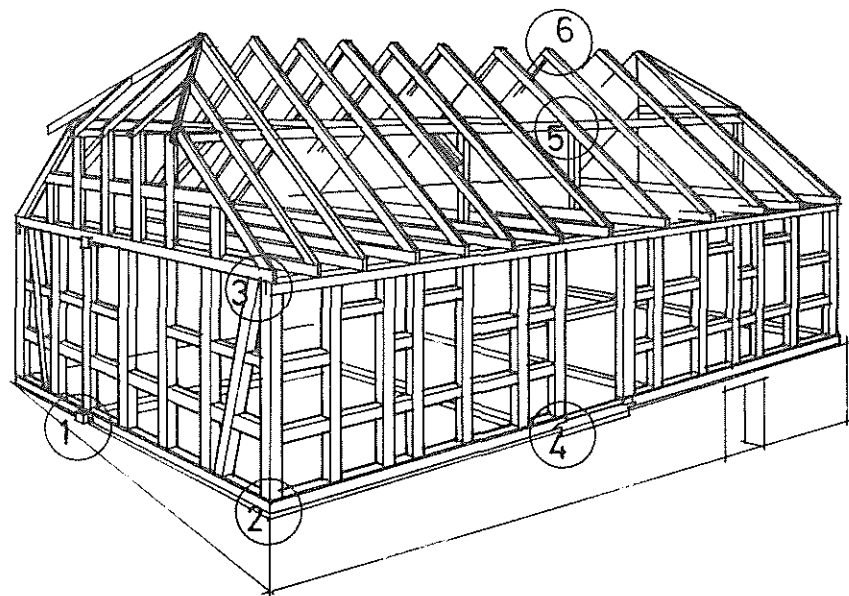
DETAIL 4



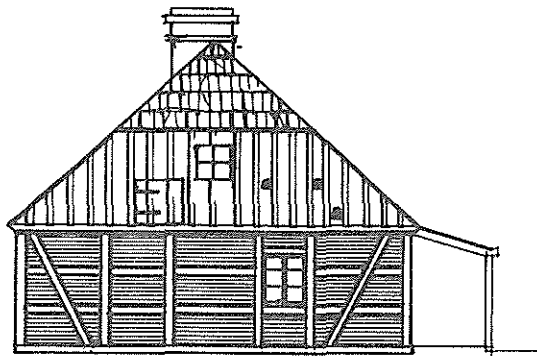
DETAIL 5



DETAIL 6



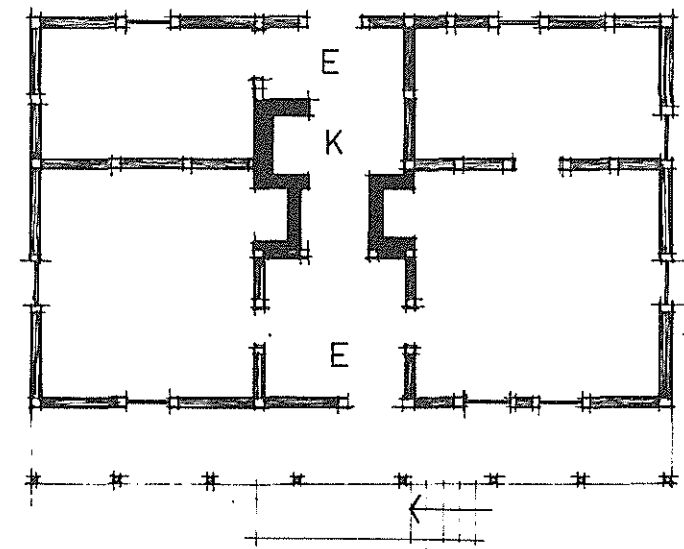
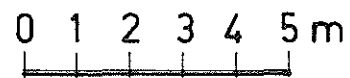
PAECHTOWN - HOUSE 2



E. ELEVATION

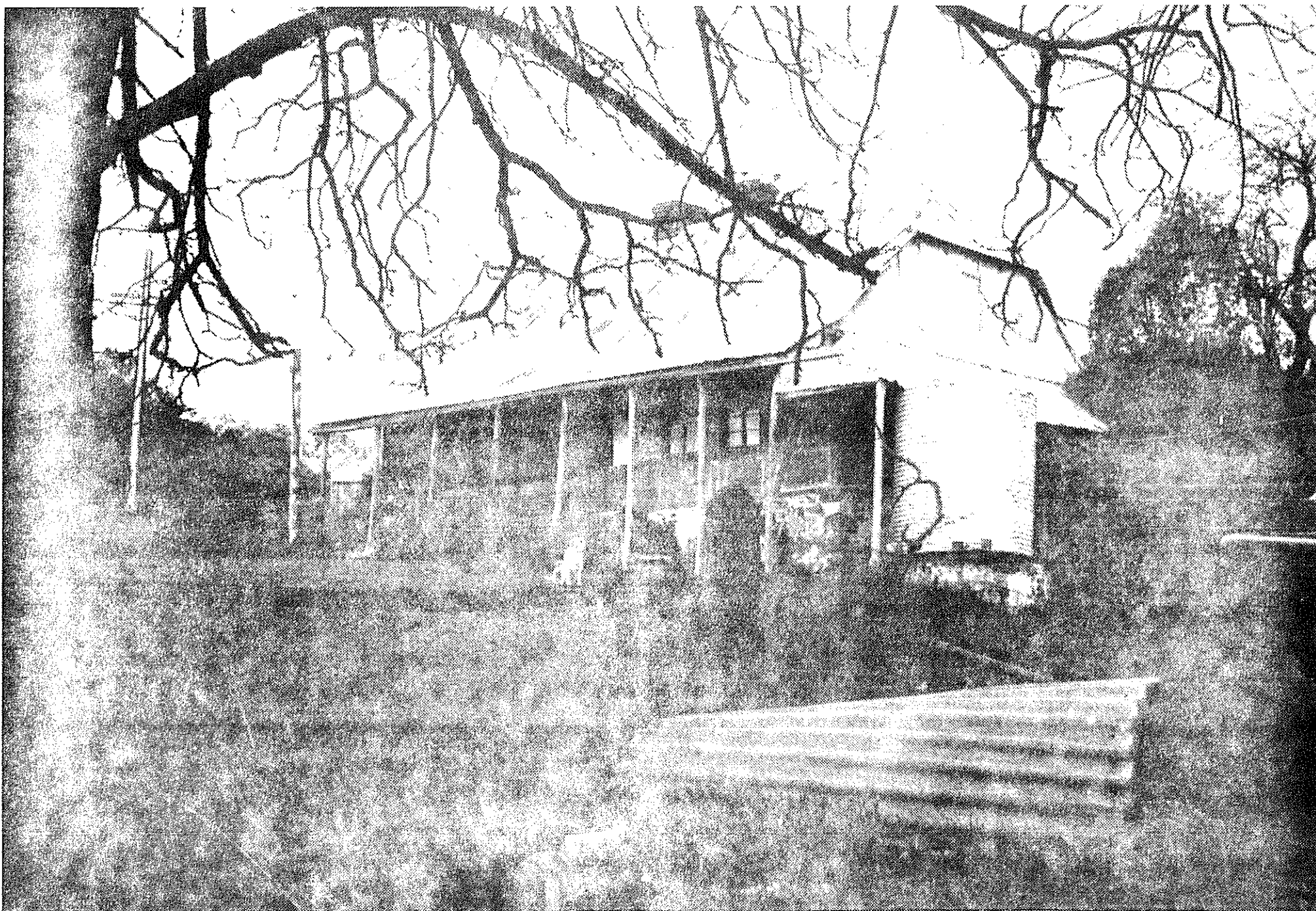


N. ELEVATION

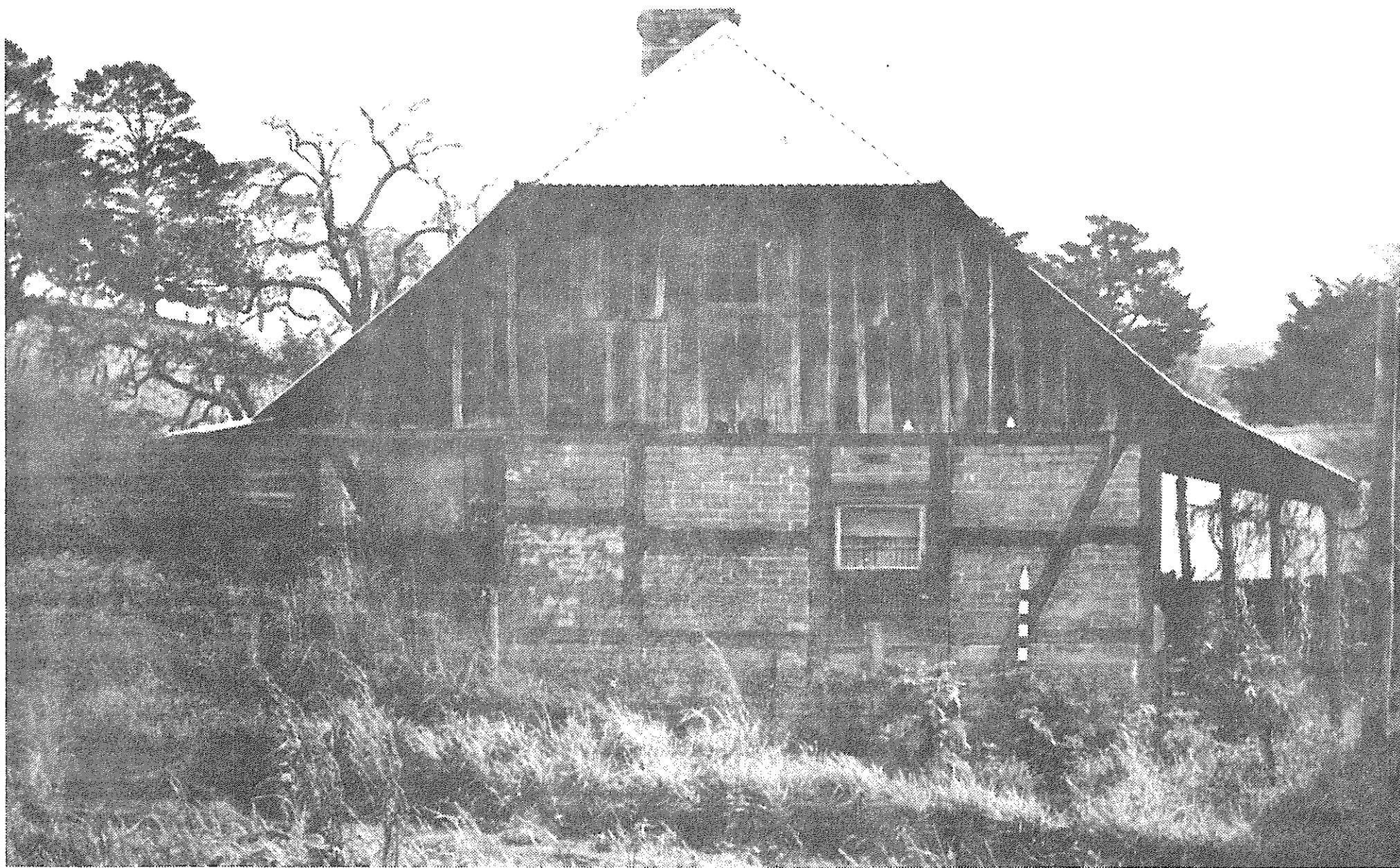


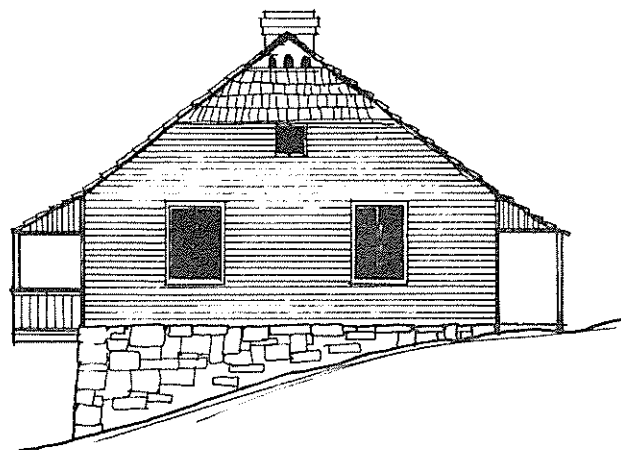
PLAN

PAECHTOWN 3

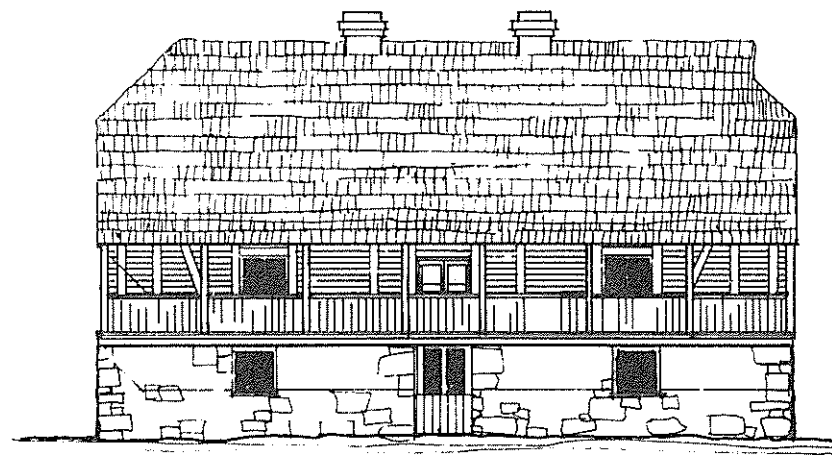


North west view of Paechtown house No. 3. 1975. 185

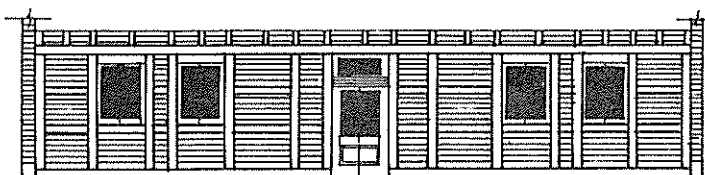




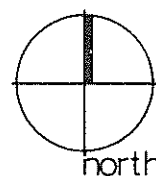
EAST ELEVATION



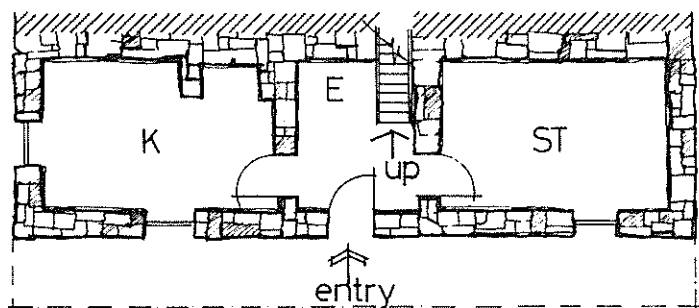
SOUTH ELEVATION



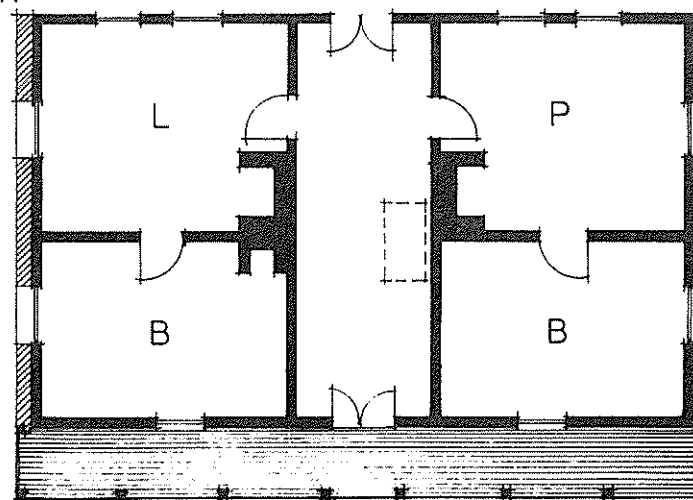
FRAMING OF NORTH ELEVATION



0 1 2 3m



LOWER FLOOR PLAN



UPPER FLOOR PLAN

PAECHTOWN - HOUSE 4

CHAPTER 5 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PART 5 HOUSE FORM & CONSTRUCTION

MOONEY'S BARN

This is the only building in the Hahndorf district discovered so far which has similar characteristics to the barnhouses commonly found in many parts of north and central Europe.

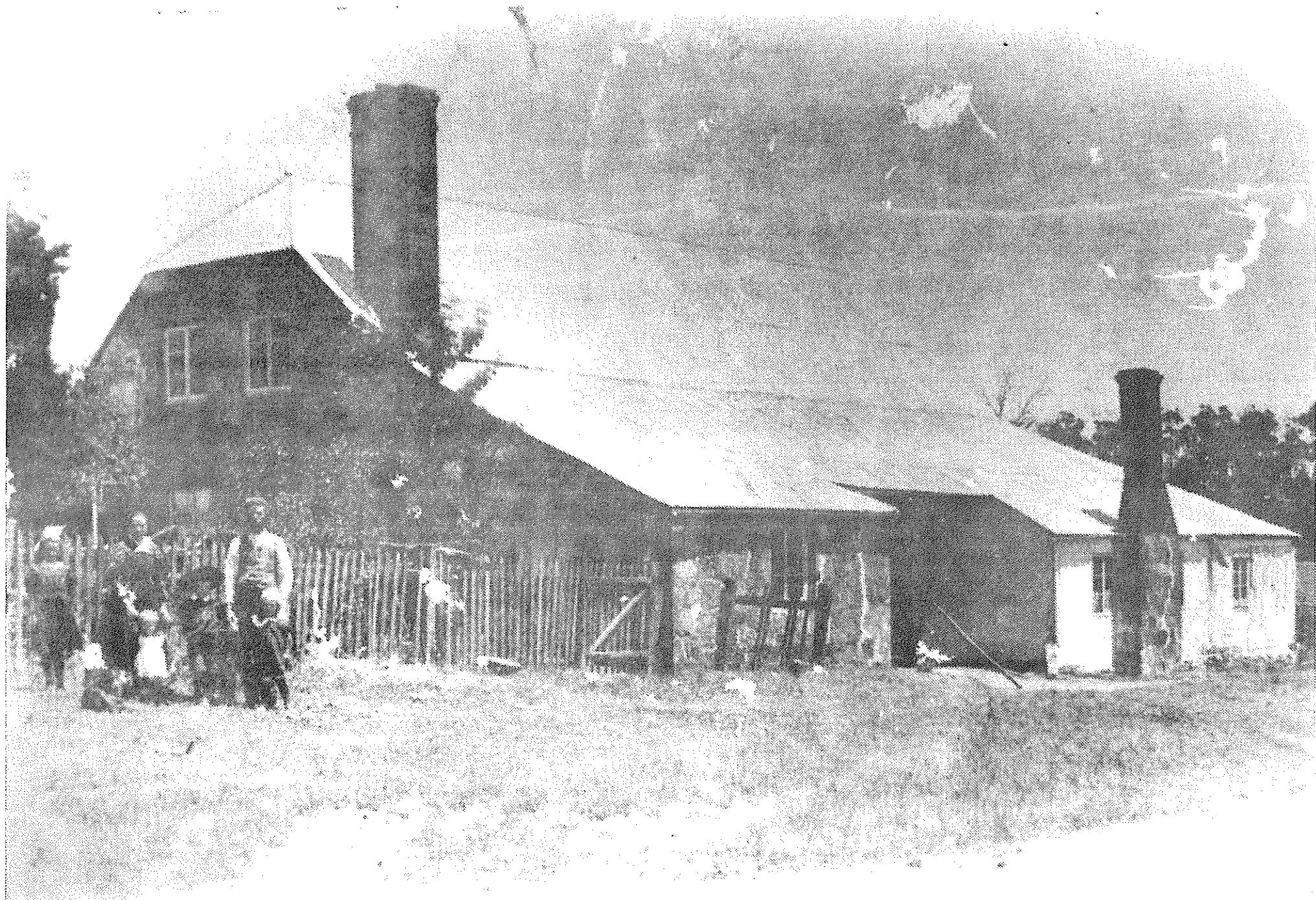
The property lies approximately 3 kms. east of Hahndorf in the Hundred of Onkaparinga. The present owner's family acquired the farm from the family of Carl Friedrich Edward Reimann in 1895. The latter had originally acquired the land in 1854 and the house was probably built not long after this date. The large roof covers living quarters, a dairy, the stables, an implement and buggy shed, chaff room and hay loft.

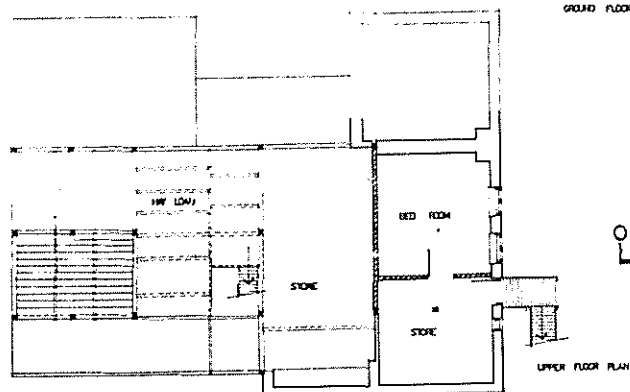
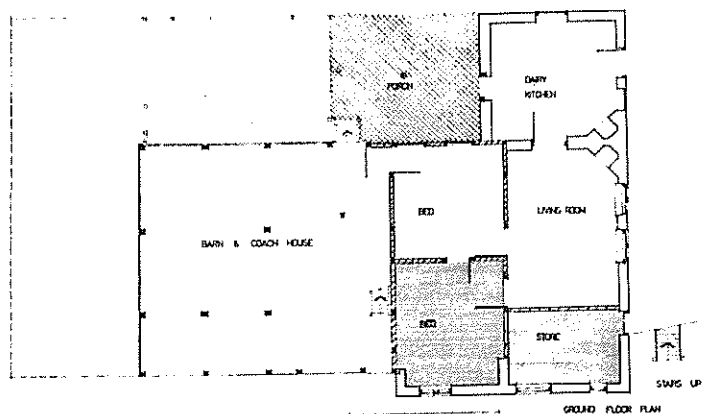
It has an unbelievably complicated structure with the original timber framing interlocking at the end of the building into a stone built structure. This suggests a completely framed barnhouse was built at first with very simple two-roomed living accommodation combined with a cart shed and hayloft. Whether horses were ever stabled in it is difficult to decide. The thickness of the upper timber floors and the sturdy beams strongly braced to ground floor posts does suggest however that grain may have been stored at this level as well as hay. Eventually a half-timber framed lean-to dairy was added and an adjoining porch which also gave access to a new stone built kitchen, living room and a large bedroom (formed out of the previous timber framed quarters). Apart from a separate

ground level room which could have been a bedroom or workroom an upstairs bedroom was built to which access was obtained from an external staircase and landing. The en-suite arrangement of the bedrooms and the imported hardware all point to a European rather than Anglo Saxon tradition.

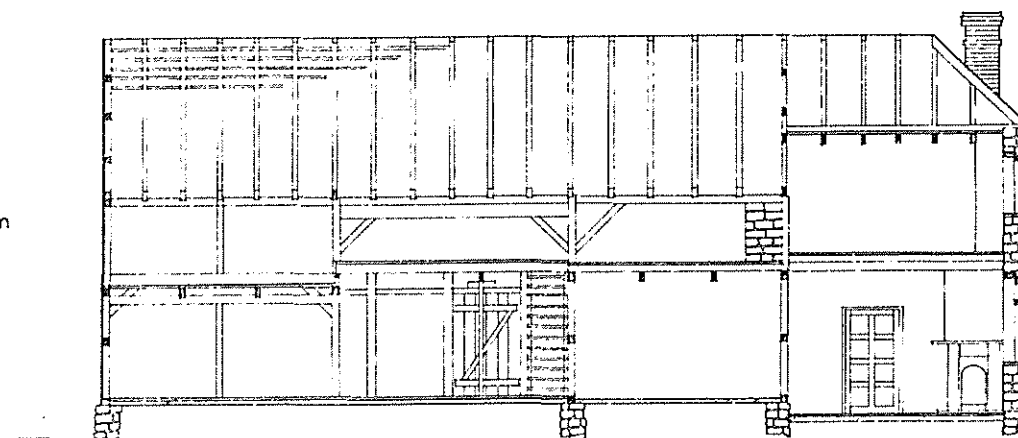
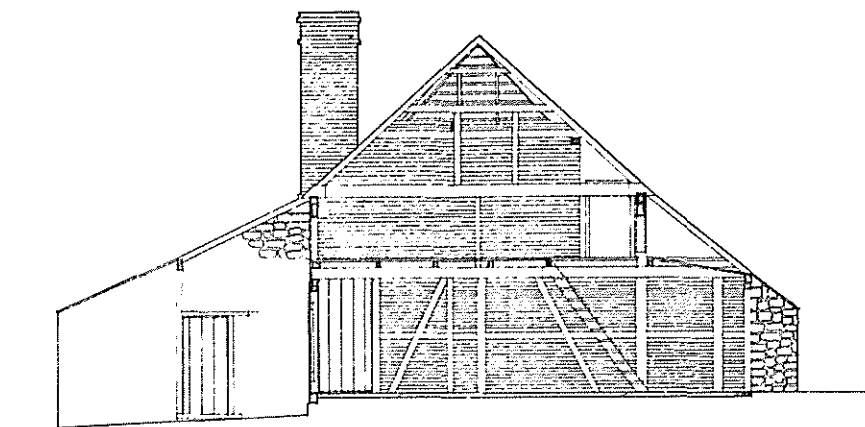
A very sophisticated timber framing has been employed in this building, similar in many ways to the timber barns described hereafter. The roof and upper floor frames are supported on braced cross beams carried onto timber columns, at irregular spacings. This was to allow for the parking of carts and buggies in part of the stables.

Although this building is in a dilapidated state it deserves careful restoration and consideration as to its viable future use.



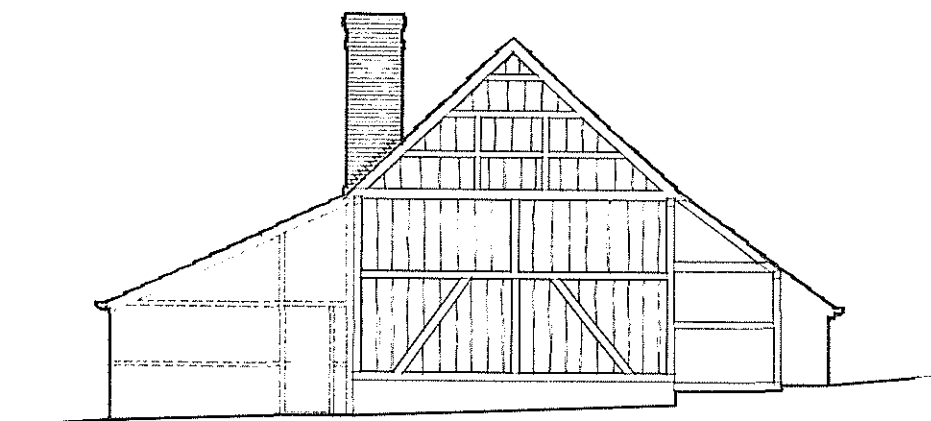


0 1 2 3 4 5 6m

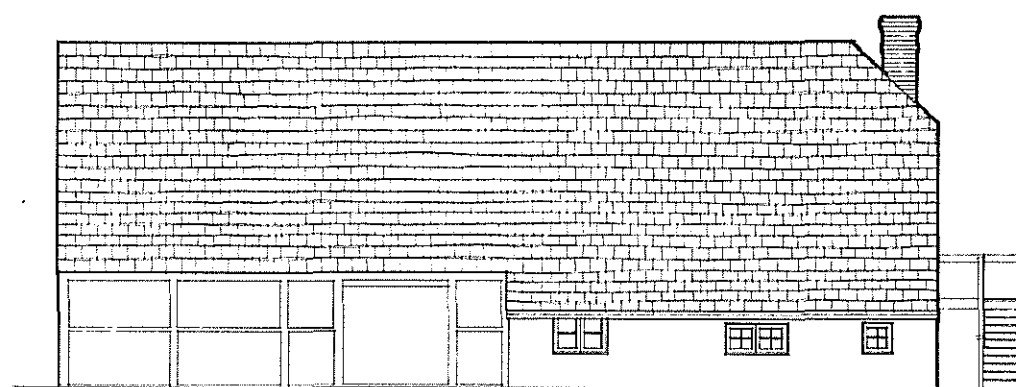


0 1 2 3 4 5m

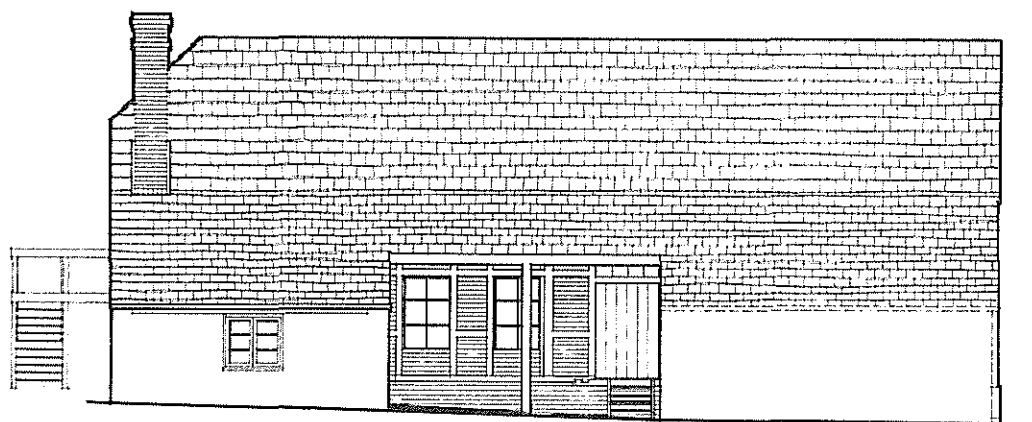
MOONEY'S BARN



NORTH ELEVATION



WEST ELEVATION



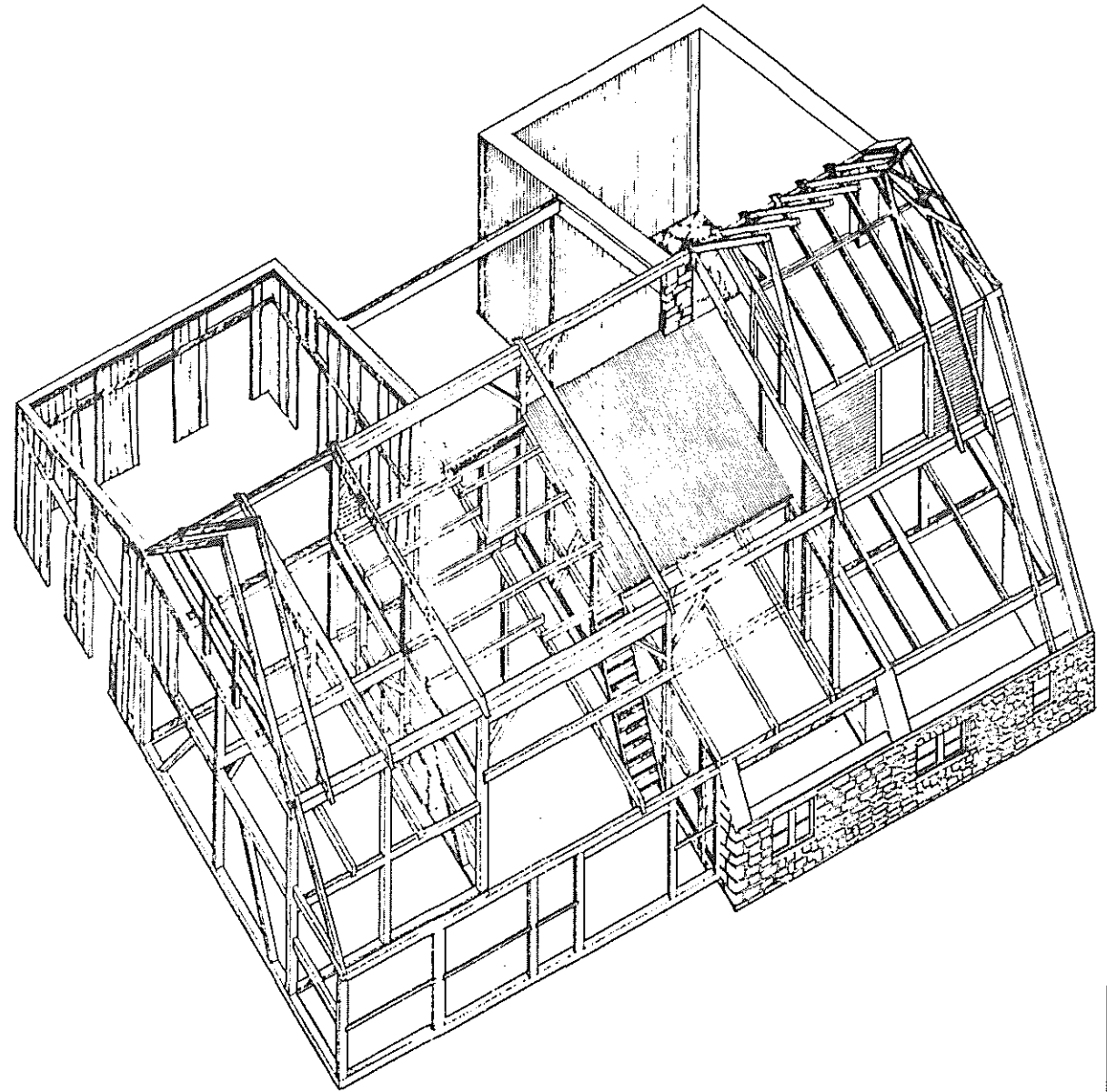
EAST ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION

SCALE: 0 1 2

MOONEY'S BARN



MOONEY'S BARN : AXONOMETRIC SHOWING COMBINED HOUSE & BARN

CHAPTER 5 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
PART 6 HOUSE FORM & CONSTRUCTION

GERMAN BARNs AT HAHNDORF

"A German farm may be distinguished from the farms of other citizens of the state by the superior size of their barns; the plain but compact form of their houses; the height of their enclosures; the extent of their orchards; the fertility of their fields; the luxuriance of their meadows and a general appearance of plenty and neatness in everything that belongs to them."¹⁴

This is not a reference to German farms in South Australia but a comment of German superiority in the agriculture of Pennsylvania in the late 18th century. The description could very well fit the farms of the German settlers in this state almost fifty years afterwards. The opening phrase "the superior size of their barns" is very well illustrated by those still remaining in the Hahndorf area. Four of these have been measured up. They include Gething's Barn* at the southern end of Hahndorf, classified by the National Trust, a barn at Friedrichstadt and two barns at Paechtown built by the Paech family. The Gething's barn was originally owned by Friederich Wilhelm Wittwer, the Hahndorf miller, and no doubt used, as were the Paechtown barns, for threshing and bagging wheat and corn. The barn was also used for storing

14 Jones, M.A. Destination America p.127. Comments in 1798 by Dr. Benjamin Rush, the celebrated Philadelphian physician on German farm settlements, many of which were erected by defeated German auxiliaries of the colonial armies of George III.

* Barn on Section 3812 Hd. of Kuitpo

hay or grain and sheltering farm equipment. However the mild climate of South Australia meant that there was no need for barns to shelter and feed stock.

Gething's and the Paechtown barns

The two barns at Paechtown are remarkably similar. Their main halls are each 11 x 6 m in size and within this area are equal aisles of 6 x 2.7 m. Only the widths of the lean-to's vary (1.7 m and 2.3 m). The main doors are located centrally on the larger sides and are matched by smaller doors on the opposite wall of the lean-to. This helped to facilitate a strong draught of air for threshing the grain. The Gething's Barn is different in form but it still has a main hall 9.3 m x 7.7 m and a lean-to 2.2 m wide. There are large double doors on the ends of the barn similar in size to the ones on the other barns and a corresponding smaller door at the opposite end. All three barns have boarded floor areas in between these two doors on which threshing and bagging could take place. The timber frames have varying bay widths in each barn. Some standard sizes occur throughout; for example end bays are usually 1.3 m or 1.4 m. The framework to the main halls are divided into three bays vertically and all of the end bays are provided with gable braces. Standard post sizes are found in all the buildings. 150 mm² for the corner posts and 120 x 150 mm for centre posts. Similar sizes to the latter are used for the cross rails which are stub tenoned and pegged into the posts. 120 x 120 mm base plates into which all the posts are stub tenoned are set level on stone walling or over

large red-gum piers.

The roof constructions are beautifully made. In the two Paechtown barns the trussed rafter roofs descend onto and are tenoned and pegged into 180 mm deep red gum tie members which themselves are morticed and tenoned into 150 mm x 150 mm deep perimeter beams. The central area of the main halls have their ties cut away so that the bags of grain could be lifted up and stored on the upper floored aisles. In place of the tie beams are 400 mm x 200 mm deep red gum shoes which take the ends of the rafters. They are morticed over 150 x 300 mm deep perimeter beams and are restrained in one case by another transverse beam running at the back of them which conducts the loads back to the aisle frames. The roofs were battened and covered with red gum shingles and the gables stiffened by rising braces under the rafters. The latter were boarded out with timber boarding and where they run over onto the wattle and daub panels, ingenious flashing boards and brackets are fitted to throw off the rain from the face of the building.

The Friedrichstadt barn

This is different from the other barns as its purpose was obviously one of a grain store. Its design excludes the large double access doors for the farm equipment and a ventilated threshing hall. Located on a sloping site, the building matches the Paechtown barns in size only, being 11 m x 6 m. It is placed parallel to the land fall so that there is a minimum obstruction by the end walls to ground waters which are running down-hill. A small stone

base wall is employed to level the timber wall plates and to act as a footing. The building is two storeys high with a ground floor hall divided into two bays by centrally placed posts and brackets supporting a centre beam (200 x 150 mm deep). At the upper level a double row of columns produce three narrow aisles, the centre one of which is given improved headroom by an extension into the roof space so as to allow it to act as a passageway. A manhole (900 mm x 900 mm) is located near the centre of the floor both for access to the downstairs hall and the barn door. The timber frames have 1.3 m end bays and 0.95 m centre bays and are again divided into three panels in height. Post and rail sizes are 150 mm². An unusual configuration of gable end and door opening bracings occurs. These may have been made from deformed branches and could have a decorative rather than a functional reason (although the form is structurally correct). The wall panels are wattle and daub formed from vertical stakes slotted into holes in the timber rails and plates and wrapped around with straw and then plastered with a mud slurry. Internal boarding protects the lower panels up to the height of the first rails (1.9 m). Both the ground and first floor are boarded with Jarrah boards supported on beams at 900 mm centres.

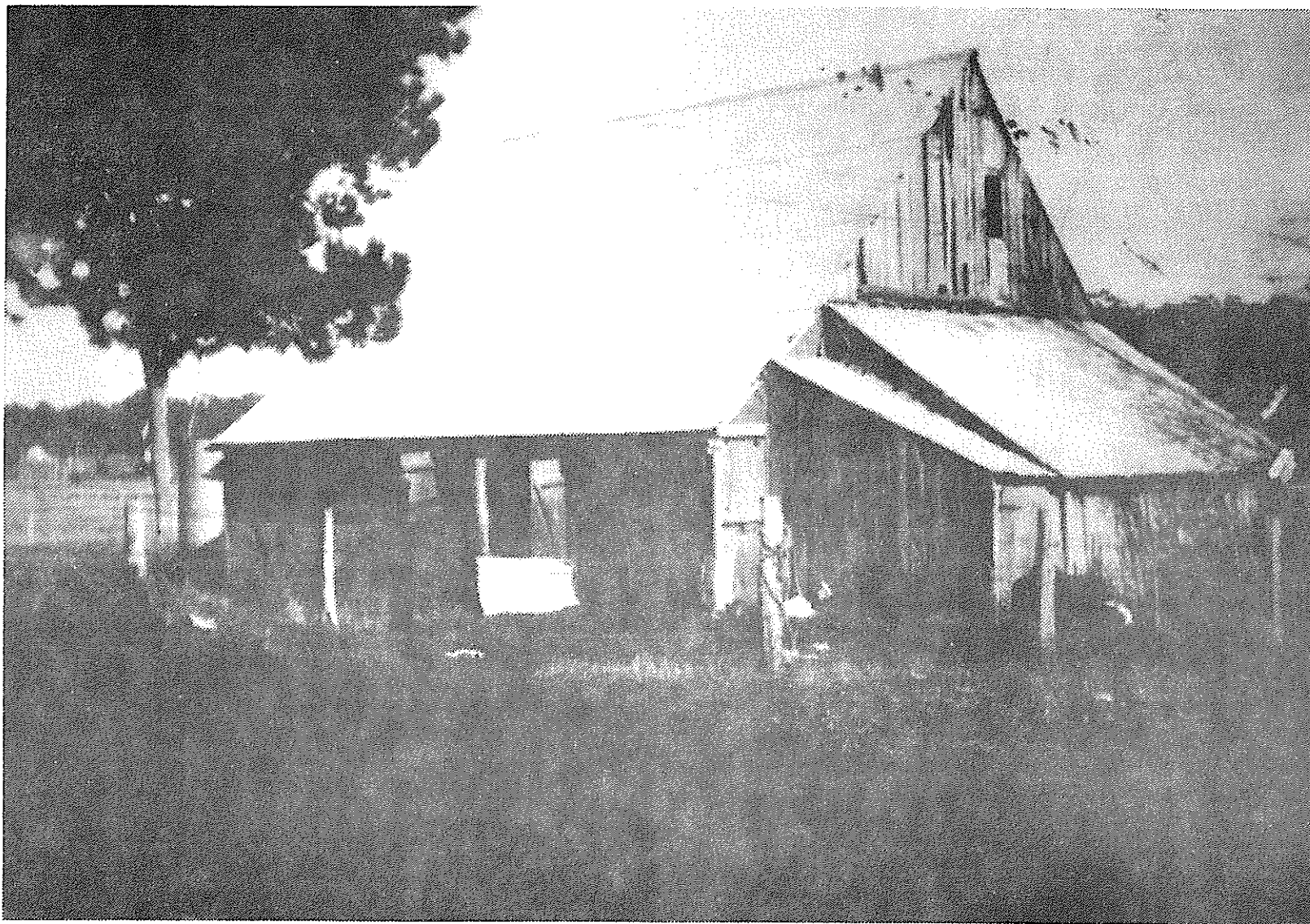
The roof is half hipped (Dutch gable) at each end and was originally covered with timber shingles. The rafters are supported at the eaves by ties running back to the centre posts at the bay points. Elsewhere they are fitted onto shoes in a similar manner to the Paechtown barns so as to give a freer headroom. These shoes project over the wall frames

to allow the roof covering to oversail and shed water well away from the walling. At their upper level the roof rafters are supported by cross ties supported on transverse beams which are themselves supported by the four centre posts. The latter are supplied with brackets in the transverse direction and stiffened in the cross direction with shaped braces which are similar to those employed in the wall frames and are reminiscent of the crude "cruck" timber buildings of the Middle Ages.

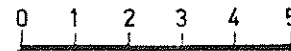
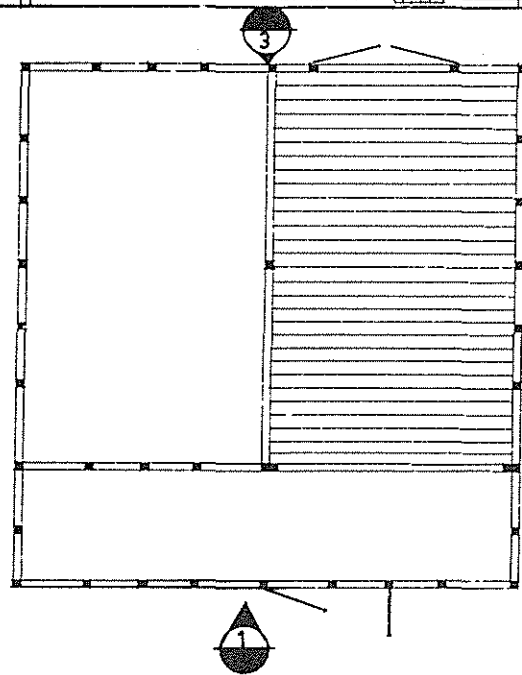
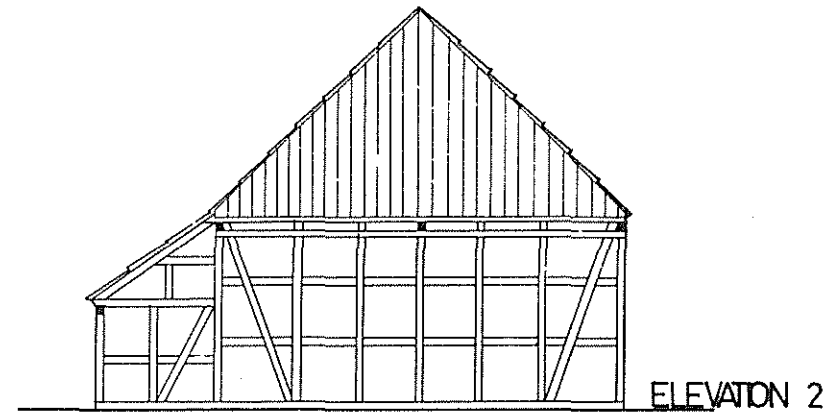
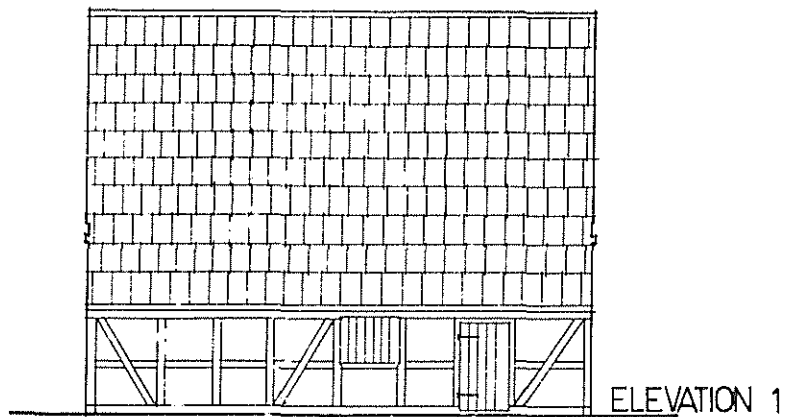
Barn on Section 3819, Hd. of Kuitpo

This partly two storeyed barn displays an amalgamation of constructional techniques common to some of the German settlers barns in Missouri which are discussed in the following text. Its half-timbered and vertical boarded upper structure sits on a well built stone base which appears to have added to it a later stone shed or stable.

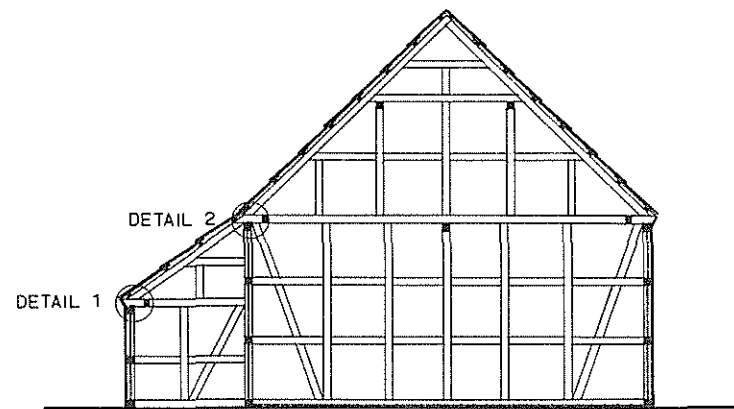
These are indeed unique buildings which should be carefully restored and retained.



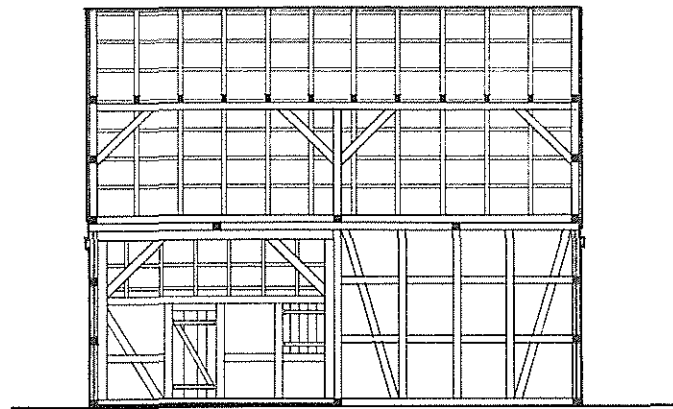
Gething's Barn in late 1930's.
(Lean-to now removed)



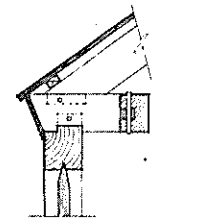
GETHING'S BARN : HAHNDORF



SECTION A-A

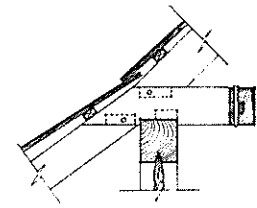


SECTION B-B

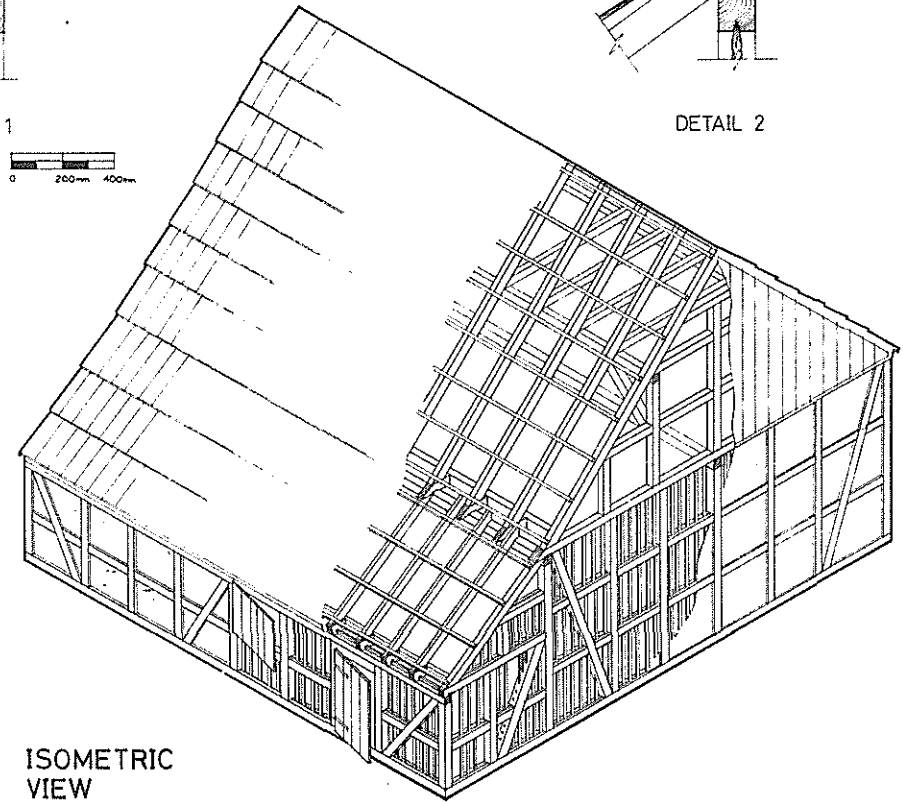


DETAIL 1

SCALE
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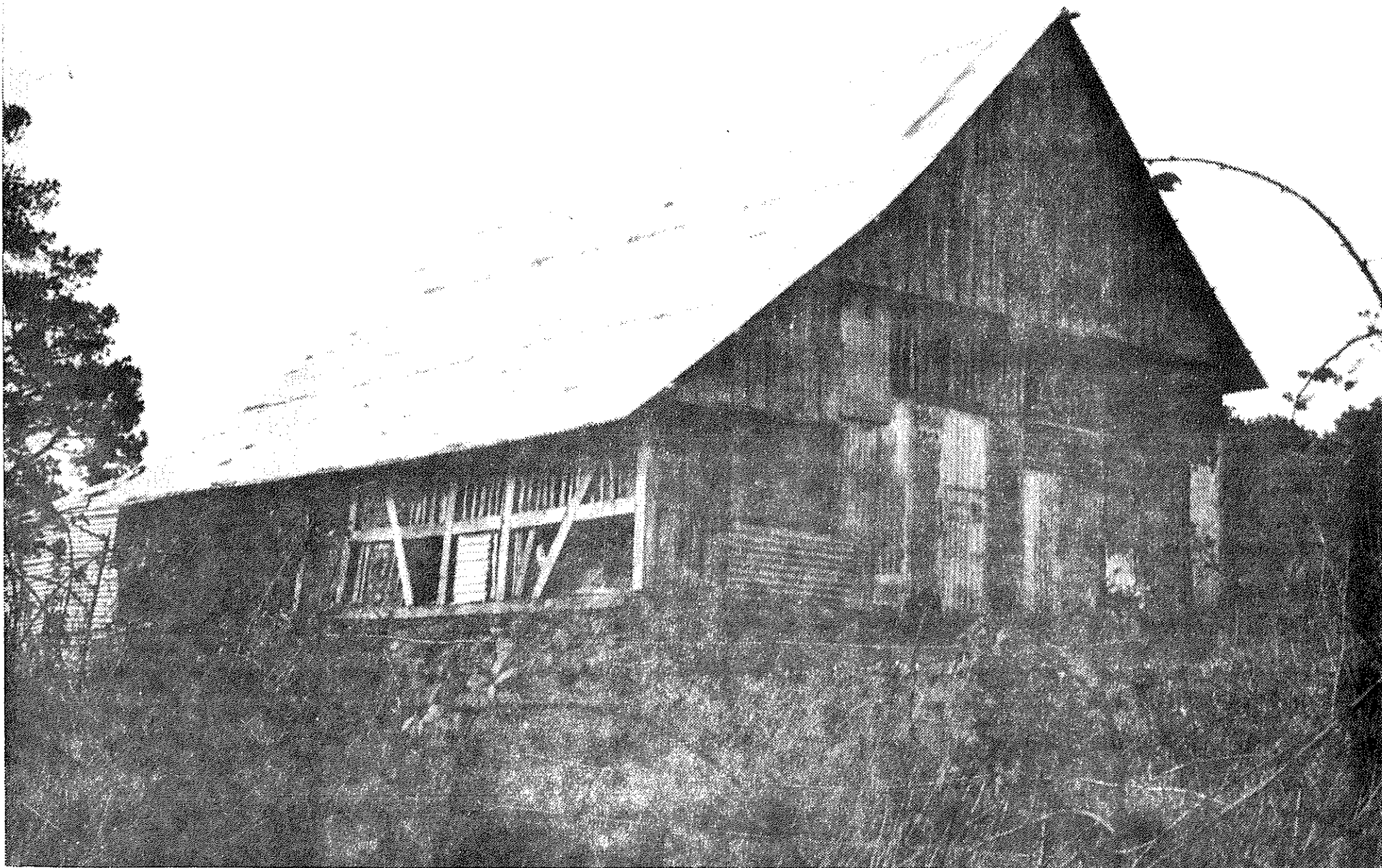
DETAIL 2



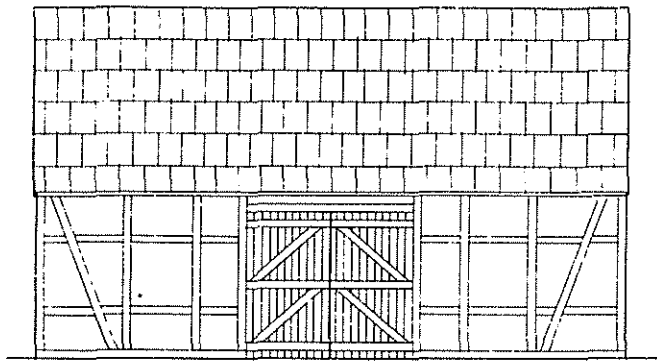
ISOMETRIC
VIEW

SCALE
0 1m 2m

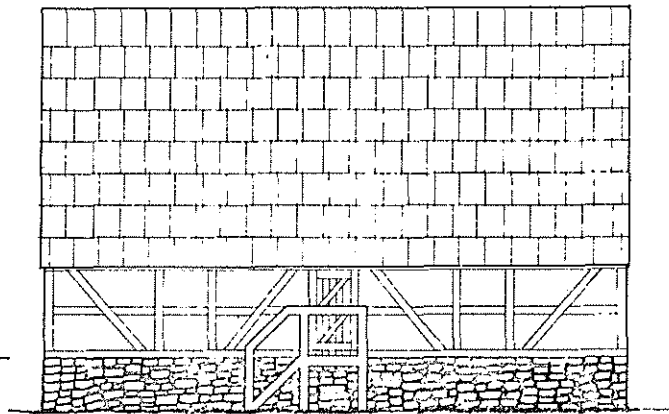
GETHING'S BARN



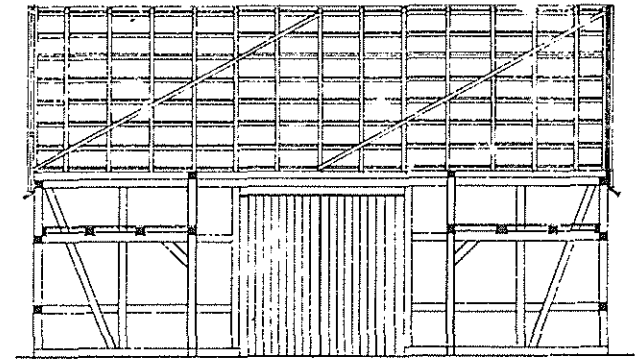
Freestanding Barn of Paechtoun east of House 3.



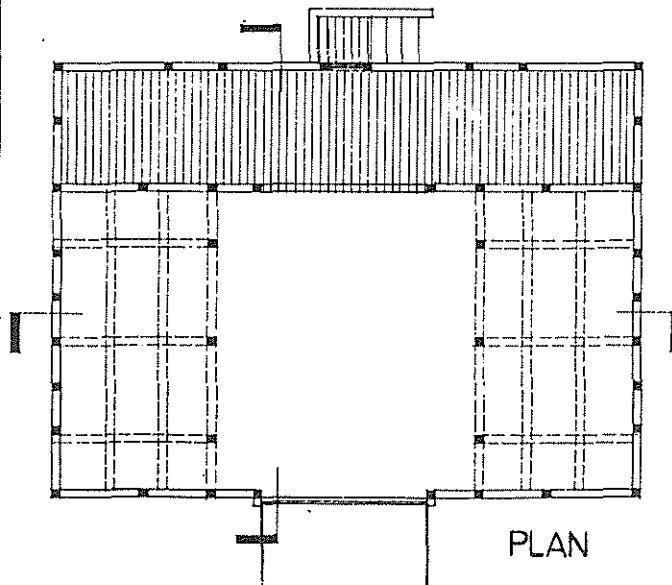
EAST



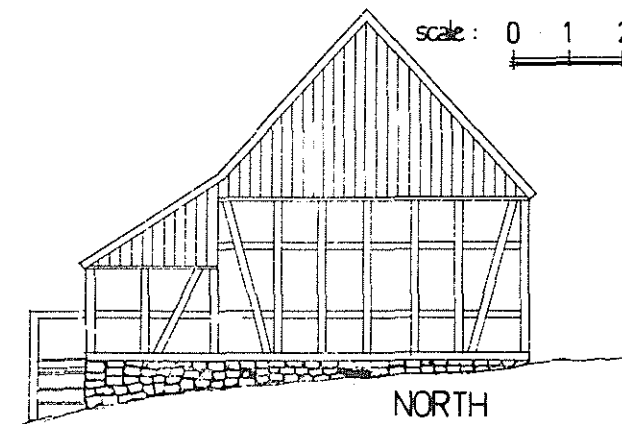
WEST



SECTION

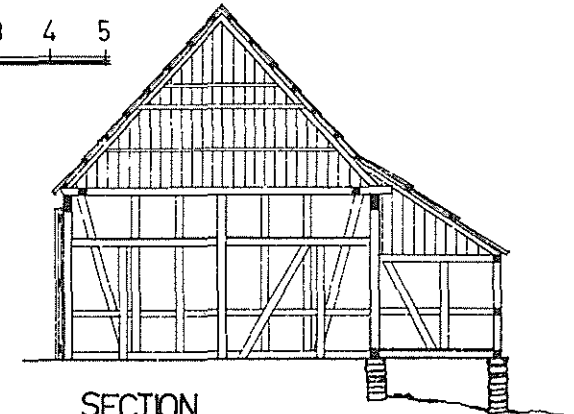


PLAN



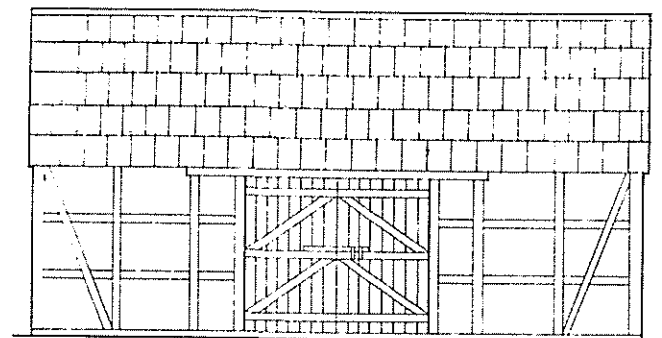
NORTH

scale : 0 1 2 3 4 5

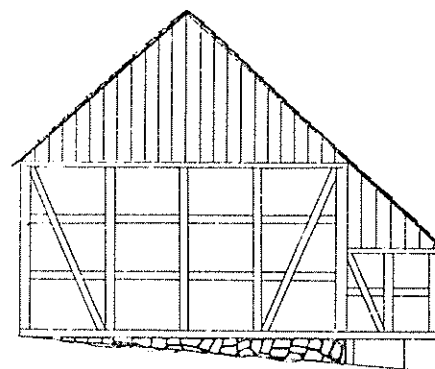


SECTION

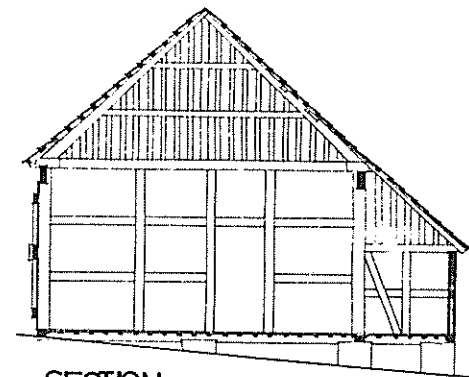
PAECHTOVEN BARN : FREE STANDING BARN



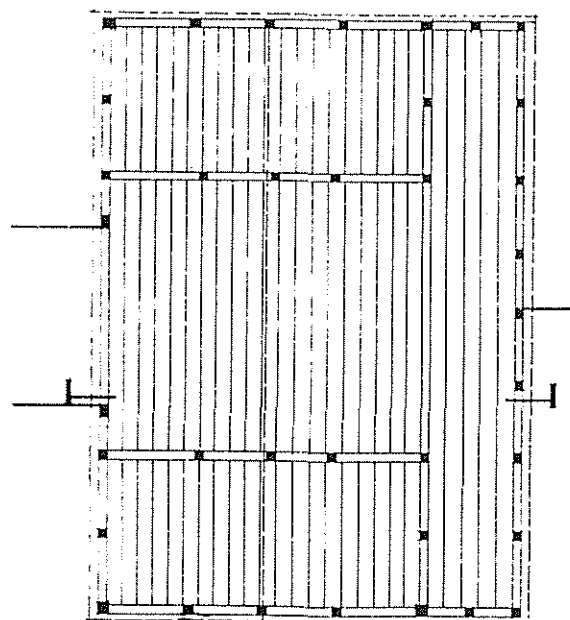
EAST



NORTH

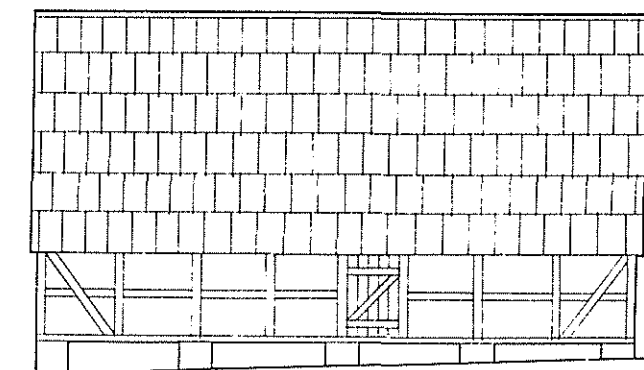


SECTION



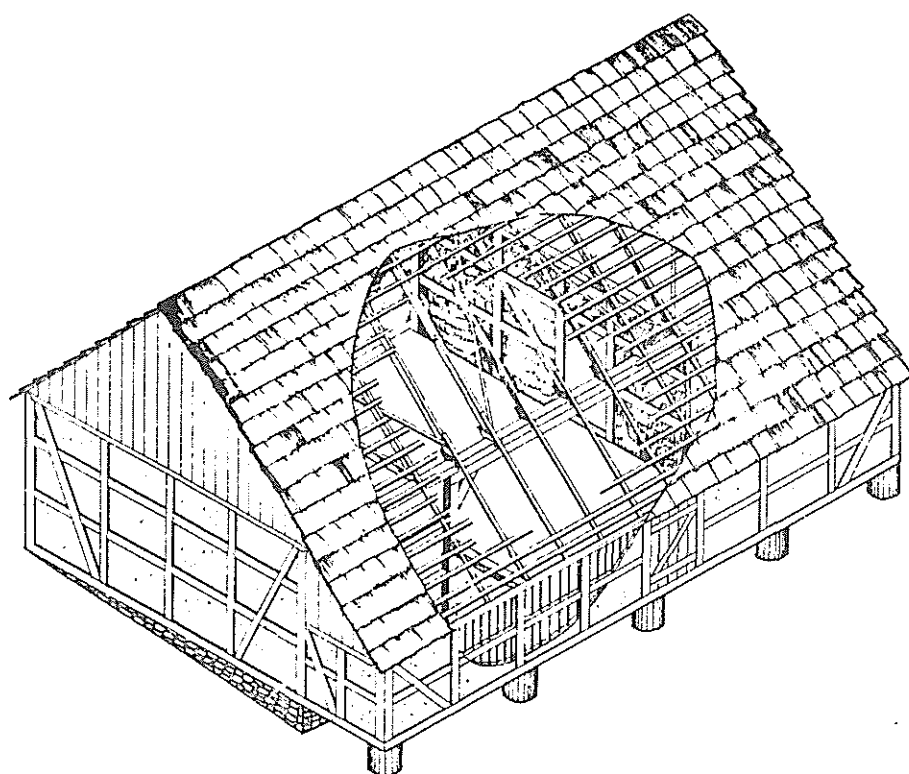
PLAN

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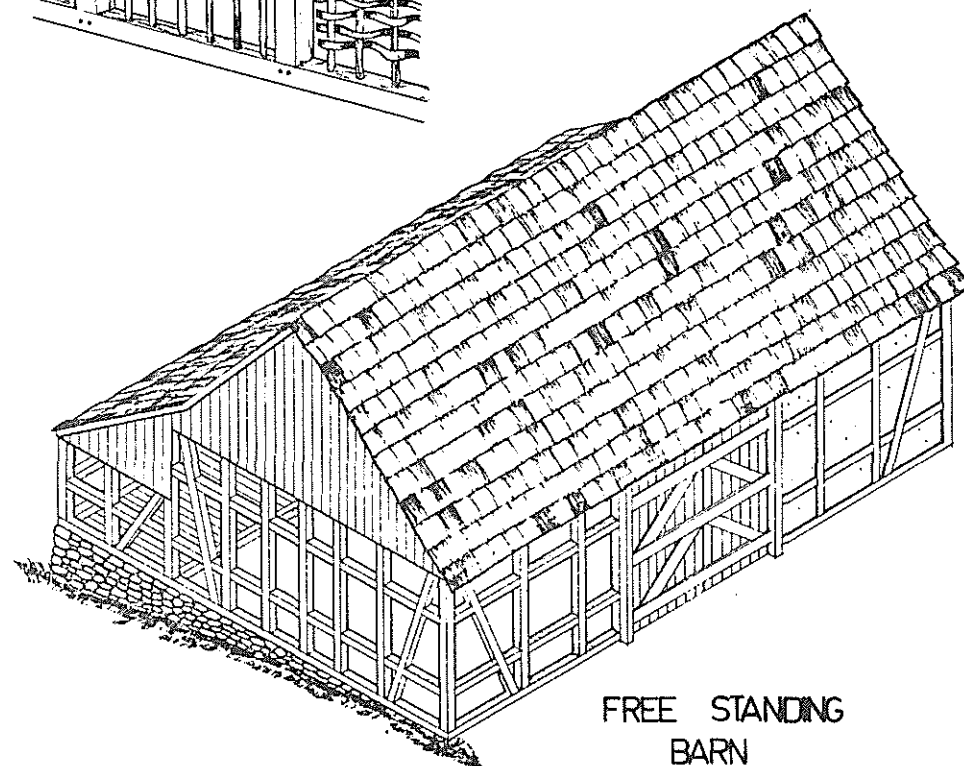
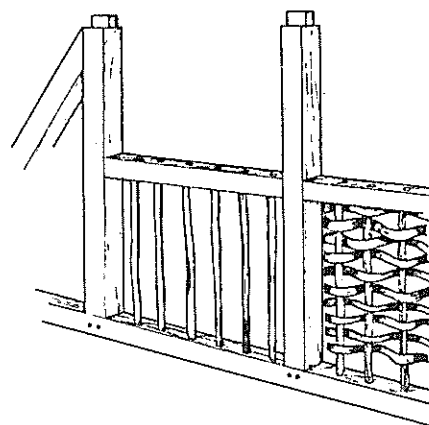


WEST

PAECHTOVEN BARN: SHOWING HALF-TIMBERED CONSTRUCTION (TO HOUSE NO. 4)

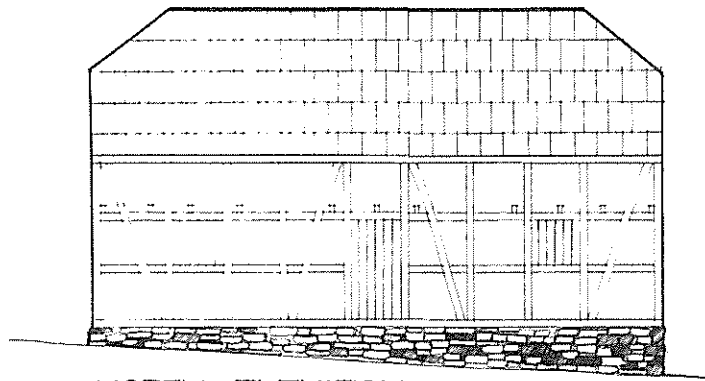


BARN to HOUSE 4

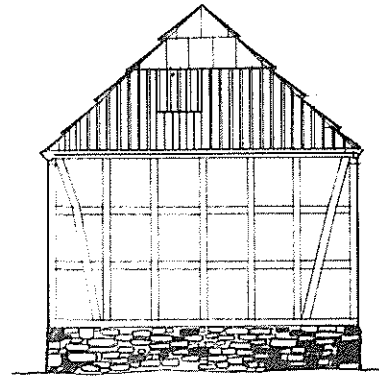


FREE STANDING
BARN

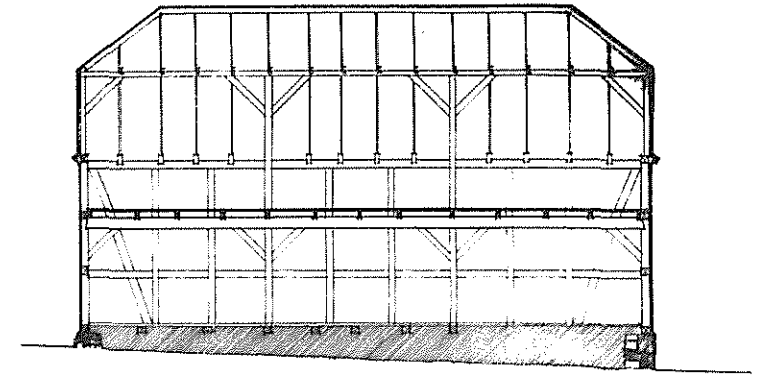
PAECHTOWN BARN : SHOWING HALF-TIMBERED CONSTRUCTION



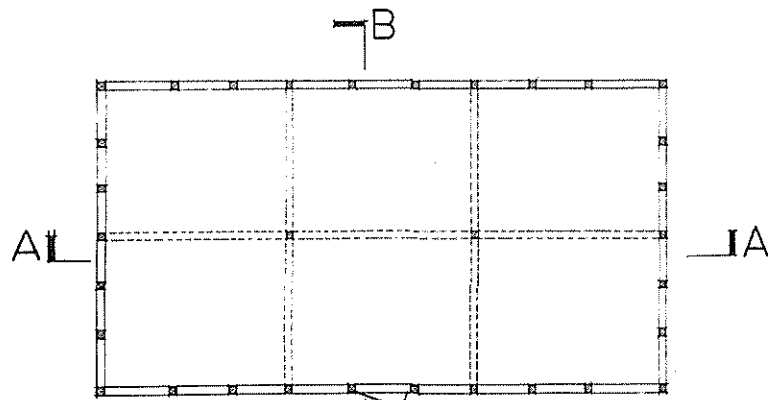
NORTH ELEVATION



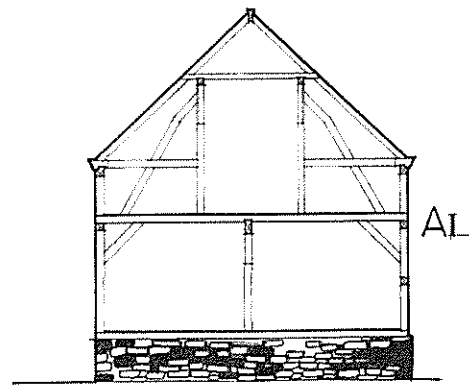
WEST ELEVATION



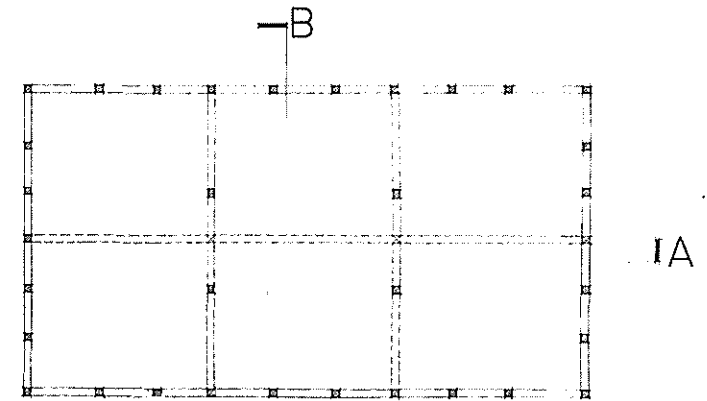
SECTION A-A



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

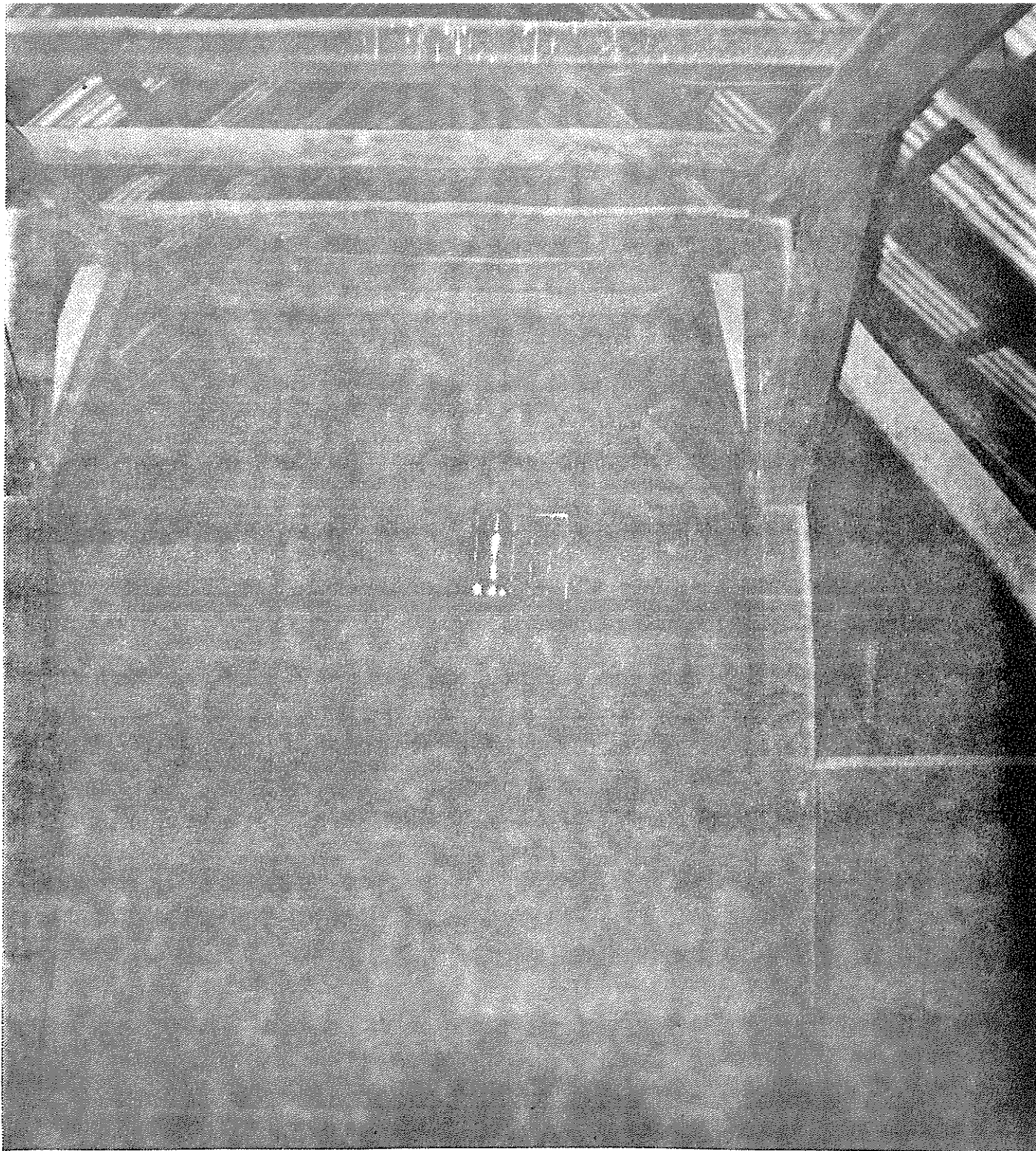


SECTION B B

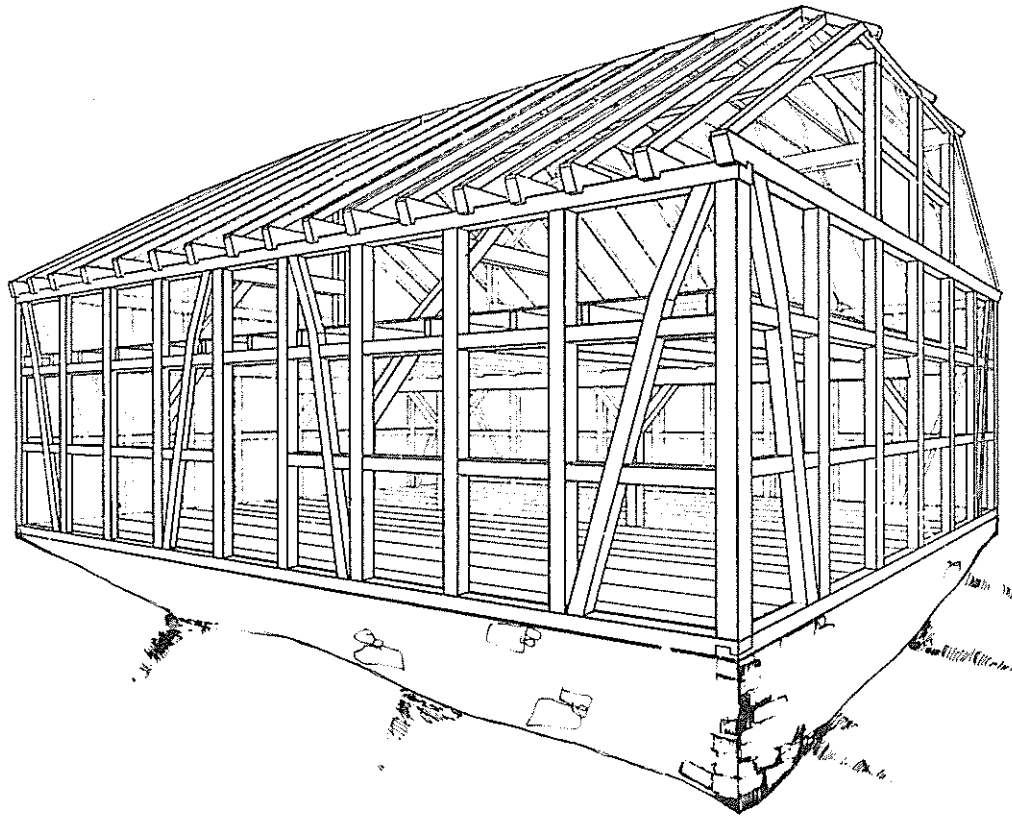


FIRST FLOOR PLAN

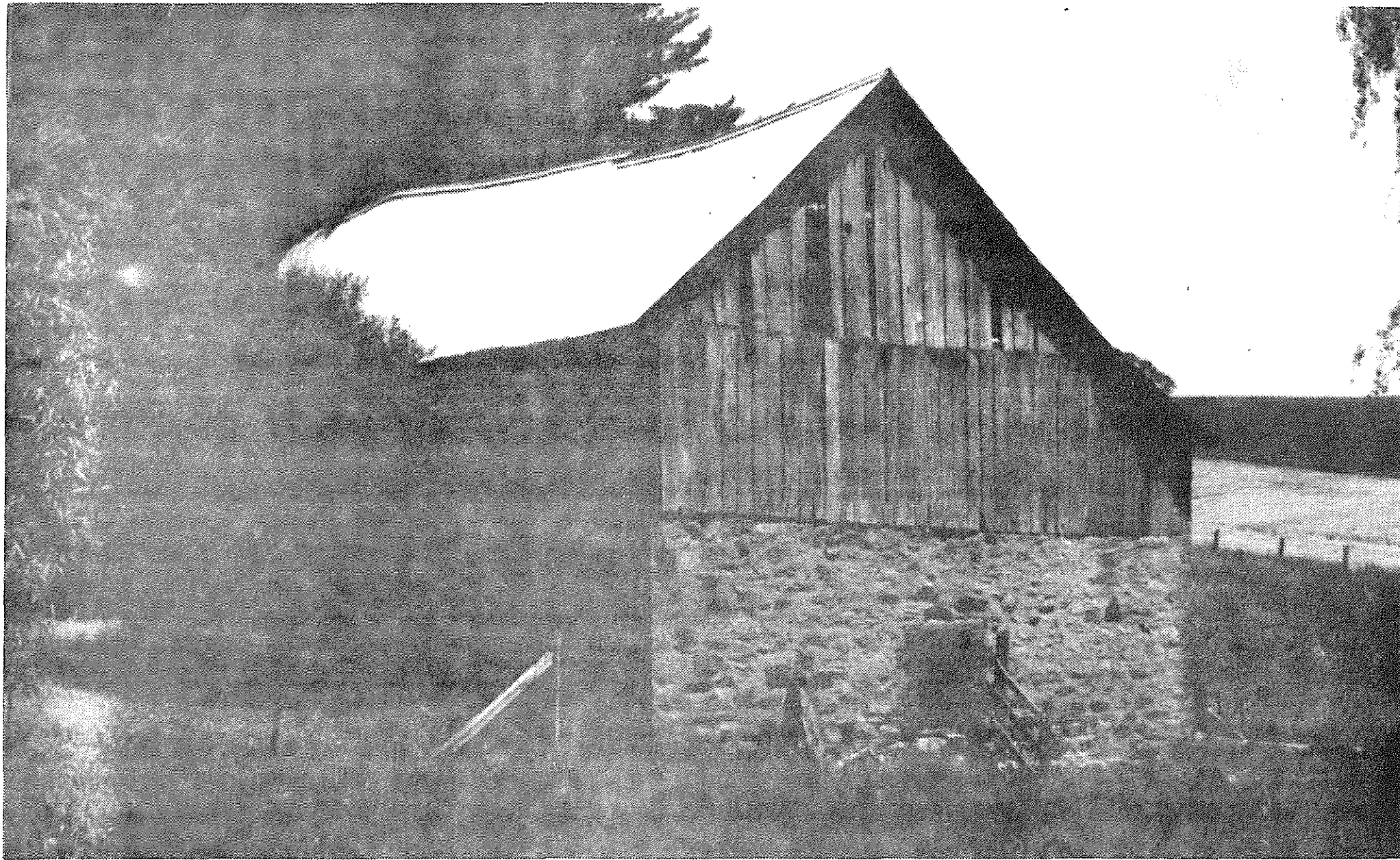
FRIEDRICHSTADT BARN

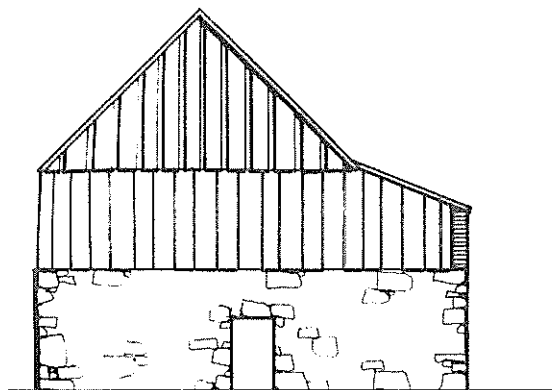


Interior view of upper floor
to Friedrichstadt Barn.

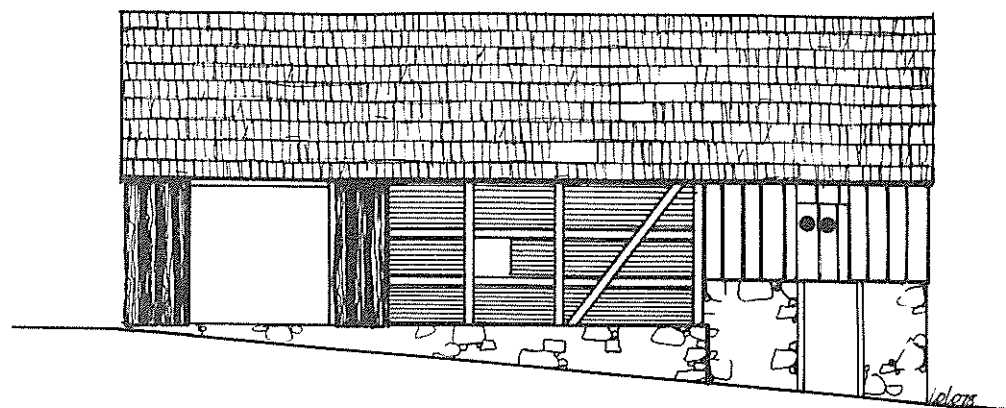


FRIEDRICHSTADT BARN : ISOMETRIC OF HALF TIMBERED FRAMING

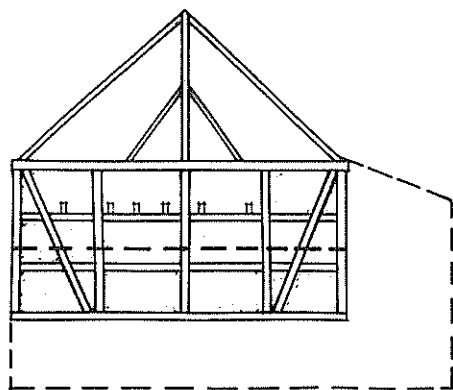




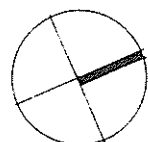
N.E. ELEVATION



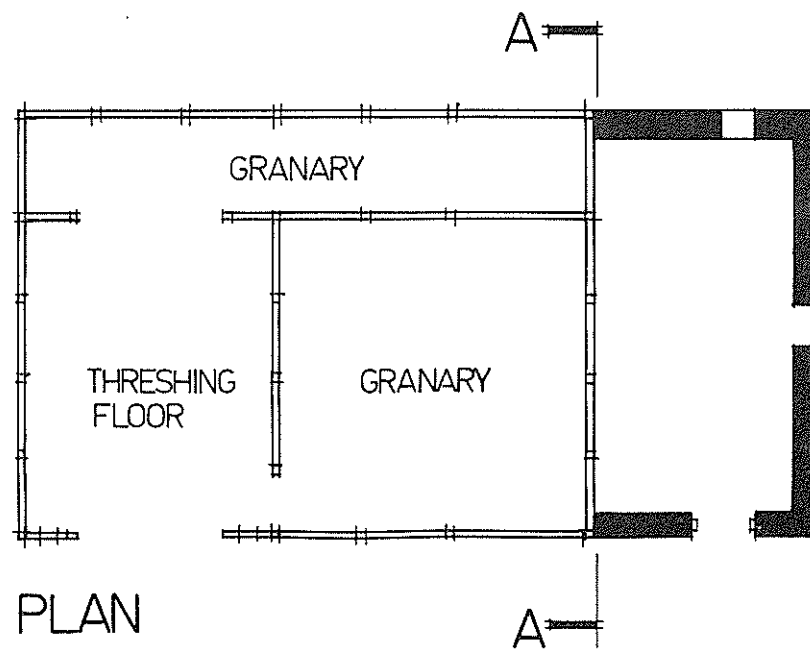
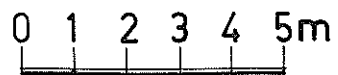
S.E. ELEVATION



SECTION A:A

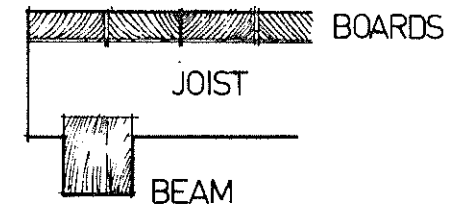
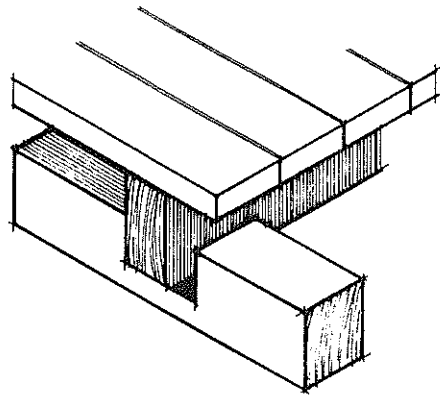


north

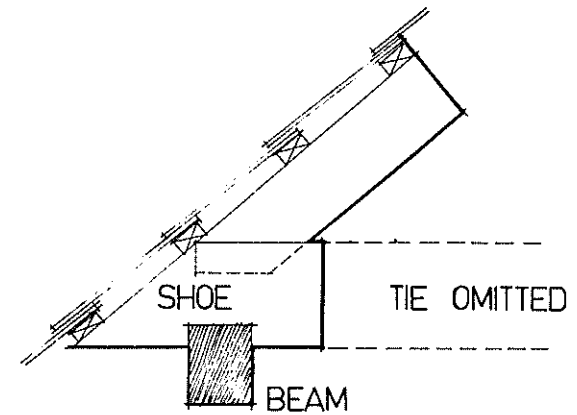
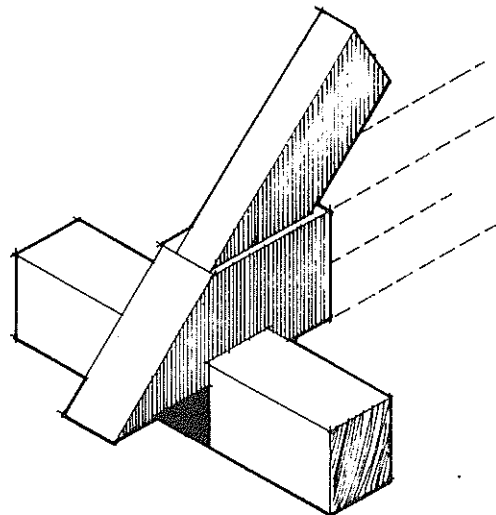


PLAN

BARN ON SECTION 3819

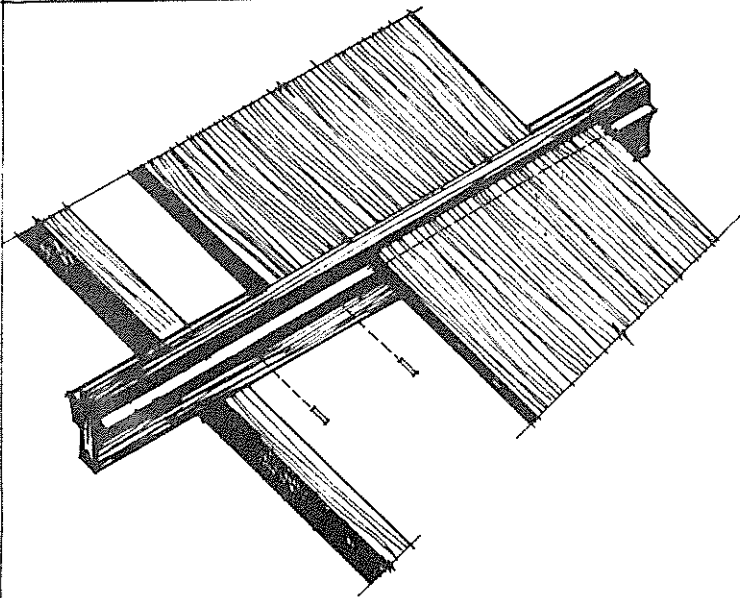


FLOOR DETAIL OF MOONEY HOUSE

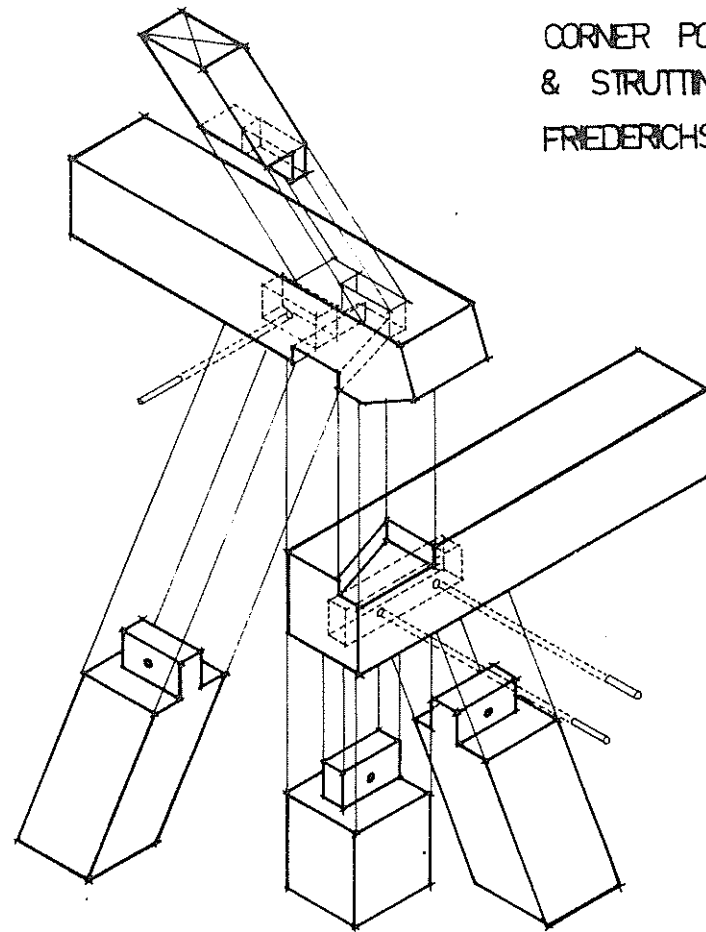


ROOF DETAIL OF PAECHTOWN BARN

CONSTRUCTION DETAILS OF TIMBER BARN



CROSS SECTION: REMOVABLE BOARDING
TO LOFT FLOOR: SNEELMILCHS BARN



CORNER POST BEAM
& STRUTTING DETAILS
FRIEDRICHSTADT BARN

CONSTRUCTION DETAILS of TIMBER BARN

CHAPTER 5 HAHNDORF IN THE 19TH CENTURY:
HOUSE FORM & CONSTRUCTION
PART 7

A COMPARISON WITH GERMAN BARNs ALONG THE
MISSOURI RIVER, U.S.A.

Van Ravenswaay has researched German settlements in this mid Western state which were created at the same time as the settlements of the Germans in South Australia.¹⁵ When the farmers had cleared their land and established themselves they built large multi-purpose barns patterned on those they had constructed in Germany.

The barns took the prime place in the farmyards and they were the largest buildings in the farming communities. Many of the earliest examples were log constructions. Generally, however, the barns were half timber and weather boarded outside or a two-storeyed combination of stone and half timber buildings. Very few examples of barnhouses were built as the settlers soon copied the Anglo Americans in building separate farm houses.

The settlers used the type of barn construction common to the areas of Germany from whence they came. One of these was the large Dutch type barn with its centre hall (flur) and smaller aisles which were almost square in construction. For example, the Freese-Beckerle barn, built in 1842, was 15.24 m long by 12.19 m wide and 13.7 m high.¹⁶ Small attached sheds, similar to the Paechtown barns, were covered by a continuation of the main roof. The two storeyed Bavarian barns were also common. The lower structure of stone housed the cattle, horses, and farm carts, whilst the upper storey acted

as a hayloft and grain store. Some of these barns were built in the 1860's and have similar details to those at Hahndorf, in, for example, the spacing of the roof frames, the oversailing detail at the eaves and the shape of the wall braces, where the Kotthoff-Weeks barn match those of the Friedrichstadt barn.¹⁷

Not many examples of brick built barns were discovered by Van Ravenswaay nor was there much evidence of wattle and daub construction. Instead, brick nogging was used in some instances to the half timbered frames, again similar to the Paechtown farm houses.

The joinery details and door fittings also resembled several South Australian examples. When completed, these buildings were not painted, but like their Hahndorf counterparts, the roof shingles and weatherboarding were allowed to weather naturally. Later, they were covered with galvanised iron sheets in the same way as the Hahndorf barns.

Since the Second World War many of these Missouri-German barns have been destroyed, a destruction which appears more complete than that which has occurred with analogous buildings in South Australia.

15 Charles Van Ravenswaay The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri.

16. Ibid p.272.

17 Ibid. p.274