AN ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT AT FUNDAY.

AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THAT SUBURB UNTIL 1890.

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Being a thesis submitted for M.A. Qualifying to the University of Queensland,

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INTRODUCTION: (i) Purpose and extent of the thesis.

The study of the beginnings and growth of a city and its suburbs, and in the case of Brisbane, of the suburb of Nundah in particular, can, I believe, be justified. The nature of a city's beginnings, of its growth, of its settlers and the trials and vicissitudes they have encountered over the years, all have some determining effect on what the city is at its present stage of development. They determine what makes the city similar to other cities and they determine the individual qualities of the city, by which it may be distinguished from other cities. The development of each suburb shows (to degrees of varying importance) aspects of the growth of the city itself. In the study of Brisbane, the development of its suburbs deserves special attention, for it is in that period of history in which Brisbane began and has continued its growth that suburbia has assumed a role of importance and become an integral feature of most cities of the world.

Nundah is worthy of particular study because in its initiation and early development it possessed certain peculiarities which were completely different from those of any other Brisbane suburb. It is unique in that Brisbane's first group of free white settlers established their homes there, in that it is the only Brisbane suburb that began as a mission to the aborigines and in that it was not formed as Brisbane settlement expanded, but was already there, a settlement in its own right, before the mother settlement spread its tentacles to reach it. However, certain aspects of Nundah's development particularly have in its later stages much
in common with those of other Brisbane suburbs. It is intended here to examine the development of Nundah so that the features peculiar to it, and those it shares with other suburbs of Brisbane, may become obvious.

The area under study is, briefly, Nundah. By that I mean the area of land containing those streets which today are regarded as being in the suburb of Nundah. In marking off the boundaries of Nundah, I have, in the areas of dispute (i.e. those streets where Nundah merges with another suburb, and residents hold different opinions as to which suburb they live in), followed the opinion of the majority of the residents in each of those particular areas. The study could not always be strictly confined within this area. A considerable part of the early German Mission occupied what is now the suburb of Toombul, and this section could not, of course, be excluded from the study. The Mission formed the nucleus of the later settlement, German Station, and, once again, this settlement did not confine itself to Nundah's present boundaries; nor could I, in my examination of it. However, when Nundah emerged as an entity, the study was focused on it.

The period under study extends from the genesis of the German Mission to the time Nundah assumed a form exhibiting the basic characteristics of a suburb as we recognise it today, i.e. circa 1890. To begin with, however, a brief look at the penal settlement at Moreton Bay, the reasons for its establishment in

1. See Map I in back folder.
1824 and its development prior to the arrival of the missionaries in 1838, is in order, for if the penal station had not been there, the missionaries would have gone to another part of Australia to do their work, and Nundah's early history would have been quite different. The progress of the penal colony by 1838 was also of some consequence to the missionaries and their work.

(ii) The progress of the settlement at Moreton Bay prior to the arrival of the Nundah Missionaries.

Nundah was the first part of Brisbane to receive free settlers, which it did in 1838, four years before the area was declared open to settlement. Even in 1838, Brisbane and its surroundings had changed much since Captain Cook first marked and named Moreton Bay on a chart as he proceeded up the east coast of Australia. The changes were brought about through the settling of a penal colony in the area. In order to find a more remote place of punishment for the confirmed and desperate criminals in New South Wales, Governor Brisbane sent John Oxley northwards on a voyage of investigation and discovery in 1823. As a result of Oxley's report, it was decided to establish a penal settlement at Moreton Bay, at the mouth of the impressive river which Oxley named the "Brisbane".

The settlement was begun at Redcliffe, but soon moved to the site of the present city of Brisbane. Here, under its successive Commandants, the settlement set its roots and took shape. In the first few years, convict quarters, military barracks, penal and military hospitals and the Commissariat stores were erected,
roughly parallel to the river, about where George and William Streets now run. The lumber yard and gardens of sweet potatoes occupied other cleared spaces nearby. Down what is now Queen Street were built the residences of the Superintendent of convicts and the Commissariat clerk. High above the whole settlement the windmill, now the Observatory in Wickham Terrace, surveyed the evidence of the efforts towards civilization on the area below.

At the same time as efforts were being made to build a settlement, albeit a penal one, other efforts, in exploration, were making known the features of the surrounding district. Captain Logan, while Commandant, engaged in several exploratory trips, during which he discovered the Logan and Bremer Rivers. At what is now Ipswich he discovered hills, which because of their composition he called the Limestone Hills. A lime kiln was soon established there, worked by prisoners. Major Lockyer, a later Commandant, paid visits to the settlement at Limestone Hills and explored what is now the Lockyer Creek and the surrounding district. Alan Cunningham was another who made significant discoveries. On his first trip, he discovered the fertile Darling Downs, which were to be the magnet responsible for drawing settlers and their flocks northward about the time that Brisbane ceased to be a penal colony. On Cunningham's second trip, he found that important gap in the range which was to provide a means of getting from the Downs to the port of Brisbane.

Much of the exploration by the Commandants was carried out to find land suitable for cultivation and grazing so that the
inconvenience of relying on Sydney for food supplies might be overcome. Governor Darling, following a visit to Moreton Bay in June 1827, wrote:

Captain Logan ... has exerted himself very successfully in the cultivation of grain and improving the resources of the settlement, so that I trust it will shortly be able to provide for the maintenance of the Establishment, with the exception only of the meat...\(^1\)

During Logan's time, outstations were established at Limestone Hills, Redbank, Cooper's Plains and Eagle Farm for agricultural or pastoral purposes. The outstations were manned by convicts of good behaviour, the most incorrigible being kept under strict superintendence at the main settlement.

The Eagle Farm outstation, the only one on the north bank of the Brisbane River, is of interest since it was only a short distance from the area now called Nundah, and its proximity was one of the deciding factors in the missionaries' choice of Nundah for their base. The outstation was established soon after Governor Darling, following his visit in 1827, sent Mr. Fraser, superintendent of the Botanical Gardens in Sydney, to assist Logan in finding a site for a new settlement which would relieve the main settlement of some of its convicts.\(^2\) The flats at Eagle Farm were discovered and chosen as the site. Huts for the convicts, plus a small cottage for the superintendent, Mr. Parker, were erected by the convicts who began and worked a farm there, and eventually cultivated 700 acres of land, chiefly in maize.\(^3\)

1. Governor Darling to Viscount Goderich, 26 September 1827. Historical Records of Australia, Series I (Sydney 1914) XIII, p. 523.
2. See Governor Darling to Sir George Murray 5 August 1829 H.R.A. XV, p. 94.
In 1836, the male convicts at Eagle Farm were dispersed among the other outstations and the buildings were used as the female factory, for by this time the necessity of a centre for female convicts at a distance from the main settlement had become urgent. The reasons for the move from Green Hill (now the site of the G.P.O.) to Eagle Farm under Commandant Foster Fyans are indicated by the succeeding Commandant, Major Cotton, in a letter to the Governor of New South Wales:

... its (i.e. Eagle Farm's) distance from Brisbane Town renders it a matter of much difficulty for persons to approach it clandestinely. The length of time requisite to accomplish the object of visiting the stockade would ensure the discovery of persons engaged in such a proceeding.4

The majority of the female convicts were put to work in the fields at Eagle Farm, as the Quakers, Backhouse and Walker, noticed in their visits to the Eagle Farm establishment in March and April 1836.5 The women were also employed in cutting out rock to form Hamilton Road, along the north bank of the river.6

The location of the penal settlement at Brisbane was never favourably regarded by the Governor of New South Wales. It was thought to be awkward of access, unhealthy, and worst of all, expensive.7 So from 1832 onwards the number of prisoners was steadily reduced. By 1839, all the women convicts had been withdrawn and of the 1,066 men convicts in Brisbane in 1831, only 94

4. Ibid.
6. J.J. Knight, In the Early Days (Brisbane, 1895) p. 58.
7. See Darling to Goderich, H.R.A. XVI, p. 789.
remained, to care for the Government's property, flocks, and herds.

In 1838, when there were fewer than 300 convicts left at the settlement, the group of German missionaries who were to settle in Mundah arrived at Moreton Bay. The settlement at Brisbane, so soon to be abandoned, presented a pleasing sight in those days, when viewed from the Windmill tower. Large areas of cultivated land to the southward were covered with prolific crops of maize, sweet potatoes, sugar cane and other agricultural products. From here, carrying the eye towards Kangaroo Point, nothing is seen but an almost uncultivated waste... We observe the strange medley of convict buildings... which... have been beautified by garden plots of tropical and semitropical trees, shrubs, and fruit. Between Mr. Andrew Petrie's house and Creek street is a large area of cultivation attached to the quarters of the Foreman of Works, with groves of luxuriant orange, lemon, lime and guava trees... To the right... the Government Gardens (now the Queen's Park) with their fringe of sugar cane... furnish striking evidence of the fertility of the soil in that direction... The Commandant's quarters, situated where the Government Printing Office now stands, were similarly beautified, the chief object of attraction being the row of guava and lemon trees and the trellis-work canopy bearing some excellent vines which shaded the gravelled walks. Similar horticultural adornments were to be seen at the commissariat quarters and military barracks... The surroundings (of the hospitals) were by no means out of keeping with those of the other penal institutions.

Such were the changes that had been wrought in the landscape since 1824. Such was the sight which confronted the German missionaries brought to Australia by Dr. John Dunmore Lang to convert the aborigines.

8. Knight, op. cit., p. 67 f.
CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MISSION.

In order to place the founding of the mission station at Nundah (that is, the beginnings of settlement there) in its correct historical context, it is necessary to answer the following questions: Why was missionary interest displayed in the Australian aboriginals at this time? What other missionary undertakings were there then in Australia?

The answer to the first question lies in the change of attitude towards the Christian religion experienced and propagated by some of its followers at the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth. The change caused a new emphasis to be placed on evangelism. The attendant desire to spread the word of the Gospel amongst all people resulted in a revival of interest in missionary activity. Those influenced by the new wave of evangelism turned their attention to converting the native people of Australia and of other countries Europeans had but lately begun to colonize.

The first organized missionary endeavour in Australia was begun in 1821 by the Wesleyan Society and Auxiliary Mission in the Wellington Valley area, to the west of Sydney, near Mudgee. Although the Methodists laboured here among the aborigines for over twenty years, they achieved few of their aims.\(^1\) Shortly after the work in the Wellington Valley began, the Rev. Lancelot

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Threlkeld, of the London Missionary Society (an evangelical society supported by the Church of England), commenced similar activities elsewhere in New South Wales. When the first convicts were sent to Moreton Bay, Threlkeld was appointed minister to the settlement and missionary to the aborigines of the area, but he never took up this post. Instead, he established himself at Lake Macquarie, where 10,000 acres had been granted to the London Missionary Society by Sir Thomas Brisbane. Here he tried for some years to teach Christian beliefs, and agricultural methods, to the natives, with dubious success in both.

Other churches and persons soon became concerned about the need to bring Christianity to the aborigines. The colourful and indefatigable Rev. Dr. John Dunmore Lang was one who concerned himself seriously with the matter. In his book, "Cooksland", he wrote:

My attention was strongly directed to the subject of establishing a mission to the aborigines of Australia so early as the year 1831, and during that year, and in the year 1834 I made three successive attempts to establish such a mission by means of Scotch missionaries, but without success.

In 1835 he published a series of articles in "The Colonist" on "Missions to the Aborigines", "partly to point out the causes of the uniform failure of such efforts and the principles on which such missions should be established and conducted". In 1837

3 Governor Brisbane to Earl Bathurst, 8 Feb. 1825 H.R.A XI, p.512.
5 J.D. Lang, Cooksland (London, 1847), p. 464.
6 Ibid.
Dr. Lang was finally enabled to realise his plans for a missionary endeavour. He obtained leave of absence from Sir Richard Bourke in 1836 to proceed to England to recruit migrants and Ministers, not only for the white population of New South Wales, but also for a mission to the aborigines. In his efforts to bring new settlers to the colony, Dr. Lang suffered a disappointment. He did succeed in collecting a group of German migrants willing to sail to New South Wales to cultivate vines in the Hunter River district. They left on the French ship "La Justine" in July, 1837. Despite the fact that knowledge of Australia had been fairly widely disseminated throughout Germany, mainly through published accounts written by various Prussians and Austrians who had accompanied Tasman, Cook and Flinders and other Pacific explorers on their voyages, second-hand information was not sufficiently convincing to keep Lang's migrants firmly on their course to New South Wales. When the ship called in at Rio to replenish stores, the migrants were persuaded by German settlers there to remain in Brazil, rather than continue to the unseen dangers of New South Wales.

Dr. Lang did not attempt to recruit clergymen from England or Scotland as missionaries. In a letter to Sir George Grey, the Colonial Secretary, he outlined the difficulties of such a course of action:

...in consequence of the present demand for Ministers of that (Presbyterian) Communion for the white population of that

Colony (New South Wales), it has been deemed inexpedient to send out any Presbyterian Minister at present as a Missionary to the Aborigines, as the probability is that on his arrival in the Colony he would be solicited to become the Pastor of a congregation of Europeans and be induced to forego his proper work and office as a Missionary to the heathen. 

The idea of obtaining German Missionaries was suggested to Dr. Lang by Samuel Jackson, Secretary of the Union Bank of Australia, who visited Lang in London. Jackson had at one stage engaged in business in Berlin for a considerable length of time. While there, he had become acquainted with the Rev. Johannes Gossner, a zealous Pietist, who was Pastor of the Bethlehem Bohemian Church in the city of Berlin, and who conducted a missionary training school there. Mr. Jackson suggested to Dr. Lang that a corps of men from Gossner's school would be ideal for a missionary venture amongst the Australian aborigines.

The origin of Gossner's Missionary School and others then flourishing in Germany may be traced to the movement known as Lutheran Pietism, just as the great English missionary societies founded at the end of the eighteenth century owed their existence to the Methodist revival led by Wesley and Whitefield. Both Pietism and Methodism were expressions of the evangelical movement taking place at this time. The father of Pietism was Philipp Jacob Spener (1635-1705). To the Lutheran pre-occupation with Biblical doctrine he added the idea of active Christianity. 

missionary training at the new University of Halle, which became a centre of Pietism. Another Pietist follower was Count von Zinzendorf, Spener's godson, who gathered refugees from Moravia and formed the celebrated Herrnhut community of the Moravian Church. It was essentially missionary in spirit and activity and by 1740 Moravian Brethren could be found from Greenland to the Cape of Good Hope, carrying out their work of conversion. Their example and methods greatly impressed and influenced the leaders of the Evangelical Revival in England. They are of interest here because it was for some time mistakenly held by several people, e.g. William Coote in his "History of the Colony of Queensland" that the missionaries at Nundah were Moravian Brethren. Although the methods of the Nundah missionaries were very similar to those of the Moravian Brethren, in fact the first Moravian mission in Australia was not commenced until 1849, in Victoria, eleven years after the Gossner Missionaries came to Nundah.

The interest in Pietism in Germany resulted in the formation of many missionary societies which functioned independently of any particular Church. In 1815 at Basle, in Switzerland, an institution was founded which supplied recruits for British missions. In 1822 a separate society was formed for its own graduates, and many societies branching from the Basle Society were later formed. One was the Berlin Missionary Society, of which Dr. Johannes Gossner was a director before he formed his own mission school.

12. cf. Ibid.
13. See Gunson, op. cit., p. 514, for a detailed discussion of the reasons for this mistaken idea.
Gossner seems to have led an eventful life and through his forceful personality to have influenced, as well as been influenced by, political, court and missionary affairs of his time. Born in 1773, he studied for the Catholic priesthood and on being ordained spent his first years of service in Bavaria, which was then being wracked by political unrest. Gossner was forced for political reasons to move to St. Petersburg in 1820 and here he joined the Greek Orthodox Church, whose members had fled to Russia when the French invaded their island of Malta. Because he became suspect politically and religiously, Gossner was expelled from Russia and shortly afterwards openly declared himself a Protestant. The Crown Prince of Prussia (later King Frederick William IV) obtained for him the pastorate of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Berlin, which had been established for exiled Bohemian Protestants. In Berlin, Gossner gained a reputation as an eloquent and fearless court preacher. Soon he became a member of the Board of the Berlin Missionary Society, as mentioned earlier, but, finding that his own ideas on missionary training differed from those practised by the Society, he withdrew from it in 1835 to found his own school, the Gossner Mission. Gossner believed the "godly mechanic" was more valuable on the mission field than the man of academic scholarship whom the Berlin Missionary Society produced. So in his own school he welcomed artisans and farmers who could support themselves by their own labour, both while they were receiving

theological instruction at the school and later when they became missionaries. The Gossner Mission, which still exists, had no regular source of support, and he could only tell his missionaries,

I promise you nothing; you must go in faith, and if you cannot go in faith, you had better not go at all! 16

The first students of Gossner's School were six young men who desired to serve as craftsmen, teachers and catechists in foreign missions. Because they lacked the necessary academic qualifications, they were refused entry to the missionary training schools from which the Mission Societies recruited their members. Gossner, believing that these were the practical men needed in the missions, found them jobs in their trades and trained them in theology at night. In this way, in December 1836, the Gossner Mission began. Included in this first half-dozen was Gottfried Haussmann, a member of the mission party sent to Moreton Bay.

Acting on Samuel Jackson's suggestion, Dr. Lang visited Berlin in 1837 and engaged eleven of Gossner's men to travel to New South Wales to conduct a mission to the aborigines. The leader of the group was Pastor Carl Wilhelm Schmidt, a minister of the Prussian State Church and a graduate of both Halle and Berlin. The other ten, in keeping with Gossner's beliefs, were laymen, followers of a variety of trades from weaving to shoemaking, from smithing to bricklaying.

It was also through Mr. Jackson that Dr. Lang obtained an offer of service from two graduates of the Seminary for Mission.

aries at Basle. The two men, Christopher Eipper and Gottlieb Schreiner, after spending four years at the Basle college, had come to Islington College, England, in 1836, to prepare for Anglican ordination, since they had been told that that was the only means of entry into the service of the Church Missionary Society, which they desired to join. While at the College, however, they became convinced that the Anglican form of ordination was inconsistent with their beliefs. They accordingly wrote to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, insisting on Lutheran ordination, as well as complaining of the treatment they had received at Islington. They pointed out that since their coming to England, a Lutheran-ordained German had been accepted by the Society. The letter, not unexpectedly, antagonized the Society's authorities and Eipper and Schreiner were told to leave the College, "as soon as possible, or the sooner the better".

Samuel Jackson enclosed the letter written by Eipper and Schreiner that had led to their dismissal, when he wrote to Dr. Lang in March 1837, seeking employment for the two men as missionaries. Shortly afterwards, Lang received a letter from Eipper and Schreiner themselves, offering their services. Their letter concluded:

Since we have heard that you propose to form a mission to the aborigines of New Holland at the settlement of Moreton Bay under the ecclesiastical management and control of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, we offer ourselves most cordially to undertake this mission.

Both were readily accepted by Lang, but Schreiner withdrew from the mission and subsequently went to South Africa, leaving Eipper

17. C. Eipper and G. Schreiner to Rev. Mr. Trueth Secretary for the Church Missionary Society 9 Jan. 1837 Papers J. B. Lang XX
18. Footnote to ibid.
19. Ibid.
the only Basle-trained man in the party. The problem of Eipper's ordination was overcome when, on June 27th 1837, he was ordained by Evangelical Lutheran clergymen resident in London, and became the second clergymen in the group.

Dr. Lang advised the missionaries, who were all single and in their twenties, to seek out suitable marriage partners to accompany them to their destination among the heathen and assist them in their work there. The advice was heeded, and by the time they left Germany, eight of the twelve members of the party had married.

Meanwhile, Government machinery was set to work at Lang's prodding to help finance the undertaking. In January 1837, Dr. Lang had written to Sir George Grey, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, claiming that the established Church of Scotland was as entitled to subsidy for mission attempts as the Church of England. It was unlikely that Lang's request for a

21. The party then comprised the following people: Pastor Karl Schmidt and Mrs Schmidt, Pastor Christopher Eipper and Mrs Eipper, Gottfried Haussmann and Mrs Haussmann, J. Peter Niquet and Mrs Niquet, Ambrosius Hartenstein and Mrs Hartenstein, J. Leopold Zillman and Mrs Zillman, F.J. August Rode and Mrs Rode, Moritz Schneider and Mrs Schneider, F. Theodor Franz, August Olbrecht, Ludwig Doege, and Gottfried Wagner. Haussmann and Zillmann later dropped the final "n" on their names. Niquet appears in some records as "Nique", and August Olbrecht as Christopher Olbrecht.
grant towards establishing a mission would be denied, for the Colonial Secretary of the time, Lord Glenelg, described by Lang as "a highly philanthropic and Christian man", 23 was a former Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society. Dr. Lang was accordingly promised the support he asked for. In May, 1837, the Doctor wrote again, requesting the same support be accorded to the Lutheran ministers whom he had engaged to establish the mission at Moreton Bay. 24

Although Dr. Lang's letter clearly indicates that the intended location of the mission was Moreton Bay, it was generally believed by the Gossner missionaries that they were going to Port Phillip. 25 It is difficult to ascertain the reason for this. A mission (not a Presbyterian one) had just been established at Port Phillip, and Lang would hardly send his party to an area already containing a mission. Besides, he had a particular interest in the Moreton Bay area, for his father, with twelve others, had been lost in a small ship off the coast of Moreton Bay seven years before, and Lang still cherished a hope that his father might be alive among the savages. 26 Perhaps the missionaries believed Moreton Bay to be in the vicinity of Port Phillip, and doubtless the latter, which had received even then some German emigrants, was much better known to them than the former,

23. Lang, Cooksland, p. 464.
24. Cf. Lang to Grey, 12 May, 1837, H.R.A. XIX, p. 8
which had at that stage received no free settlers. On the other hand, perhaps Lang first intended that the mission be established in Port Phillip, and changed the proposed location to Moreton Bay upon learning that the Wesleyans had begun a mission at Port Phillip (in 1836, after Lang had departed for England).

The English Government gave Dr. Lang the support he asked for; it promised £150 for each of the three educated missionaries going to Australia, and it further agreed to subsidize pound for pound, any freewill offerings for the purposes of the proposed Mission received from and through the Scottish Church in Australia. Enclosing Dr. Lang's letter to Governor Bourke, Lord Glenelg informed him of the grant to be made, from the Colonial revenue obtained from the sale of Crown Lands, and included the proviso, "...that the grant of such assistance is not to be considered as pledging the Government to contribute in any degree to the future support of the Mission", a proviso of which Governor Gipps made full use a few years later. Dr. Lang's brother, Andrew Lang, of the Hunter River, was able to effect a further contribution by the Government towards the passage expenses, for a £30 bounty was allowed for each working married couple brought out.

All arrangements completed, the party of twenty (twelve missionaries and eight wives) left Berlin on 10th July 1837.

27. When Schreiner retired from the party, Dr. Lang substituted the name of another member of the party, Moritz Schneider, a medical student, as that of the third educated missionary of the party, and so still obtained the total amount of £450.
When they arrived at Greenock in Scotland, from where they were to embark for Australia, they were met by Dr. Lang, who informed them that the ship on which they had intended to travel, the "Portland", already had its full complement of passengers. The missionaries and their wives were billeted with various families in the town until they left in the "Minerva" on August 13th 1837, under the command of Dr. Lang's brother-in-law, Captain McAusland. Early in December, typhus fever broke out in the ship. The ship's surgeon, Dr. Cook, was one of the early victims of the disease, and much of the care of the afflicted passengers fell on one of the missionaries, Moritz Schneider, who had been a medical student. Schneider himself, however, eventually contracted typhus, and died in Sydney while the ship and its passengers were in quarantine. Thus the missionaries lost a valuable worker even before their task of converting the aborigines began. Dr. W.N. Gunson, in his article, "The Nundah Missionaries", informs us:

In 1839 Dr. Lang sought to replace him (Schneider) by another missionary named Krause. Krause, however, was 'put wise' to Dr. Lang by several Scottish clergymen and accordingly took himself to Guatemala.29

Nor did a replacement for Schneider ever eventuate.

The "Minerva" arrived in Sydney on January 23rd, 1838. The Sydney Gazette of January 25th contained the followed passage about the ship's missionary contingent:

29. Gunson, op. cit., P. 521. See Lang's "Appeal to the friends of Missionaries, on behalf of German Mission to the Aborigines of New South Wales", 15 October, 1839 Papers of J.D. Lang XX, for Lang's own statement that he had recruited Krause.
Amongst the passengers by the 'Minerva' are 13 (sic) German missionaries with their families, come out to establish a mission to the wretched aborigines to the northward of this colony, under the superintendence of the Synod of New South Wales. Two of them are ordained clergymen, and the remainder, who came in the capacity of catechists, have also, in conjunction with their theological studies, been instructed in various mechanical arts, with a view to the communication of the arts of civilised life to the aboriginals in conjunction with Christian knowledge.30

On March 19th 1838, fourteen members of the party, under the leadership of Pastor Eipper, left Sydney for Moreton Bay in the Government schooner, "Isabella". The remainder of the missionaries and their wives stayed in Sydney until land for the mission site had been obtained. In June 1838, they too proceeded to Moreton Bay.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSION PERIOD OF NUNDAY.

The "Isabella", carrying the first group of missionaries, arrived at Amity Point on 29th March. After proceeding up the river by rowing boat, the missionaries were met in Brisbane by the Rev. Johann Handt, also German and the chaplain of the settlement. They were taken to the house of the Commandant, Major Cotton, where, on the Commandant's invitation, they stayed until temporary quarters were prepared. After a few days the newcomers were enabled to lodge in the Prisoners' Hospital, which was fortunately empty. Because the "Isabella" remained an unusually long time at Moreton Bay, Eipper was able to find out a great deal about the colony and the aborigines in the district from the Commandant, the chaplain, and others, before writing and sending per the "Isabella" a letter to Dr. Lang containing his impressions of the place and its potential as a missionary base. The missionaries' first impressions of the district were very favourable. "The soil", wrote Eipper to Lang, "is the richest I ever saw, and the climate as much as I heard others say, very mild, yet warm enough for the production of every tropical plant."¹

They quickly realised that the penal settlement itself would not do as a mission station. Firstly, if they remained in the

¹. Letter from Eipper to Lang, p-12 April, 1838, published in "The Colonist", 12 May, 1838.
settlement, the blacks would not be able to distinguish between them and the convicts and soldiers. Again, the customary routes of the coastal aboriginal tribes did not extend as far westward as the main settlement and the missionaries were desirous of establishing their station where they could come into contact with as many aborigines as possible. Further, the missionaries intended that their first station should be but the start of many as they extended their influence gradually northwards along the coast, and they felt that to place their first station in the main settlement would be to set their future course westward. Finally, they felt that a location at a distance (not too great a one, for safety reasons) from the settlement would ensure that their sphere of influence would not overlap Rev. Mr. Handt's.²

On the advice of Major Cotton and Mr. Handt, the party decided to wait in Brisbane until the "Isabella" had sailed, when the Commandant would have a chance to show them a spot with the desired qualifications. When the time came, they inspected a site which had been selected by Major Cotton and Mr. Parker, the agriculturalist at Eagle Farm, and of which the missionaries subsequently fully approved. Hipper wrote to Lang of the location and their intentions concerning it. The former was:

... a spot at a distance of seven or eight miles from here (the main settlement) to the northwards and a few miles from Eagle Farm - the present female factory and formerly an agricultural establishment, - so as to be nearer to the Bay, and yet not out of reach of protection from the settlement, where we intend to erect temporary buildings, and to cultivate a little ground, till a longer acquaintance with the place and

². See ibid., and Hipper to Lang, 20–22 June 1838, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX, p. 389 ff., and also Major Cotton to Lang 7 May, 1838, ibid., p. 385.
the blacks shall either justify our choice or direct us to
a more eligible spot... To go farther away from the settlement
at present is impracticable, and would be folly indeed; for
though two or three tribes in the immediate neighbourhood are
friendly and inoffensive, it is only fear of our fire-arms
which has made them so.\(^3\)

the missionaries at first occupied the official buildings aban-
donned at Humpy Bong, now Redcliffe, when the settlement was
moved to Brisbane, and that the missionaries were forced to leave
Humpy Bong after several narrow escapes from their proposed
converts.\(^4\) However, no other account mentions Humpy Bong as
the first site of their station, and besides, Eipper's first
letters to Dr. Lang are so detailed that a sojourn there, especi-
ally one as harrowing as Traill indicates, could not possibly
have escaped mention.

By mid-June 1838, the second detachment of missionaries,
under Mr. Schmidt, had come up from Sydney and the whole group
had installed themselves on the selected site, six to seven miles
from the Brisbane settlement, their nearest (white) neighbours
the inhabitants of the female factory at Eagle Farm. The
missionaries settled on a ridge, to which they gave the name
Zion's Hill, just above a stream that they called, in true
Biblical fashion, Kedron Brook. Nehemiah Bartley, writing of
the Brisbane of the 1850's waxed quite poetical on this water-
course:

Brisbane is, I think, the only metropolis in the world
which combines a Highgate Hill with a Kedron Brook. The
latter, a crystal-clear, mountain-born stream, flowing from
west to east, on the north side of the city, losing itself,

ultimately in swamps, below where the German missionaries of 1838 had their settlement, Niquet, Zillman, Rode and the rest of them. The 'brook' was a fairy-like stream. Its banks lined with the narrow leaf wattle, which blooms so beautifully, and loads the air with its 'nutty' gorse-like scent every August; its banks lined, also, with the narrow-leaf ti-tree...5

The actual Mission Reserve was not defined until January, 1840 when Robert Dixon surveyed the area. A plan drawn by him, preserved in the Government Survey Office, shows the mission station occupying a square allotment of 640 acres on the north bank of Kedron Brook.6 Contrary to the commonly-held belief that the missionaries were granted this land by the Government, no title to the land was given them; it remained Crown Land until sold7 (it was offered for sale in 1852).

The first task of the missionaries at Zion's Hill was to clear the land and erect houses for themselves. About one hundred yards from Kedron Brook they made a rough road parallel to it and divided the land leading on to the road into allotments of six and seven acres. In each allotment, a house of rough slabs, plastered with a mixture of clay and long grass was built. All the houses were erected in a line parallel to the road, and all were of the same pattern, with four rooms and a kitchen. An acre in front of every house was left for planting fruit trees and flowers, while five acres behind each were intended for vegetables such as potatoes and maize.8 The progress made in

5. Nehemiah Bartley, Opals and Agates (Brisbane, 1892) p. 112.
6. See Map II in back folder for photograph of this plan. The site of the mission station was about half a mile east of what is now Toombul railway station, on a narrow roadway now known as Walker's Way.
7. Cf. "The Brisbane Courier", 23 December 1924, article "Zion's Hill Mission" by Dr. Cumbrne Stewart.
the first year in clearing land, building houses and starting crops stands out all the more when it is contrasted with that made in any of the later years of the mission. The initial achievements, although more striking, were far easier for the missionaries to effect than the coaxing of even the barest living from their land, in the existing circumstances.

The Mission received financial support from the Colonial Presbyterian Church, whose contributions were subsidized on a pound for pound basis by the Colonial Government. A "Society in Aid of the German Mission to the Aborigines" was established in Sydney in June 1838, which those interested in helping the Mission joined. The report of the Mission's first year of work was read to the Society on 1st January 1839, and in October 1839, Dr. Lang published a pamphlet, "Appeal to the friends of Missionaries, on behalf of German Mission to the Aborigines of New South Wales", using material from this first report to give an indication of the progress made at Zion's Hill. With regard to finance, the "Appeal" stated that the Society, with the assistance of the Government, had been able to pay off all the debts of the Mission incurred during its first year in the Colony, but that over £380 remained to be paid by the Society towards the expenses of their passage from Europe. This outstanding debt probably influenced Dr. Lang against making any arrangements to bring out the "upwards

9. Some of the members of the Society were: Dr. J.D. Lang, Rev. James Fullerton (Windsor), Rev. Robert Blain (Maitland) Rev. J. Walters (a Baptist), Captain Innes (of H.M. 39th Regiment).
of twenty pious families in the neighbourhood of Berlin,\textsuperscript{10} trained by Dr. Gossner, who Pastor Eipper had suggested would be willing and worthy labourers for the harvest at Moreton Bay. Dr. Lang would naturally be wary of incurring sole responsibility for the liquidation of any debts resulting from their outfitting and passage, as was his fate when he arranged for the first party to come to the Colony.\textsuperscript{11}

Finance to bring out more lay missionaries and their families, or to set up a chain of mission stations along the northern coast, obviously had to be supplied by the Society if these undertakings, confidently expected at the outset, were to eventuate. During the first year, the contribution of the Presbyterian Church (through the Mission Society), and hence also that of the Government, was £310/19/2. The contributions of the following years are interesting to note, for their dwindling has considerable bearing on the hardships endured by the missionaries and on their failure to make any substantial progress: in the year 1839, £159/7/6; in 1840, £228/5/8; in 1841, £93/-/2.\textsuperscript{12}

From October 1840 the Mission was conducted under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Synod of Australia, which was formed at that time. Dr. Lang, who was absent from the Colony between 1839 and 1841, was a strong Voluntaryist, and so was opposed to any connection between Church and State; when he returned to

10. J.D. Lang, "Appeal to the friends of Missionaries, on behalf of German Mission to the Aborigines of New South Wales", Papers of J.D. Lang, XX
11. Cf. ibid.
12. Figures quoted by F.O. Theile, One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland (Brisbane 1938) p.4. Sparks op.cit. p.31, gives the same figures, except for 1839 in which year he states the Government contributed £309/7/6.
Australia, he therefore refused to have anything to do with the Synod which had been formed during his absence. Other Presbyterians left it and joined him; there was for a time a split in the Church. The Mission at Moreton Bay became Dr. Lang's own responsibility, and in March, 1842, at the request of Pastor Schmidt, then visiting Sydney, he established a Committee of twelve, mostly Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, to superintend the Mission. However, in 1842, the Government subsidy was cut off, and a few months later the Committee dissolved. Dr. Lang, referring to the damage done while he was absent from the reins of control, made this observation about the Mission:

It was sadly neglected by those whose bounden duty it was to have exerted themselves for its maintenance and support. The missionaries were consequently subjected to great privations, and their missionary labours were in some measure suspended because of the manual labour in which they were compelled to engage for the supply of the necessities of life.

This is Dr. Lang's opinion, but it is doubtful if even he could have raised more support for the venture. The Committee he formed was no more successful in obtaining donations than the Presbyterian Synod had been. It was the Mission's misfortune that there were not, at the time, sufficient people in the Colony either interested enough or able enough to provide the financial backing necessary to put the plans for the Mission into action.

During their first year at Zion's Hill, the missionaries, besides clearing the land and building their homes, began their efforts to provide their own food. As a start, they purchased

13. The Committee members were: Revs. D. McAdam, Dr. Lang, Dr. Ross, W. Saunders, Captain Benson, Messrs Gawson, David Jones, Kirchner, Andrew Lang, Meinenzhasen, Crown, Roemer.
14. Lang, Cooksland p. 466.
three cows for milking and one working bullock. A paddock and a stockyard were formed, and the land was farmed. By 1841, fifteen to twenty acres were being cultivated, mainly in maize and potatoes. It is interesting to note that pineapples were grown a little later. Zion's Hill, in fact, was one of the very earliest pineapple-growing centres in the state. Mr. Handt, the prison chaplain, is believed to have introduced the fruit to the colony from the West Indies. Gottfried Wagner, one of the lay missionaries, obtained some suckers from Handt and planted them in his garden at the station. Several of the other missionaries and other later settlers obtained suckers from these. August Rode's garden of acres of pineapples is one of the features of the district still remembered by old Nundah residents.

Life at the Mission was beset with hardships. Receiving such meagre financial assistance, and being unused to heavy manual labour (for most were city-bred craftsmen), the missionaries had to expend a great deal of energy, working for long hours each day, merely to keep themselves and their families at subsistence level. "We were confined to work as peasants, a very difficult and not accustomed work," wrote a group of them in 1841. At first they were hopeful that the heavy labouring required would diminish, once crops were under way and huts and fences erected, and that they would then be able to spend more time in the missionary work that was their primary concern.

After the first three years, however, the missionaries still had

16. Franz, Zillmann, Haussmann, Rode, Olbrecht, Hartenstein, Niquet and Wagner to Lang, 12 April 1841, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
no opportunity to increase their contact with the blacks, for "our most time we had to spend for garden labour because our chief dependence of life, was upon this labour and income as we received longer than a year, not the least support from Sydney." 17

The erratic arrival of supplies from Sydney caused further misery to the newcomers, and the failure of a ship to arrive frequently reduced them to near-starvation. On one occasion, Eipper wrote concerning an illness he had contracted,

...in his (Dr. Ballow's) opinion the illness was caused by excessive labour, and bad food (it was just in the time when we were anxiously looking for a ship; and had to live upon maize-meal - not the best quality - from the Stores). 18

It was a source of embarrassment to the missionaries that Major Cotton, the Commandant, had often to be called upon to supply them with provisions from the Queen's Stores, both because unpleasant remarks were passed about their being given free Government food and because they disliked forcing Major Cotton to take such a responsibility upon himself. The practice led Major Cotton to hold a low opinion of the Society supporting the Mission:

...it seems their Society are under no great concern for their support or rely too much upon these Stores. 19

For fresh meat, the missionaries had often to depend on stew made from the bones left over from the meat provided for the military. For several years the missionaries had no conveyance to transport goods between Brisbane Town and the German Station except their own shoulders and the occasional loan of a Government dray. The

17. Ibid.
18. Eipper to Lang, 15 March, 1839, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
19. Major Cotton, quoted by Eipper in Ibid.
they grew they had to carry on their backs to the windmill in Brisbane to be crushed, and return with it in the same manner. The unaccustomed heat of the surroundings was cause for further discomfort, and aggravated the debilitating effects of the shortage of food, according to several entries in the missionaries' diaries.

One of the advantages of the station site, from a missionary point of view, was its location on the thoroughfare used by many aborigines proceeding north or south along the coast, whether they were moving from one fishing spot to another, or whether various tribes were gathering to participate in a fight. About the actual numbers and tribes of natives in the area, Eipper wrote:

The number of the aborigines in the district is not easily ascertained, as the occasions are rare on which they assemble in great numbers. At fights, which have taken place in the neighbourhood of the settlement, and even of the missionary station, as many as from 200 to 300 have been present. They are subdivided into small tribes; each of which has a certain territory allotted to it, from which they generally derive their names. Each of these tribes may number from 50 to 60 souls. On the right bank of the river, are the Amity Point, Maturbine, and Moppe's tribe, who number, together, about 200; on the left are the Duke of York's tribe, the Pine River natives, the Ninge Ninge, Umpie Boang, and Yun Monday tribes, which including the mountain tribes in their neighbourhood amount to about 400 souls.

Another writer of the time fixed the number of aborigines in the Moreton Bay district, from the Tweed to the Wide Bay Rivers (a somewhat wider area than that discussed by Eipper), as about 5000.22

Although the missionaries were favourably situated to be in contact with the blacks, they had great difficulty in persuading the natives to stay more than a few days near the mission station on their journeys. Any number of natives up to thirty might be working at the station on any one day, but the personnel changed from day to day for there was never any degree of permanence in their stay.

It was quickly discovered that no influence could be exerted over the aborigines unless food was given to them. This made the labouring duties of the missionaries even greater, although they were careful to ensure that the natives did not receive food without performing some task, such as fetching timber or water, hoeing the ground, planting, tilling, or chopping firewood. For several years the missionaries maintained the hope that they might train the aborigines to cultivate their own plots of ground around the station. The hope was always tempered by the provision that by some means extra assistance might be given to the Mission so that the brethren (as they called themselves) would not have to devote so much of their time and labour to their own livelihood. At one stage, Dr. Lang wrote to Governor Gipps requesting convict labour for the station. He received the reply that the Governor was in no way authorized to comply with such a request.

By employing the aborigines, the missionaries hoped to teach them the ways of civilization, which they saw as a necessary step towards converting them to Christianity. The missionaries also

23. Cf. Mission Diaries in Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
24. E. Deas Thomson to Dr. J.D. Lang, 31 May 1841, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
made attempts to preach the Gospel to the aborigines and encouraged them to join in hymn singing. Although the natives occasionally listened and sang earnestly enough, some of Pastor Schmidt's journal entries show disappointing reactions to his efforts. Of a journey to Toorbal\textsuperscript{25} which he and Pastor Hipper took with a group of natives, he wrote,

> We endeavoured to speak to them about spiritual things, but they could not conceive them, and as soon as I read to them some passages from the sacred scriptures which I had translated from Bracefield, they fell asleep. Only one listened attentively a few minutes and told us, rubbing his belly, that it did good to his bowels and desired me to read more.\textsuperscript{26}

Another native, during the same journey, refused to repeat grace before a meal since he did not believe that God was anywhere in the bush.

In July 1841, the missionaries began to keep school in an open hut for the aboriginal children. Mr. Schmidt was the teacher and the diaries regularly record such statements as, "Sat. 12. 11 children instructed. 14 Natives employed\textsuperscript{27}," and "8 children attended the school. 18 Natives were engaged in washing our sheep and milling maize.\textsuperscript{28}

The (English) alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, reading and writing were taught, while the girls were instructed in sewing also. In a manner similar to the missionaries' efforts to introduce farming and other habits of civilization to the natives, their attempts at educating the black

\textsuperscript{25} Now spelt "Toorbul". It is on the mainland coast, directly opposite Bongaree on Bribie Island.

\textsuperscript{26} K.W. Schmidt, "Journal of W. Schmidt during a journey to Toorbal made with A. Rode from the 28th of December 1842 to the 16th of January 1843", Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.

\textsuperscript{27} "General Diary of the German Mission at Moreton Bay from the 27th September 1842 to the 17th January 1843", entry for 12 November 1842, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid. Entry for 21 November, 1842.
children alternated between success and failure. This diary entry for example, records a success with understandable satisfaction.

Three girls were taught sewing by Sister Schmidt. The eldest of them, that had been instructed last Monday for only a few hours, finished today a little bag to her Teacher's delight and satisfaction. The bag was presented to her as an encouragement. She commenced to hem afterward an apron.29

The failures recorded, however, greatly outnumber the successes. Schmidt, on his journey to Toorbal, conducted a lesson, writing with charcoal on a piece of bark, and found that many of the children, although they were "old Scholars" remembered very little of what they had been taught at the mission school. Further, the children could not conceive that the knowledge would benefit them. They believed that by attending school they were doing the missionaries a favour, to be paid for in food. The missionaries tried to dispel this idea by making each of the children perform a small task after school and then giving the food as payment for the task.30

Gatherings for religious services naturally played an important part in the communal life of the settlers. Not only on the Sabbath, but twice daily, they gathered to pray, sing hymns, and read the word of God. Mr. Schmidt and Mr. Eipper alternately conducted the Sunday service, while on the other days Mr. Eipper took the morning service in English, and the lay missionaries in turn conducted the evening service in German, until their knowledge of English was equal to the task. For the

brethren, English and German lessons were held, Eipper and Schmidt, who had a greater command of English, instructing the others. These lessons had to be omitted when the demands on their manual labour were heavy. Lack of oil for lights meant that the lessons had to be conducted during the day-time and so the missionaries' studies encroached on time they could have devoted to their farms or the natives. Yet the brethren persisted, and it is rather remarkable that at all times they conversed with and taught the aborigines in English or in the natives' local dialect rather than in their own native tongue. Their children also were brought up to speak English. Visitors to the station found it amusing to hear the children, all born in the Colony, talking to one another in English with a thick German accent. Gatherings of a different nature, to discuss business, were held monthly. Matters regarding the stock and the gardens, food rations, journeys with the natives and the Committee in Sydney were discussed at these meetings.

To the natives, rights of ownership held little meaning. In their community, if they desired another's property whether it be his food or his gin, they took it, unless the other by virtue of his superior strength or cunning could prevent it. Despite the enthusiasm with which they often joined in singing a hymn, or the apparently concentrated attention they sometimes gave to the preachers' words, their natural propensities inevitably overcame them when the mission crops were ripe or an iron hammer or a bag of flour was unwittingly left within their reach. The missionaries

31. cf. Lang, "Appeal to the friends of Missionaries..", Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
32. cf. "Diary for the year 1840, January", entry for 13 January, Papers of J.D. Lang XX.
had frequent cause to lament these felonious tendencies in the objects of their endeavours. One diary ruefully records:

Sabbath 19 was a very troublesome day for us, on account of the Blacks, who came in a great number and tried first to get as much as they could from us for their intended journey into the mountains to eat the fruit of the 'bonyah-bonyah'; but afterwards when by the sound of the bell they thought we were at Service, they began plundering our maize crops and it required great vigilance to prevent them from further mischief; yet somehow or other they contrived to get off pretty well loaded with corn. They went about their work with great swift and cunning and left us to look at the spoiled gardens.

The missionaries were for periods obliged to dispense with the bell—usually a tin dish beaten by a stick—rung to summon them for evening service, since the natives took it as a signal to commence their plundering. A watch had to be kept during services and meetings, which were often abruptly halted by the watcher giving the alarm which signified that the natives were making off with the brethren’s possessions.

There were very few occasions on which the German settlers actually came into conflict with the natives, probably in part owing to the active efforts towards peace by the missionaries, and their dedication to their work. One clash which did occur and attract official attention arose over continual night raids on the station’s potato beds by up to thirty aborigines, armed with spears and clubs, and carrying firebrands. On the night of March 21st 1840, with the intention of frightening off the thieves, the brethren keeping watch discharged their firearms, which were filled with small shot, above the heads of the natives. Later, the

34. Now called "bunya nuts".
35. "Diary for the year 1840, January", entry for 19 January, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
36. See ibid. and "General Diary of the German Mission at Moreton Bay from the 27th September 1842 to the 17th January, 1843", Papers of J.D. Lang, XX, p.313 ff.
Commandant, Lieutenant Gorman, heard that some of the aborigines had been fired upon and wounded by the missionaries, and he requested an explanation from them and made an official report of the incident to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney. The missionaries wrote to Gorman stating that they had found only two natives to be injured, and those but slightly.37

The missionaries' diaries and letters contain no references to any other clash as fierce as this one. There is evidence that the white people with whom the brethren came in contact were treated with unstinted kindness and hospitality and were favourably impressed with the missionaries and the earnestness of their efforts towards converting the aborigines. Perhaps this same kindness was the reason for their general ineffectuality among the natives, who might have been more impressed if the missionaries had managed to instil into them a healthy fear of, and respect for, God's messengers. Ludwig Leichhardt stayed at the station for some time in 1843, and wrote of the settlers at Zion's Hill to his friend R. Lynd:

The philanthropist could never find a purer and better nucleus for the commencement of a colony than these seven families of the missionaries are; they themselves excellent, tolerably well-educated men, industrious, with industrious wives. They have twenty-two children, though very young, yet educated with the greatest care - the most obedient, least troublesome children I have seen in this colony or elsewhere... The missionaries have converted no blackfellows to Christianity; but they have commenced a friendly intercourse with the savage children of the bush, and have shown to them the white-fellow in his best colour. They were always kind, and, perhaps, too kind; for they threatened without executing their threatenings and the blackfellows knew well that it was only gammon.38

The Archer brothers settled at Durundur, several miles to the north of Brisbane (near present-day Woodford) during this period.

37. Schmidt to Gorman, 25 March 1840; quoted in Sparks, Queensland's First Free Settlement, 1838-1938, p.25 ff.
38. L. Leichhardt to R. Lynd, quoted in Lang, Cooksland, p. 473.
of the mission, and with this family the missionaries became very friendly, often visiting Durundur to perform divine service, and often being visited in return by the Archers, particularly Charles, who, in a letter to his mother, spoke of the mission: "The people there are exceedingly kind." 39 and another time to his father, "I met Jack and Davie (his brothers) at the German Missionary Station a few miles from Brisbane Town... We (that is, Jack and I) started for Durundur next morning, as early as the good missionaries would allow us, after being crammed with pulse, etc., and amply provided with provisions for the road." 41

Besides their trips to Durundur, various missionaries also accompanied the aborigines on many journeys in the hope of winning their confidence and their souls. Prior to 1842 the journeys undertaken were over comparatively short distances, for example to the old settlement at "Umpie boang", as they understood the natives to call it (which today is referred to as "Humpy Bong"). On the first of such journeys the four brethren who went planted vines and seeds with the intention of leaving them for the blacks to cultivate and harvest for themselves. Their action caused much alarm to the aborigines, who believed this to be a sign that the missionaries would soon commence building houses at the settlement and making the aborigines work for them. 42 From 1842 on, the missionaries travelled even further with the natives. Journals kept during these trips are in existence: one kept by Nique and Rode of a

39. Thomas Archer to his mother Mrs Julia Archer, 10 April, 1842, The Archer Letters (1833-1855); typescript in Oxley Library.
40. Apparently a Norwegian word, but I could not discover its meaning in any Norwegian-English dictionary. Occasionally in the Archer letters, Norwegian words were used and in the typescript the English meanings have been given in brackets but not in this case.
41. Charles Archer to his sister, Kate Jorgensen, 31 July 1843, The Archer Letters (1833-1855).
journey to Humpy Bong (March 1842), one by Eipper and Hartenstein who went to the Pine Rivers (November 1842), one by Schmidt to Toorbal (December 1842 - January 1843), and one by Eipper with S. Simpson the Commissioner for Crown Lands, to the Wide Bay and Bunya Mountains Districts. The missionaries deserve credit for a substantial contribution to early exploration of the Moreton Bay district and adjacent areas, the travels being made more valuable by the records they kept. The journeys were great physical trials for these men, mostly reared in European cities, unaccustomed to the river-mud, insect-bites, unpalatable natives' food and other similar inconveniences which were theirs on the bush journeys. The journeys brought trials of the spiritual kind too. An undisguised sense of the failure of the journeys from an evangelizing point of view is apparent in the journals, as the previously quoted illustration from Smith's diary of his trip to Toorbal shows.

The clash with the natives which Lieutenant Gorman investigated brought the mission to the attention of Governor Gipps, who asked for a report on the mission. In his report, dated February 8th 1841, Gorman outlined the extent of the buildings, stock and gardens of the missionaries. He said they had made two excursions about forty miles to the northward and that their means were extremely limited, one woman being so debilitated from lack of food that she had to be removed to hospital. Of their chances of converting the aborigines, he wrote:

42. "Diary for the year 1840 January", entry for 16 January, Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
43. These journals are contained in Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.
44. See page 25.
The general opinion here is that they never will be able to render any benefit to the blacks.\textsuperscript{45}

Other reports on the mission were submitted to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in 1841 and 1842 by Rev. J. Handt, prison chaplain at Moreton Bay, who remained in Brisbane after the convicts were withdrawn.\textsuperscript{46} The drift of these reports was the same as Gorman's report. If the missionaries had made progress with the aborigines, it was impossible to trace it, and it was certainly not proportionate to the time and strength expended by the missionaries. The other missions in New South Wales that were in receipt of Government support were at Lake Macquarie and Wellington Valley. They also submitted yearly reports about this time, and these indicated that lack of success in conversion of the natives was not confined to Zion's Hill.

The various reports from the missions convinced Gipps that Government money was being wasted in their support. Lord Stanley of the British Colonial Office, shared Gipp's opinion. Gipps sent Gorman's report of the German Mission on to him and Lord Stanley replied:

The report which you have now transmitted does not afford much prospect of the success of the undertaking; and it appears to me to be a matter well worthy of the consideration of the local government, whether, under such circumstances, the aid afforded to the mission should not be withdrawn.\textsuperscript{47}

When Governor Gipps came to Moreton Bay in March 1842, to inspect the area prior to proclaiming it open to free settlement, he paid the German mission station a visit. Thomas Archer, while

\textsuperscript{45} Lieutenant Gorman to Governor Gipps 8 February 1841, quoted in Sparks, \textit{Queensland's First Free Settlement}, p. 26 f.


\textsuperscript{47} Lord Stanley to Sir George Gipps, 24 October 1841 \textit{H.R.A. XXI} p566.
travelling from Durtuidur to Brisbane, arrived at the German Station shortly before the Governor, and wrote the following description of the spectacle prepared for Gipps, which could only have strengthened the Governor's conviction that the Mission was a waste of money:

We found assembled there a collection of blacks numbering about 30 or 40 men, gins and piccaninnies, all save the last arrayed in the vestments of civilization, though, on account of their scarcity, these had been rather sparsely distributed among the crowd. Some of the men wore a shirt and some a pair of trousers, but very few were arrayed in both. The native full-dress costume, composed of green and red ochre, was worn by nearly all the men, while a battered bell-topper or billy-cock hat surmounted the greasy and tangled locks of many. I was greatly puzzled to account for this imposing display of native beauty, rank, and fashion, until Mr. Schmidt explained that the Governor, Sir George Gipps, had arrived in Brisbane from Sydney, and was expected at the mission any moment to visit its members and inspect its native converts, who had been collected from the surrounding districts to meet and do honour to His Excellency.  

The ludicrous sight the natives presented in their castoff rags could only have created an unfavourable impression on the minds of the Governor and the other officials with him.

Following his visit, Gipps informed the Committee for the German Mission that Government support for the Mission would no longer be granted. He gave as his reason that the mission site was too close to the main settlement to perform its intended work successfully. There were other reasons. The Mission was occupying land which Gipps believed might be profitable to the Government if sold for suburban allotments. It must also be remembered that although the mission subsidies were granted by the British

46. Thomas Archer, quoted in Sparks, *op cit.*, p. 34.
49. E. Deas Thomson, Colonial Secretary to Committee for the officers of the German Mission, 20 April, 1842, *Papers of J.D. Lang, XX.*
Government in London, they were paid out of the money obtained from the sale of Crown Lands in Sydney. Officials in Sydney had repeatedly objected to the use of Crown Land revenue for missions, especially as they seemed to be accomplishing so little. Doubtless it was with some satisfaction that the Sydney authorities reported to London in March 1844 that there were no longer any missions to the aborigines receiving aid from the Government. The closure of Threlkeld's Mission at Lake Macquarie in 1841, and the withdrawal of support from the Wellington Valley Mission by its society, the Church Missionary Society, and the consequent cessation of Government aid to these missions, made it almost inevitable that the Government axe would fall on the Mission at Zion's Hill. It must be remembered, too, that the amount publicly subscribed to the German Mission in 1841 was less than half that in 1840. This was not necessarily an indication of a falling-away of interest in missionary activity, but possibly of the commencement of that period of depression known as the "hungry forties", and of a thereby enforced tightening of purse-strings, particularly with regard to "unessentials" such as missions to the aborigines. Since Government assistance was given on a pound-for-pound basis with public subscriptions, it is very likely that even if the assistance had continued, it would have been an insignificant amount during the succeeding few years.

Nevertheless, the withdrawal was weighty blow to the morale of both the Committee and the Mission. For a while, the Committee continued to operate. A proposed code of laws was sent up to Brisbane by the Committee in July 1842. A business meeting held

by the missionaries to discuss the code resulted in the presentation of the following statement of the assets of the Mission on the 1st July, 1842:

**Cattle**
- 6 working bullocks
- 14 Milk Cows
- 2 heifers of 1838
- 3 "  " 1839
- 1 "  " 1840
- 3 "  " 1841
- 9 calves of 1841/42
- 6 bull calves of 1841/42
- 44 head.

**Sheep**
- 69 Wethers for slaughter
- 10 male lambs of 1842
- 24 ewes
- 8 ewe lambs of 1842
- 111 head

The wethers contributed by Mr. Archer are not contained among this number; they will not be delivered to this Station, as we probably shall settle very near him.

**Agricultural Implements**
- A dray with yokes, irons, 4 chains, frame.
- A plough with two plough shares, a harrow,
- Half a coil of Rope, a crosscut and a Right Saw,
- A pair of smith's bellows, anvil, hammers, tongues, files, other tools.
- 2 bars of bow-iron, 2½ bars square iron.
- 5 bundles rod iron for chains.
- 7 bars flat iron, ½ bundle railrod iron. 52

Crops under cultivation are not given. To facilitate the Committee's reckoning of rations, the members of the Mission, plus their children were listed (children's rations were calculated on the assumption that a child should receive yearly a quarter of a man's ration for 52.

Statement transmitted by Eipper and Schmidt to Committee for the Officers of the German Mission, Papers of J.D. Long, XX.
the same period).

Rev. Mr. Schmidt } no children
Mrs. Schmidt

Rev. Mr. Eipper } children: Maria, born 20th May '39.
Mrs. Eipper Christopher, born 11th June '40.
Sarah, born 15th March, '42.

Mr. Hartenstein } child; Ida, born 15th June, '41.
Mrs. Hartenstein

Mr. Rode } children: August, born 1st June 1838
Mrs. Rode John, born 2nd December '39
Amelia, born 19th November '40
Jane, born 5th December '41.

Mr. Nique } child; Samuel, born 12th June '41.
Mrs. Nique

Mr. Hausman } children; Marie, born 12th January '39
Mrs. Hausman John, born 8th December '40.

Mr. Zillman } children; Rudolph, born 25th December '38
Mrs. Zillman Martha, born 22nd May '40
Leopold, born 29th December '41.

Mr. Franz } children; Moritz Schneider, born 14th September '38
Mrs. Franz Jane Franz, born 10th September '40
William, born 20th January '42.

Mr. Gottfried Wagner - single.

These lists show that the mission had made some gainful acquisitions in the first four years of its operation, even if a good proportion were of the human kind. It can be seen from the statement about Mr. Archer's wethers, that the missionaries were considering anew the establishment of a second station, because they had been led to understand that Government assistance would be renewed if the station was moved to a location farther from the

53. One might wonder why Ludwig Doege and August Olbrecht are no longer at the Mission. Eipper, in his Statement of the Origin, Conditions and Prospects of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, conducted under the Auspices of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, p. 3, says, "There were two other lay missionaries, but, having been guilty of an offence which could not be overlooked they were excluded from the mission". The two must have been Doege and Olbrecht. What was their offence? The missionaries, with
Brisbane Settlement. It was to search for a new site that Schmidt travelled to the Bunya Mountains around the Wide Bay district in June 1842, and Eipper in March-April 1843, penetrated this same area more deeply. The Bunya country consisted of mountain ranges in the Mary River district, discovered by Andrew Petrie in 1840. It was believed likely to prove a favourable centre for a mission on account of the great numbers of tribes who came from hundreds of miles around to the district in order to gather, roast, and eat the nuts of the bunya pine which grew abundantly in the ranges, and at the same time to engage in "friendly" warfare. At the time of Schmidt's journey, the northern limit of settlement was the Archer's "Durundur" in the Upper Brisbane Valley, and only the escaped convicts James Davis, Bracefield and John Mahey, besides Andrew Petrie and Henry Stuart Russell (who together discovered the Mary River) had penetrated the area, apart from the natives.

Eipper made his more extensive journey to the area accompanied by Dr. Simpson, with four mounted policemen, exconvicts Davis and Bracefield and four convicts in charge of the dray. Travelling on a horse borrowed from David Archer, Eipper joined up with Simpson's party, which had left from Woogaroo (Goodna), at Mr. McKenzie's Cattle Station at Kilcoy. From here they set off on March 17th. Travelling from four to thirteen miles a day, they reached the Mary River on April 1st and returned to Brisbane by the end of April. In a newspaper article on the history of the tantalising charity, have not mentioned it in any of the letters or diaries which have been preserved.

54. Lang, Cocksland p. 467.
mission, H.J.J. Sparks writes that the party braved "the dangers of flooded rivers and the risk of death from myall tribes, who the same year, by raids and massacres, forced the abandonment of the first squatting stations in that area." A joint report by Schmidt and Eipper concerning their journeys was sent to the Sydney Committee. It praised the country they had travelled over, and stated that the area held promise for mission activities.

Soon afterwards, the missionaries set up their first (and only) mission outstation, which they called Nordga, in the area now known as Burpengary, twenty-six miles to the north of Zion's Hill. Nordga, they thought, would serve as a half-way house for their proposed new station. But that was not to be. At a Committee meeting in August 1843, the members decided that they were no longer able to continue to support the Mission, on account of the depression in the Colony. They unsuccessfully urged the Governor to renew his grant. The Committee finally dissolved in October 1843, leaving the missionaries either to continue the Mission, supporting themselves and their families at the same time, or to leave the group and find new fields for their missionary work.

The missionaries decided to continue with their work at Zion's Hill. Things were in a sorry state, however, and it was in many ways fortunate that the Mission received a new lease of life in the form of four helpers in June 1844. These new arrivals, Wilhelm Gerricke, Carl Gerler, Johann Hermann and August Richter, were

55. Article by Sparks, "The Courier Mail", 17 July, 1937.
56. See O. Eipper, "Observations made on a journey to the larger Bunya Country along the Wide Bay River" March-April 1843. Papers of J.D. Lang XX pp 145. See Map III in back folder showing places visited by the missionaries.
57. Also referred to as "Naunger".
58. Article by Sparks, "The Courier Mail", 17 July 1937.
Gossner-trained men bound for the New Hebrides. Dr. Ross, Minister of the Pitt Street Congregational Church, an agent of the London Missionary Society, and former Secretary of the German Mission Committee, advised the new party, when it arrived in Sydney on its way to the islands, against proceeding on their intended course, as two London Missionary Society men had recently been forced by hostile natives to flee from the New Hebrides. Ross suggested that they go to Moreton Bay to cast in their lot with the Germans at Zion's Hill, and this they did. Dr. Ross advised them, as Dr. Lang had the original missionaries, to search for suitable partners to accompany them to the Mission, and they accordingly found and married suitable Sydney girls before moving on to Brisbane.  

The Mission was torn by quarrels and strife, and was on the point of being abandoned when the newcomers arrived. Their coming, and the £400 they brought from Dr. Gossner, gave the Mission heart to carry on its work.

The missionaries recommenced working the outstation at Nordga, which they had temporarily abandoned. Rather fearful of the possibility of violence on the part of the natives, they did not take their wives and families there. They planted about ten acres with corn and potatoes. They took it in turn to stay at Nordga, returning at short intervals to Zion's Hill for a few days before going back once more, taking stores. From an incident occurring on one of their journeys to Nordga, Downfall Creek received its name. This is the name by which the suburb which grew up near the Creek was known until the 1920's when it received its present name.

60. Cf. Gunson, op cit., p. 527 f.
of Chermside. A dray laden with corn became stuck fast in the creek. The two missionaries with the dray, Gerler and Hartenstein, tried to extricate it, but only succeeded in breaking the pole. Gerler went on with the oxen to the outstation for help, leaving Hartenstein to guard the corn. The latter was found the next morning about half a mile away, hiding behind a log, where he had spent the night in fear and trembling, he being a timid man and very much afraid of the aborigines. The aborigines, on the other hand, had camped a similar distance from the dray in the opposite direction, being too frightened of Hartenstein to venture closer. The spot was from then on known as "Hartenstein’s Downfall," and the creek as "Downfall Creek." 61

In 1845, one of the missionaries suffered an experience which led the brethren to give up the Burpengary outstation. This was an attack on Gottfried Haussmann’s life by the aborigines, an attack which almost succeeded. Haussmann and another missionary were spending the night at Nordga when they became frightened by the suddenly menacing attitude and increased numbers of the aborigines. The other missionary fled, leaving Haussmann to face the threatening mob. Wounded and bleeding from the flying boomerangs and spears, Haussmann hid in a hut, until the natives broke open the door. While their attention was momentarily attracted by some bags of flour he had placed in their way, the terrified missionary escaped and set out for Zion’s Hill by a circuitous route, for he knew they would follow him. He left the usual road and swam the Pine River, travelled as far as Sandgate, where he crossed Cabbage

Tree Creek, and eventually reached Zion's Hill, nearly dead through fear and exhaustion. 62

After this discouraging incident, the missionaries decided to devote all their energies to Zion's Hill, or German Station, as it had become known. The spread of settlement, which had occurred after the area had been declared open to free settlers in 1842, made contact with the aborigines difficult. The blacks were dispossessed of their land, and no longer took the old routes of their journeys; as the settlers increased in number, the blacks retreated. The aboriginal character of the Mission disappeared. Now and then a black girl might be taken into service at the Station, or a black man be employed, and become interested in the Christian religion, but even these would be likely to set off on "walkabout" at any moment, and would still retain some ties with their old tribes. 63 The missionaries' religious contribution to the Colony now took the form of preaching to the white settlers, and they took it in turns to travel to different parts of Brisbane each Sunday. Dr. Lang wrote, when he visited the German Station for the first time in December 1845, that they exercised a "beneficial influence among the scattered white population of the humbler classes in and around Brisbane town." 64

Gradually, as the character of the Mission's work changed, its numbers became depleted as members left for other colonies and countries. Pastor Zipper left in 1844 and joined the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, to work as a minister at Braidwood near Maitland. Pastor Schmidt left Brisbane in 1845. After returning

62. Cf. ibid For another version of the story, see Sparks, Queensland's First Free Settlement, 1838-1938, p. 43.
64. Lang, Cooksland, p. 472.
to England, he commenced missionary work in Samoa for the London Missionary Society. He died in Samoa in 1864. In 1848, Haussmann and Niquet undertook a course in Divinity at Dr. Lang's Australian College, and four years later were both ordained. Haussmann returned to Brisbane in 1861. He established the Bethesda Aboriginal Station at Beenleigh. By 1883, it had proved a failure, and Haussmann abandoned it and remained as pastor at Beenleigh until his death in 1901. Pastor Niquet returned to his farm at Zion's Hill soon after his ordination, but answered a call from the Rev. M. Goethe of the Victorian Synod in 1856 and went to minister to a Lutheran congregation in Ballarat. Wilhelm Gericke also responded to Goethe's appeal, and went as pastor to Bendigo. He later returned to the German Station to farm. Gottfried Wagner was another who was ordained from Lang's College. He then went to Tumut as a Presbyterian Minister, but, like several of the others, he soon returned to the German Station, where he remained till his death in 1895. The other Gosaner men who remained in the area were Hartenstein, Franz, Rode, Gerler and Zillman, although Zillman had volunteered, unsuccessfully, to go to Samoa for the London Missionary Society in 1844.

The names of these men will be found to crop up continually in the later history of Nundah, for they were for many years a vigorous

65. Cf. Gunson, op. cit. p. 535. Years later, Zillman still cherished the idea of starting another mission to the aborigines. In 1861, giving evidence before a Select Committee enquiring into the Native Police Force, he said, "I have been contemplating such a thing (i.e. forming a mission) myself... I have worked my way up from nothing, and I have not had the means to do as I would have wished, or I would have had such an establishment before this time. I have been twenty-three years in the Colony, and I have always considered it my duty to do what I could to raise the blacks from their present degraded state. I am not in the least discouraged, but I have a little more experience now than I had twenty years ago". (quoted in Sparks, Queensland's First Free Settlement, p. 42f.)
force in the district. With the spread of settlement and the departure of many of its missionaries, the Station assumed the character of a farming settlement and lost its mission identity. Dr. Simpson reported in 1846 that the missionary school for white and aboriginal children no longer functioned, and by this time most people in Brisbane regarded the mission work at Zion's Hill as ended, although the Mission itself was not abandoned until 1850. The district however, was still referred to as "German Station" until the laying of the railway line through to Sandgate in 1882, when its name was changed to the aboriginal "Nundah", meaning "chain of water-holes."

Though the Mission failed in its intended work of converting the aborigines to Christianity, this pioneering community made a valuable contribution to the country's development. They showed that a group of men and their families, pledged to a code of Christian morality, could, by hard labour, make a home for themselves in a country that had at first been thought fit only for the lowest human denominator, and that, despite all their suffering and privations, they could retain their religious faith and piety. Those who left served in churches through Australia and in other countries; those who remained continued to play their part in working for the good of their adopted land.
CHAPTER III.

THE FARMING SETTLEMENT AT GERMAN STATION.

While the missionaries had been struggling with their many difficulties, important changes had been taking place in the main settlement. By 1839, all but the officials and convicts needed to guard the Government property were withdrawn. At the same time, squatters, following the route taken by Alan Cunningham from the Upper Hunter River region over the Dumaresq and Gwydir Rivers, made their way to the Darling Downs and, soon afterwards, over the range to the Moreton Bay district and took up runs.

Farmers followed the squatters. Then came the merchants, artisans, shopkeepers, clerks and the like, to Brisbane, the port that would be needed by the squatters and farmers. The Government survey, which the law required to be made before any land was sold, was commenced in 1839, by Robert Dixon and four other surveyors (Warner, Stapylton, Tuck and Dunlop), and completed three years later by Dixon's replacement, Henry Wade. It will be remembered that it was Dixon who, in January 1840, first measured out definitely the land grant of 640 acres which the Government had made to the German Mission in 1838. Before declaring the area around Brisbane open for free settlement, Governor Gipps visited Moreton Bay to judge for himself the relative merits of Brisbane and Cleveland as the port for the proposed settlement. The former having been selected, the ban on settlement within the fifty-mile radius of Brisbane was lifted, and arrangements for land sales put under way.

1. See Map II in back folder.
The whole area was named the County of Stanley, and the first sale of Crown Land in the County was held in July 1842, in Sydney. Despite the trade depression, the land was bid for and bought with astonishing enthusiasm. The County had been divided by the surveyors into parishes, and the present suburb of Nundah was situated in the Parish of Toombul. First sales were of allotments in the main settlement area, the nucleus of the city of Brisbane.

The first country allotments or portions of the county offered for sale were in the parish of Toombul, the sale being held on February 10th 1843. Three portions were sold, in the area now called Eagle Junction, while other portions sold within the next two months were located there and at Eagle Farm. The allotments varied in size from 47 to 126 acres, and in price from £1 to £1/5/- per acre. Perhaps the high upset price of £1 per acre (against which many protests were made later in the "Brisbane Courier"), for land which was of unknown quality to the Sydney buyers, accounted for the fact that only ten country portions were purchased in 1843. Buyers concentrated on small portions suitable for business in what is now the centre of the city and in South Brisbane. Over the next few years most buying was concentrated on these areas and, from 1844, on Ipswich.

By the 1850's, interest in purchasing country portions had increased. Land at Goodna was sold in 1849, and at Drayton, Warwick and Cleveland in 1851, while sales had also been made of land in the present day suburbs of Kangaroo Point, Enoggera and Bulimba by 1850. The Government resumed the 640 acre block that

2. All information here on sales and areas of Crown Land was obtained from the records of Crown Land Sales in the Queensland State Archives.
had been allotted to the German Mission at Nundah in 1850, and offered this land for sale two years later. The missionaries who were still in the area naturally sought to keep the land they had farmed for so many years and they were among the first buyers. F.J.A. Rode was in fact the first man to buy land in Nundah, acquiring a thirty-acre portion of the original mission grant in 1852. He later bought an additional 97 acres in the same area. Rode's land, in present-day terms, covered an area which was on either side of the railway line, not far from Nundah Station, in the direction of the city. In 1854, other former missionaries, J.P. Niquet, Charles (Carl) Gerler, John Zillman and Theodore Franz bought Crown Land in the same locality. Zillman and Franz, like Rode, later increased their estates by buying up the land adjoining their respective farms as it became available. In 1858 Gottfried Wagner added his name to the list of former missionaries who had become land owners by purchasing about 40 acres at the German Station.

There were others who acquired land in the Toombul Parish in the 1850s; the buyers included people who were well-known Brisbane identities, such as Robert Cribb and John Petrie. Some of the buyers of this decade, such as George Bridges, John Buckley and William Robinson not only helped to pioneer Nundah and the surrounding suburbs, but also greatly helped in the later development of the area.

In 1863 a large number of German emigrants disembarked in Brisbane. Most moved out to the area already being farmed by

their compatriots, and several of the newcomers, including Hermann Goeldner, Julius Stucke, Michael Kubler, and David Wildermuth, bought land in the Nundah and Zillmere areas that same year. Others who came included George Fischer, Johannes Deuble, William Lemke and C. Stabe. They leased land from the former missionaries or worked for them, until they had sufficient money to buy land of their own. These German settlers combined with the missionary pioneers to form what Sparks has described as, "a community showing so distinctly its national origin that to all newcomers the district became known as the German Station." Many of their descendants still reside in Nundah and adjoining suburbs.

The sales of 1863 disposed of most of the Crown Land in the Nundah area. As well as the missionaries and other German settlers previously referred to, Maurice Schneider, son of Moritz Schneider, the missionary who never reached Zion's Hill, bought land. So too, did William Alfred Noble and Isaac Stucky, who, together with their families were to play an active role in the progress of the district. In this year also, Bishop Tufnell of the Anglican Church bought 100 acres of land in Nundah, which he later increased, and Bishop O'Quinn of the Catholic Church bought an even larger area in neighbouring Nudgee. In 1865, the remainder of Crown Land around Nundah suitable for farming, was sold, most portions being by that time only about ten acres in area.

By the 1860's, Toombul, Moggill, Yeerongpilly, Kedron, Enoggera, Tingalpa and Indooroopilly, besides places close to Ipswich, such as Goodna and Bundamba, were all popular farming areas.

and the Brisbane township and port provided a ready outlet for any excess produce. The types of soil encountered in the parish of Toombul were the same as those in most of the other Brisbane parishes. Inland from the bay for three miles and occasionally further, the land was low-lying and swampy, for the most part, a poor farming proposition. West of this swampy area, good farmland existed near to the banks of waterways such as Cabbage Tree, Mündah and Serpentine Creeks, and smaller ones like Kedron Brook, where fertile alluvial soil covered the natural poor-quality podsoil which forms most of Brisbane's soil. There are areas in Brisbane where the soil is an exception to this. These are fairly high plateaux regions, the red soil of which is excellent for farming. Some of these exceptional regions were in the Toombul Parish – at Sandgate, at Kallangur, and at Bald Hills. Although the settlement at German Station was not on a red soil plateau, the numerous creeks and streams flowing through it ensured a layer of good top-soil which the farmers utilized to the utmost. Farms of as little as four acres were quite common, and provided their owners or lessees with a living. Some farmers concentrated on one source, such as dairying, or pineapples, for their income, but the majority engaged in mixed farming. Nearly every farmer kept a few cows, pigs and sheep, horses and working bullocks, and grew an assortment of vegetables and perhaps fruit crops.

It was at German Station that pineapples were first grown commercially in the colony, and many farmers at the settlement concentrated on growing this fruit. Pineapples were an early export from Moreton Bay. The farmers would take their load by bullock dray to Brisbane to meet the monthly steamer in which they
were freighted to Sydney. For the farmers, transporting their goods the seven miles between their settlement and the town was a major operation. If the weather was very bad, the trip could take two days. Axes were carried to hack their way through the scrub and they were often obliged to ford Breakfast Creek, as the little sapling bridge over the creek was much given to falling down.5

The missionaries who bought land at German Station were all able to make good livings from their farms. August Rode seems to have had the largest pineapple plantation in the area, Carl Gerler grew grapes, Theodore Franz, Leopold Zillman and Peter Niquet hired out stud horses as a sideline to the dairying which was their main concern. Some acquired property in other areas. Zillman seems to have been the most successful farmer in the group. About 1855 he formed a dairy station at Caboolture, built huts of slabs and bark, and stockyards, and started to make butter, which every week he would bring down on horseback to German Station. Not long afterwards, he established a cattle grazing station for his eldest son, Rudolph, one hundred and fifty miles to the north of Caboolture, at Barambah, where the missionaries had previously purchased cattle. Zillman's fourth son, John, has written of his father,

I think my father was smarter with cattle than most of the missionaries for he was the first of them who owned a bullock team... He, my father, soon broke in another team and sold it for £100. That was £10 per head and he continued breaking in even after he occupied Caboolture.6

6. John Williams Zillman, Recollections of My Early Life (written between 1922 and 1926), manuscript in private collection of G. Dawson, p. 5.
While Leopold Zillmann is regarded as the pioneer of the present-day suburb of Zillmere, at first known as Zillman's Waterholes, August Rode is recognized as the pioneer settler of Nundah and Toombul. August Rode's land was located in what is now the area left of the shopping centre as one faces towards Sandgate. Using present street nomenclature, it extended from New Sandgate Road to Hamson Terrace and from Buckland Road to Kedron Brook. George Bridges owned land to the north of Rode's, and it is on what was his land that most of the Nundah shopping centre is now situated.  

Rode lived in three houses altogether on his land, beginning with the one of clay-plastered slabs at the mission. This and his second house have long since been demolished. His third house, built about 1880, can still be seen, not in its original position (opposite the present Nundah Catholic Church), but in Bilsen Road, Wavell Heights, to where it was removed in 1912. The oldest house still standing in Nundah was owned by Rode's daughter, Mrs. Allen. The age of this house is judged by the wide chamfer boards in its back section. William Pettigrew, who owned one of the first saw mills in Brisbane in William Street, milled this 12" chamfer board from 1849 until the sixties, when the 8" and 9" boards came into use. Most of his wood was brought down by ship from the Maroochy district. Other houses in Nundah, which are no longer standing, were built of wood from this mill, and also of cedar timber from the Clayfield scrub. A plaster made of fine powder obtained in the

7. Locations have been calculated from maps of the parish, showing land portions, and from lists of the buyers of the various portions in the Queensland State Archives.
8. Information supplied by H.V. Walker and other Nundah residents, contained in notes now in hands of G. Dawson.
Nundah locality was often used to cover the interior walls.

The first hotel built at Nundah, in the 1860's was on the Old Sandgate Road, on the site of the present Commonwealth Bank, i.e. on the corner of (new) Sandgate Road and Bage Street. From 1858 a coach service operated between Brisbane and Sandgate, and upon completion of the hotel, drivers and passengers stopped at Nundah for refreshments, rest, and fresh horses. The "Prince of Wales", at the corner of (new) Sandgate Road and Buckland Road, replaced this early structure. This hotel was also used by the coach service. This two-storied wooden structure, with its wide verandahs, was a typical example of the "Queensland bush pub" school of architecture. It was demolished only eighteen months ago to make way for the new "Prince of Wales" Hotel recently opened, an imposing collection of bricks and tiles and stainless steel in the currently popular style. Behind the old building was a coach house, also demolished - in its place is an extensive car-park.

A family which early acquired a large land holding in Nundah was the Hows family. Charles Hows later sold land to the Kubler family, which built grocer's and butchery shops on it, to John Mitchinson (a school teacher at the local National School), to the Toombul Divisional Board for their offices, and to the Church of England.9

The Robinson family came to Moreton Bay on the ship "Chasely" in 1848. Thomas Robinson and his family settled on a sizeable farm at German Station, and his sons Henry, James, Ambrose and John all became farmers in the district. John Robinson built the first

9. Ibid.
house in Northgate, the suburb adjoining Nundah to the north, about 1873. However, Northgate remained far behind Nundah in its residential developments and the next house was not built there until 1900.\textsuperscript{10}

Carl Gerler, whose property included what are now the grounds of the Hendra State School, is noteworthy among the early settlers for his viticulture. His estate of almost two hundred acres, which he purchased in 1854, was named "Carlsberg". He planted a vineyard of 14,000 cuttings, and enjoyed considerable success. For some years he made an average of 4,000 gallons of good quality wine each season. He gave up wine-making when he found he could sell his grapes to the expanding settlement, for a greater return. Another vigneron in the area was David Childs, who began growing grapes at Nudgee in the 1870's; he is reputed to be the only person in Queensland to manufacture champagne and other sparkling wines.\textsuperscript{11}

Although the manufacture of champagne might indicate the existence of sophisticated taste in the area, the remnants of a stone-age culture lingered on. As I stated previously, the aborigines no longer frequented the district in large numbers once the settlement began to grow, but there were occasions when their resentment against the white people who had dispossessed them of their territory found expression. Attacks on the whites sometimes occurred, diminishing in number as the firearms of the settlers increased. For several years, the blacks had the power to terrify the settlers. One settler wrote of a fight between two natives, which he witnessed in the 'fifties, as near to Brisbane as York's Hollow (the Exhibition Grounds):

\textsuperscript{10. Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{11. Ibid.}
Hideously arrayed and uttering blood-curdling war cries, they were fully occupied in spearing and braining each other. John Zillman has shown the fear inspired by the blacks and the measures taken by settlers to defend themselves in this story of a journey made, by himself, bringing butter from Caboolture to German Station:

Now when you know there had been several murders by blacks, two at Caboolture, one man half-killed crawling up to Gregorsford from Dead Man's Pocket, one at the head of Pine River, and also about Nundah, perhaps you can imagine how a boy of twelve felt (but I don't think you can) having to face that long dark ride expecting at every moment to see a black form rise up to kill him. Every black stump a man's height I felt sure was a black and as I neared it a cold sweat would come out of me and oh! what a relief when it proved to be a stump... From Stony Creek (head of Burpengary) to Nundah there was no human habitation except Cash's quite off the road over South Pine River. Cash also had trouble with the blacks. He had large auger holes bored through the slabs so as to put the muzzle of the gun through and thus keep the blacks away. They, the blacks, then tied firesticks to their spears and tried throwing the spears into the bark roof of the house. But he kept them away, and they did not gain their object of burning him out.

Opposition from the blacks no longer existed by the 'seventies. Reduced in strength and numbers, those remaining mostly sought to please the settlers by performing small jobs of work or tricks for pennies or tobacco. An old Nundah identity, Ted Buck, remembers when, as a small boy in the eighties the natives would muster near his father's blacksmith's shop and give a display of boomerang throwing, in return for suitable remuneration. He recalls how one old gin, nicknamed Catch-penny, used to amuse the crowd by opening her mouth to receive any coins obligingly thrown by the audience. They were vanishing amusements, however, and by the

early part of this century the Nudgee tribe, the main tribe in the area, had died out completely.  

Pineapple plantations, dairy farms, market gardens, and vineyards - such was the variety of the landscape confronting the early visitor to German Station. Until the eighties it was an isolated farming centre - to the people of Brisbane still part of the bush. The farmers of the settlement depended on Brisbane town for services and supplies and as the outlet for most of their produce. They made frequent journeys to and from the town, their drays laden. The route from Brisbane was by way of Fortitude Valley, past Cowlishaw's Hill (where Cloudland now stands) to Newstead House (built as Captain Wickham's residence), and then across Breakfast Creek. The route then lay along Breakfast Creek to Albion, and then followed Old Sandgate Road to German Station. Old Sandgate Road crossed Kedron Brook at a point just west of the present railway bridge: it approximated to Bage Street of the present time, extending northwards over the hill now occupied by the Catholic Church and coinciding with New Sandgate Road from the present-day corner of Bage Street and the latter.

The coach service which ran via German Station from Brisbane to Sandgate from 1858 provided some link for the Station with these two centres. Between German Station and Sandgate, from the sixties, a bathing resort for Brisbane's  

14. Syd. Sluice, an old resident of the district, recalls that even in the nineties, the blacks had a large camp at the Nudgee Waterhole.  
15. In "The Courier Mail", 26 June, 1937, Miss Sarah Rode claims that her father, F.J.A. Rode, discovered Sandgate in 1854; "He felt a whiff of the sea breeze, and he said he galloped his horse until he reached Sandgate" - and that he took the first visitors, prominent townsmen (including Robert Cribb), to Sandgate soon afterwards.
population), the land was uncultivated for the most part, and unoccupied, save for the cattle grazed on it by a few people, notably E.B. Southerden (who became the first Mayor of Sandgate). Between Brisbane and the Station, the gap, comprising creek, scrub and swamp, slowly narrowed. In the sixties, wealthy residents of the Colony's capital set up their homes along Breakfast Creek Road. By the seventies, homes appeared across the Creek and the River. This outward expansion of the town continued, and dwellings for urban workers sprang up where there had previously been bush or farm, until by the nineties Nundah was enmeshed in the complex of Brisbane suburbia. The extension of the vast and varied services of civilization, for example the railway, local police protection, retail shops, to Nundah itself during the eighties, will be examined in a later chapter.
CHAPTER IV.

MIND AND SOUL.

(1) Education.

Pastor Schmidt began the work of formal education at Zion's Hill when he opened his school for the aboriginal children in 1841. This school, attended also by the missionaries' own children as they became old enough, ceased to function after Schmidt and his wife left the Colony in 1845. However, the missionaries continued to provide a school for their own children. John Clarke Foote, of Ipswich, and then William Alfred Noble, both of whom owned and farmed land at German Station, were employed by the missionaries as teachers, but they could only perform the task in their necessarily limited spare time. It is recorded that the Anglican Minister, the Rev. J. Gregor taught English to the German children, prior to his death in 1848.1

George Walker, who had come with his family from England to the Colony in 1849, was an active member of the Wesleyan Church in Brisbane, after he took up residence in the town in 1851. Walker was invited by some of the members of this church, friends of the missionaries who knew of their need for a teacher, to take charge of the tutoring of the children at the Station on a full-time basis. He accepted the position and commenced duties in January 1853, with forty scholars, in the hut the missionaries had built for use in their teaching of the aborigines.

One pupil at least retained grim memories of his experiences at the school:

Of course we had day school. First Masters were Mr. Noble Mr. Walker, and Mr. Boot (sic). Some of them were cruel men, putting one in mind of Legree of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'. I saw my sister thrashed on the hand until one felt the blood must come. My heart bled for her, and boiled for the master. I carry a dislocated thumb all my life from the same cause. I feel sure if the children were thrashed nowadays as then the masters would be jailed.

Still, the coin is being viewed from only one side here. The treatment by the masters was standard educational practice of the day. George E. Walker’s diary shows that he took an intense interest in the children’s spiritual growth; some passages shine in their simple sincerity.

When the undenominational church hall was built at the settlement in 1854, Mr. Walker and his pupils moved into it for their classes. The school continued until 1865, when the children transferred to the new National School. In 1859 there was only one Government or National school in the colony of Queensland, at Drayton. In the ’sixties, several more were constructed as people in many areas agitated for a school in their particular locality and raised the requisite contribution of one-third of the total building cost. In 1863, the Board of General Education, in an effort to satisfy requests from residents of both German Station and Eagle Farm, proposed establishing a school halfway between the two. The suggestion met with disapproval from the people of German Station, for their children would be obliged to walk up to two miles partly through swampland to the school. The German Station settlers therefore transferred their support to the building of a school at Eagle Farm, in order to kill the half-way proposal.

2. Surely Zillman means Mr. Foote.
4. See Diary of George E. Walker in Oxley Library.
Their ruse was successful and the Eagle Farm residents obtained a school of their own in 1864, on Nudgee Road. It is now known as the Hendra State School.\(^5\)

The settlers of German Station then set about obtaining support and money for their own National School. A meeting was held, at which the nine or ten men present subscribed £60 between them for the project. They were informed by the Government that if the subscription reached £105, the required one-third of the cost of the building, the school would be erected. John McMaster, a farmer at the Station (later an alderman of Brisbane) undertook to raise the amount, and speedily succeeded.\(^6\)

In June 1865, the Government called for tenders for the construction of a school and a teacher’s residence at German Station. Two builders, John Coop and John Sargeant, whose tender for the buildings was £390, were contracted,\(^7\) and they completed their work within four months. When Government surveyor, Michael Herbert, came to inspect the school-ground (a clearing of 3 acres, 2 roods, 1 perch) in October, one of the original subscribers for the school, August Rode, whose farm adjoined the ground, showed him over it. Herbert reported to R. McDonnell, chief inspector of National Schools that the work was well done and almost completed. The school-building was a one-roomed affair, forty-eight feet by eighteen feet, and the teacher’s residence had four rooms and a separate kitchen.

6. Cf. ibid. However, according to German Station, 1865 - Nundah 1965, a centenary booklet produced by the Nundah State School (Brisbane, 1965), the actual amount raised was not £105, but £94.
7. See tenders and contract, Education Dept. School File - German Station, No 43, 20 October 1865 - 14 June 1866 (hereafter referred to as School File - German Station), in Queensland State Archives.
The school was opened on October 2nd, 1865. John Nicholson was the first school-master. Although born in England in 1838, Nicholson trained as a teacher at the King's School, Parramatta. To judge from all accounts, he was a scholarly person; he was reputed to know ten languages, and was an enthusiastic exponent of the literary arts, producing songs that rejoiced in titles like "Song of Britannia" and "Austral Flag", as well as two works of prose.\(^8\) There were sixty-five pupils enrolled at the commencement of the school.\(^9\) Several were the children of the former missionaries and of the Germans who came to the station in 1863; for example, there were two of the ten Rode children on the roll, six of Gottfried Wagner's children, and members of the Goeldner, Lemke and Kreutzer families. The total number on roll came from only twenty-four families.

Nicholson was replaced by John MacAlister in 1868. It is claimed that he introduced Euclid to Queensland through his teaching of the subject at the German Station School.\(^{10}\) MacAlister seems gradually to have become unhappy about his post. In October, 1873, he complained of the inadequate accommodation for his family. The Government accordingly made arrangements for an addition of two rooms, measuring a total of fifteen feet by twenty-one feet, to be made to the residence, at a cost of £88/18/-.

About this same time across a form from the Board of General Education seeking information on School Committees, he wrote —

\(^8\) Cf. Notes in hands of G. Dawson.

\(^9\) See appendix for list of first scholars at German Station National School, supplied by G. Dawson.

\(^{10}\) German Station, 1865 - Mundah, 1865, p. 4.
No Committee - Mr. Rode is the only gentleman in this district who takes any special interest in the progress of the school. On two occasions in 1874 he applied for a transfer. The Board finally acquiesced in Mr. MacAlister's wish to leave German Station, and in March 1874 he was transferred to West Oxley.

Christopher Hurworth, a teacher newly arrived from England, took MacAlister's place. His son, Edward, was appointed a pupil teacher at the school. The District Inspector J. Gerard Anderson, submitted the following report on the school after his visit on 3rd July 1874, not long after Hurworth's appointment:

The material condition of the school, except the kitchen is satisfactory. The instruction is good in kind, but the proficiency of the more advanced students is often disappointingly low. The attendance of the pupils, from various causes, has been broken during the first half of the year, and this circumstance has operated unfavourably upon the attainments. There is reason to believe that a few children of school age in the district attend no school. About sixty percent of the pupils on roll attended eighty percent of the school time. How many children in the district were not even enrolled we do not know. However, large-scale non-attendance of this nature was fairly common in an age when education was not compulsory.

The chief expense in maintenance of the school building seems to have been repairing the damage wrought by white ants. MacAlister had complained of them and the situation deteriorated to such an extent that in March 1875, Hurworth informed the Board:

11. Form on School Committee, September, 1873, School File - German Station.
13. MacAlister to Board of General Education, 11 October 1873, School File - German Station.
On Saturday last while I was standing in the porch of the school, one of the rafters suddenly gave way and fell to the floor; it was like a sponge, being eaten from end to end by the white ants... a strong wind might at any moment bring the whole roof down.14

Extensions to the school in the form of verandahs, costing £106, were made at this time. Another addition to the school's property was an outdoor gymnasium which Mr. Hurworth supplied. It consisted of ropes, ladders, climbing poles and the like and, to dedicated educationists, the marked increase in regularity and punctuality that this equipment was responsible for must have been even more outstanding and gratifying than the physical fitness it promoted in the scholars. Anderson, the Inspector, was impressed enough to report: "This school can now boast the most complete gymnasium in the Colony."15

Hurworth was more successful than his predecessor in arousing local interest in the school. In December 1875, Mr. Hurworth held a Public Examination of the School, to which parents were invited. This was a common practice in schools of the period. Oral examinations in Grammar, Object Lessons, Spellings, Mental Arithmetic and Geography were given, these being interspersed by recitations and songs from the pupils.16 Mr. Hurworth further succeeded in getting together a School Committee in July, 1876. Its members selected from twelve nominees, were August Rode, John Westphall, Hermann Goeldner, William Robinson, and Joseph Melton. All were farmers except Westphall, a blacksmith, and Melton a gardener.17

16. Cf. Hurworth to Board of General Education, 7 December 1875, School File - German Station for letter requesting permission to hold public examination.
All gave as their address either German Station or Kedron Brook.

That German Station in 1876 was still very much a country settlement is shown by the fact that Hurworth asked that his pupil-teacher son be transferred to the Brisbane Normal School, to give him more experience than could be obtained in the small country school of German Station.\(^{18}\)

By 1877, two new Government schools, within a radius of three miles of the German Station School, had been built at Nudgee and Zillman's Waterholes (now Zillmere). As a result, the attendance, which had risen to above eighty, now began to drop, as pupils left the school at German Station to attend the schools nearer their homes. In 1877 the usual daily attendance was only about sixty.

During James Keys' term as Headmaster (April 1877 - December, 1878) another new school was begun in the district by a German minister. The school attracted many of the children of his fellow countrymen, and the average attendance at the State School was only forty-five.\(^{19}\)

James Mitchinson was appointed Head Teacher of the school in January 1879. He and his wife, who also taught there, were for some time unpopular in the district. Complaints to the Department of Public Instruction were made about him by local residents, and several of the children were removed to the Valley and Zillman's Waterholes State Schools. The Department instructed the District Inspector, J. Platt, to investigate the matter. He found that the parents who placed their children in the Valley School believed they would be better taught in a town school, that the progress of

\(^{18}\) Cf. Hurworth to Board of General Education, 10 January 1876. School File - German Station.

\(^{19}\) Cf. James Keys to Board of General Education, 12 August 1878. School File - German Station.
the pupils had indeed been slow and unsatisfactory, that the School Committee was in no way hostile to Mr. Mitchinson, but only concerned for the reputation of the school, and that the grievances against Mitchinson amounted to very little. He also stated what were probably the real reasons for the district's antagonism to Mr. Mitchinson:

Some of those who left were well satisfied till that notion (the superiority of town schools) was put into their heads. He (Mr. Mitchinson) thinks some don't like him because he drives into town to church on Sunday instead of going to their chapel; on coming home one afternoon he found a 'tract' on 'Sabbath-breaking' stuck on his gate. He has been told they want to get 'young Hurworth' out there because he married one of the Stuckeys and is in that way connected with several families here.20

"Young Hurworth" was the popular Mr. Hurworth's son Edward, by then a fully-fledged teacher. Accepting Piatt's conviction that the storm was of tea-cup proportions, the Department left Mitchinson there to weather it. He remained until 1883, when James G. Stewart replaced him. Stewart's wife took the place of Mrs. Mitchinson as assistant teacher.

The building of the railway through Nundah to Sandgate in 1882 led to large numbers of families settling in German Station (from then on called 'Nundah'), and as a result the school enrollment quickly built up. In 1886, the Head Teacher who followed Stewart, Arthur Outridge, asked for more space to house the 114 pupils who attended (on an average) each day. The number actually on roll was 143. Extensions to the value of £435 were authorized by the Department.21

20. Inspector's Report, 17 September 1880, School File - German Station.
21. CF. Agreement between Department of Public Instruction and William Johnson, contractor, 13 December 1886, School File - German Station.
In April, 1889, Mr. Outridge requested more staff, and stated that the daily attendance was almost 200, with a tendency to rise. He listed his staff and the number of pupils they taught as follows:

1 H.T. (Mr. Outridge) 20 pupils
1 A.T.1 (Mr. Flint) 40 "
1 female A.T. III3 (Miss Milson) 40 "
2 " pt4 (Misses Laird and Primrose) 70 "
1 male pt 1 (Mr. Krone) 20 "
6 hands 190 pupils.22

Outridge recommended Lucy Ferguson and Charles Irvine as suitable pupil teachers. The Department appointed the latter.

In 1896, a new teacher's residence was built (for £522). The fraction required to be publicly subscribed for such a building had been reduced from one-third to one-fifth of the total cost. The School Committee, chaired by Henry Crouch, encountered some unpleasantness and opposition from members of the community who objected to contributing towards a house for a civil servant,23 but the money was raised.

Arthur Outridge remained Head of the school until 1900.24 During the nineties, attendance and staff numbers continued to increase, for Nundah was enjoying a vogue of popularity as a new residential suburb. Other schools were begun - Major A.J. Boyd

23. Cf. Henry Crouch to Department of Public Instruction, 11 June 1897, School File - Nundah.
24. Older residents who were his pupils speak of the high regard in which he was held as a teacher. Now in his eighties, Outridge was present at the Nundah State School celebrations last year.
(earlier Headmaster of Toowoomba Grammar School) commenced a school at the end of the road now bearing his name, in 1893; Polly Hows, one of Charles Hows' three daughters,\textsuperscript{25} ran a school in Hows Road in the nineties; the Catholic convent began in 1902. Today, the Nundah State School has over 800 students on its roll.

\textsuperscript{25} Charles Hows owned a large area of land near the heart of Nundah (see Chapter VI). His eldest daughter married John W. Zillman, fourth son of the missionary, Leopold Zillman.
(ii) Churches.

Although the mission to the aborigines at Zion's Hill had been virtually abandoned by 1846, the religious spirit of the settlement remained. The former missionaries continued to preach in various parts of the Brisbane district and several of the lay-members of the group studied for the ministry at Dr. Lang's College in Sydney. They could ultimately number among themselves clergymen of the Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan Methodist Churches. As well, they provided a haven for many a lost minister in search of a congregation, welcoming into their homes at Zion's Hill ministers of every denomination, and encouraging the establishment of congregations of the various religious leanings, showing perhaps a preference for the evangelical and non-conformist creeds.

The Rev. W.C. Schmidt left the Station in 1845, thus depriving the little community of a resident minister. The first clergyman to conduct regular services at the Station after Schmidt's departure was the Rev. W. Moore. He was sent to Moreton Bay in 1847 by the Rev. W.B. Boyce, general superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, Sydney, following an urgent request to him for a minister in Brisbane although the 1846 census shows there were only twenty-four Methodists in the town.¹ On arrival, Mr. Moore was taken to the German Station and he spent the first night of his new post in the home of Leopold Zillman. The next day, Zillman took Mr. and Mrs. Moore to Brisbane and secured for them a dwelling in Queen Street. Two days later, on Wednesday, October 17th 1847, Mr. Moore returned to the Station

and held a service, the first Methodist service in Queensland. On
the following Sunday, Mr. Moore conducted his first service in the
township. 2

For two years Moore ministered to the people of Moreton Bay,
and he saw the first Methodist churches erected in Brisbane and
Ipswich. Methodism was enthusiastically received by the German
Station settlers. Messrs. Zillman, Gericks, Gerler and Niquet
served as local preachers and church officers. In 1858, Zillman
became Circuit Steward of the Wesleyan Brisbane Circuit.

Before discussing the church building activity that began at
German Station in the fifties, mention must be made of the kindness
shown by the missionaries to the Rev. John Gregor. Gregor was a
Church of England minister who, for seven months prior to his death
in January 1848, lived with the missionaries at the Station, travell­
ing into Brisbane when necessary to perform services. Just why he
lived there is not entirely clear. One letter-writer to the
Moreton Bay Courier claimed:

...Persecuted and rejected as was the unfortunate deceased
in his life. Dependent as he was to the last hour of his
existence for shelter on those who owned neither his country
nor his church... 3

Another writer hastened to contradict this:

...Mr. Gregor's residence at the German's Station was entirely
from his own choice, as I have frequently heard him say that
he preferred living amongst those quiet and orderly people to
the bustle of the town. 4

2. Cf. Rev. G.W. Pittendrigh, Methodism in Mundah (Brisbane 1937)
p. 2.
3. Letter from "A Member of the Church of England", "Moreton Bay
Courier", 29 January, 1848. Dr. Lang did not share this opinion.
In Cooksland (p.475) he wrote; Mr. Gregor had contrived within
a very short period from the time of his arrival at Moreton Bay, to
alienate the affections of the entire Episcopalian community
in the district from his person and ministry, and to forfeit all
title to their confidence and respect."
The occasion that prompted these letters was Mr. Gregor's funeral, following his death in a drowning accident in Kedron Brook at German Station.  

In 1854 a small undenomination hall was erected by public subscription at Zion's Hill. It was used for church services by all comers. This was the building in which George Walker conducted day school and Sunday school for the German Station children. One who frequently conducted services in the hall from an early date was the Rev. B.J. Wilson, of the Jireh Baptist Church in the Valley. The hall was later purchased by the Baptist Church and moved to the site of the Hendra (now the Clayfield) Baptist Church.

Two of the former lay-missionaries who were ordained from Dr. Lang's College and returned in the early fifties to German Station were Gottfried Wagner and John G. Haussmann. The latter concentrated upon the missionaries' former work of converting the aborigines for the two years he remained at the Station.

Since the German settlers at Zion's Hill came into contact with and were apparently influenced by the teachings of ministers of so many different denominations, it is little wonder that the original Lutheran theology in which they had originally been trained became somewhat blurred in their minds. Pastor Matthias Goethe, a Lutheran minister in Melbourne, found that this was the case, when he visited the settlement at Nundah in 1856. However, he was looking for as many helpers as possible, and was glad to take Peter Niquet and Wilhelm Gericke back with him to Victoria to serve as

5. For an account by two of the missionaries, Theodore Franz and John Peter Niquet, see the "Moreton Bay Courier", 29 January 1848
Lutheran pastors. On his visit, Goethe organized the Zion's Hill settlers into a Lutheran congregation, and at a meeting on October 28th 1856, he persuaded the congregation to join the newly-constituted Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Victoria. He ordained the lay-missionary Carl Gerler and arranged that Pastor Gerler should minister to the Zion's Hill Lutherans, while the Rev. Gottfried Wagner should visit his countrymen in the outlying districts. The ministering duties of these two men did not constitute a full-time occupation, for both continued to work their farms profitably.

In 1857 the community received a visit (this time of a more permanent nature) from another Lutheran minister, the Gossner trained Rev. C.F.A. Schirmeister. He had come to join his brother-in-law, Pastor Gericke, who, having found the task in Victoria too great, had returned to farming at German Station. Schirmeister, on arrival, found that the Rev. M. Goethe's success had been short-lived. F.O. Thiele in his book "One Hundred Years of the Lutheran Church in Queensland", writes that Schirmeister found

... the newly-formed congregation had become disintegrated. The missionary colonists had never been Lutherans in the stricter sense of the term, and now the one or the other insisted on being a member of the Church of Scotland under whose auspices they had been working, whilst others discarded even the general principles of their 'Father Gossner' and of the Presbyterian Church, and joined the Baptist Church, and other sects which had established themselves in the district. Schirmeister... could not agree with the position taken up by most of the leaders of the congregation at Zion's Hill.7

Pastor Schirmeister gave up hope of forming a congregation there, and concentrated on attending to the needs of the German Lutherans in Brisbane town, although he and his family continued to live at German Station.

7. Ibid. p.8.
One of the ex-missionaries who returned to a Lutheran congregation was John Zillman. He was a foundation member of St. John's Lutheran Church at Zillman's Waterholes (now Zillmere, a neighbouring suburb of Nundah) in 1865. The first church of St. John's was a small slab building with a shingle roof. Apart from Zillman its first members were settlers more recently arrived from Germany, and included W. Werda, C. Stabe, C. Prachart, C. Beckman and W. Duckivitz. A new church was built about ten years later, when Pastor A.D. Hartwig was ministering to the congregation. The building of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Nudgee Road Nundah took place in the year following the opening of St. John's at Zillmere. St. Paul's was built on land donated by David Wildermuth and was located about a mile to the east of the present Nundah shopping centre. Wildermuth was one of the 1863 German immigrants who settled in the German Station area, and it was certainly the presence of these migrants rather than of their predecessors of 1838 that prompted the renewed Lutheran activity around the settlement.

Pastor Frederick Copas, one of a party of men from the Gossner Mission sent to Brisbane in 1866, became pastor of St. John's and St. Paul's on his arrival. He remained at this post until 1877, his replacement being Pastor E.O. Maier from Switzerland. In March 1883 a new church was erected on the Nudgee Road (St. Paul's) site. This building forms the main part of the present St. Paul's Church there. Pastor Maier left for Charters Towers shortly after the building of the church and his place was taken by Pastor T.E. Egen, who had previously been pastor to a congregation in the Riverina District of New South Wales. Pastor Egen is still remembered by
Nundah people, whom he served until 1924. In 1895, the third Lutheran Church in the district was erected in Nundah Street. Pastor Egen ministered to this church also. Because of the preponderance of Germans amongst its early settlers, Nundah, even today, is a stronghold of Queensland Lutheranism.

The other churches, however, were not neglected. Nor did they neglect Nundah. The Methodist services, which the Rev. W. Moore had so early begun on Zion's Hill, continued on in the fifties in the small undenominational hall (sometimes referred to as the "Union Church") until 1858. Rev. C. Pittendrigh in his booklet "Methodism in Nundah, 1847-1957" says that "conditions" made it advisable to withdraw from the Union Church and Methodist services were for a while held in a private home. Just what the "conditions" influencing this change of venue were, is open to conjecture, but perhaps the popularity of German Station amongst preachers of the various denominations meant that Sundays in the little hall were observed by an assortment of ministers and congregations confusing to the preachers and the worshippers alike. Whatever the cause, the Methodists abandoned the hall as a place of worship. Their own church they built at a cost of £150, beside Kedron Brook, on the southern side of what is now Walker's Way on a site donated by John Zillman, who, it will be remembered, was Brisbane Circuit Steward for the Wesleyan (now Methodist) Church in 1858. The new church was opened on April 24th 1859, with the Revs. S. Wilkinson and W. Curnow con-

ducting services for the occasion. Two years later, trustees were appointed to the chapel. They were Messrs. Zillman, Ballard, Lancaster, McMaster, Sutherland and Jarrot.

Until the eighties, there was no resident Methodist minister at Nundah. As part of the Brisbane Circuit until 1867, and then of the Valley Circuit, the Church at German Station was visited regularly by ministers from these two centres. There were also lay preachers in the district, and their efforts increased the influence of the Church. About 1867, the church was moved to a new site donated by J. Sutherland, at the corner of Buckland and Sandgate Roads. Like many of the buildings in Nundah (and other parts of Queensland) in the nineteenth century, the church building fell a prey to the insatiable white ants: it rocked in the wind, and the spongey appearance of its wood offended the eyes of the worshippers in it. The Rev. G.O. Cocks and his congregation raised funds for a new church, which was completed in 1882. It was built in Union Street, just about on the original mission site at Zion's Hill, on land donated by Mr. Hows. This building forms part of the present Nundah Methodist Church. Mr. Cocks, the first resident Methodist minister at Nundah recalled in 1937 "... my two years there were among the happiest in my ministerial life." He listed the Ambrose and Benjamin Rode families, the Wagners, the Meltons, the Sargeants, the Hows, the Atthows and the Robinsons as ardent workers for this church in the 1880's. A parsonage was built in 1886, and was first occupied by Rev. F.E. Fletcher M.A. and his wife. The Valley Circuit was divided in 1894, and the Nundah Circuit was

10. Ibid., p.8.
formed. It included the suburbs of Nundah, Nudgee, Eagle Farm, Myrtle Town, Zillmere and Downfall Creek.

George Walker's Sunday School provided lessons for children of all faiths from 1853, but a Sunday School specifically for Wesleyans was in operation from as early as 1858. Martha Zillman, a daughter of Leopold Zillman, was its first teacher. The first superintendent named in the church records is John McMaster, but he was apparently recruited into the job long before the 1872 date at which the church's records of its Sunday School superintendents commence. John Zillman has written of how McMaster began this job:

... On dismissing the children one Sunday she (Martha Zillman) came out of the church and saw Mr. McMaster, Mr. Tom and Mr. Melton, standing talking. She said, 'a lot of children like this is too much for one woman. You men ought to come and help me.' Mr. McMaster himself tells the following - 'I said I knew a little of my Bible, but not enough to teach. However, I came next Sunday and after the classes were taught, Miss Zillman came and told me that I must give an address. What could I do? I had never attempted such a thing in my life. However, there were about twenty or thirty or more children. I could not say much, but did the best I could.' The address he gave was about up to my father's standard who told Mr. McMaster he preached like an angel. 'Well', Mr. McMaster said, 'I preach the very best I can and an angel could not do more.'

McMaster continued with his addresses to the children and, as noted, eventually became the School's superintendent. John Zillman says that McMaster developed into a local preacher of considerable skill. Doubtless the practice in rhetoric thus afforded him stood him in good stead when he became an alderman. Carl Gerler took McMaster's place as superintendent, and in 1879 Henry Robinson was appointed to the office, which he held for several years after the new church

12. Ibid.
was built. In 1893, John Corbett was in charge and, according to the records, "the school was flourishing."  

Other activities associated with the Church were a choir, which accompanied services in the 1882 building soon after its completion, a Ladies' Sewing Guild, which was in operation by 1894, a Christian Endeavour Society for young people, begun in 1895, and a cricket club, commenced in the early eighties. Obviously, by the mid-nineties, the Nundah Methodist Church had acquired a following that was strong in number and enthusiasm, besides most of the features and activities which the majority of churches consider essential for their proper functioning.

It was previously mentioned that the undenominational Hall at Zion's Hill was purchased and removed by the Baptists and became the Hendra Baptist Church. Baptist followers in Nundah travelled to this Hendra Church for services. However in 1888, thirteen Nundah Baptists met to form a congregation of their own. They held their meetings in a shop (no longer standing) on the northeast corner of Sandgate and Buckland Roads. In July of that year they obtained a church building in which to meet. This was the Fortesque Street Baptist Church, which they had transferred to Chapel Street in Nundah. Although he was not stationed at Nundah, the Rev. T.U. Simmons helped the small congregation and conducted services for them in their church. During the 'nineties, the Rev. James Watson took up the post of minister to the church, and at about the turn of the century his place was taken by the Rev. A.D. Shaw.

13. Pittendrigh, op. cit., p.11.
14. They were: Mr. & Mrs F. Irvine, Mr. & Mrs T. Went, Mr. & Mrs J. Gleadhill, Mr. & Mrs M.E. Burnard, Mr. & Mrs John Shaw, Mr. & Mrs J.D. Carter, together with Rev. T.U. Simmons. Information supplied by A.G. Shaw, Nundah resident.
About the same time as the Baptist Church was establishing itself in Nundah, the Anglican Church set about providing for its followers in the suburb. Followers of the Anglican faith who lived in the northern suburbs attended St. Andrew's Lutwyche (after its erection in 1866) or else journeyed into town each Sunday. The Anglican Church at Nundah, St. Francis', was opened in April 1887. It was situated on Sandgate Road, just above where the railway line crosses Kedron Brook. To begin with, St. Francis' was within the parish of Clayfield, and a minister came from there every Sunday. It was the Rev. Mr. Heath, of the Clayfield Church, who was chiefly responsible for establishing St. Francis'. Not until this century (1901) was a resident vicar provided for the Nundah Anglican Church, which, after a temporary move to Donkin Street, is now situated in Olive Street.

The other denominations came on to the Nundah scene rather later. The first Catholic Church was erected in 1904, so falls outside the scope of this study. Before this date Catholics in the district attended the Church at Woolloowin, then called Lutwyche, where the church, still in use, was opened in 1886, or the more central St. Patrick's in the Valley, or the Cathedral in town. Nudgee, a neighbouring suburb of Nundah, was an early centre of Catholic activity. Here, Bishop O'Quinn had purchased a large area of land in 1863. Use was first made of this in 1868 when St. Vincent's Orphanage, run by the Sisters of Mercy, moved out there from the Valley. The annual examination of the orphanage children became in the 1870's, the occasion for many of Brisbane's distinguished citizens to make their way by carriage (and after
159 by train) to Nudgee for a day's outing. Numbers of the Presbyterian faithful were comparatively few in Nundah in the nineteenth century, despite the fact that it was this church, under Dr. Lang, that was responsible for bringing out the Lutheran missionaries in 1838. It was in 1930 that the Nundah Presbyterian Church was built in Rode Road; before this, Nundah followers attended the Presbyterian Church at Virginia. The Salvation Army Temple, situated in Bade Street, on land donated by the Rode family, is another addition to the churches of Nundah made in the present century.

To deduce from the building and other activities by the various denominations that (missionaries apart) Nundah people were more religious or more interested in church-going than the people of any other Brisbane suburb would be foolish and unrealistic. What had taken place here by 1890 was being paralleled in other suburbs that were developing at this time, such as Toowong, Bowen Hills, Lutwyche and Red Hill, and would be paralleled later in other suburbs not then developing. The church activity is however, an indication that Nundah was conforming to the pattern for suburban development in Brisbane in yet another sphere.

CHAPTER V.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

After the separation of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859, legislation to provide for municipalities and their councils was implemented by the newly-formed Queensland Government to replace the New South Wales Municipalities Act. Under the new legislation, Brisbane was proclaimed a municipality, and a council was established to provide the usual services of a local governing body. The Brisbane Municipal Council was the one body in Brisbane responsible for these services until 1880, when there began an experiment in which, in place of centralization of municipal power and duties, a number of local authorities were established. The experiment was made possible by the Local Government Act of 1878 and the Divisional Boards Act of 1879. Government of various sections of the Brisbane Municipality was placed in the hands of Divisional Boards. Altogether fifteen boards were set up in the Brisbane area, before the system was abandoned in 1924, mainly because a number of matters, such as health, water supply, and traffic control, had come to be centrally administered and no suitable means had been devised to coordinate the administration of these matters with the administration of other services by the various local boards. Brisbane then reverted to its former system of complete centralization of municipal government.

The chief concern here, of course, is with local government in the Nundah area. The contribution by the early Brisbane Municipal Council towards the establishment of facilities in the area was very small. The rough track from German Station to Brisbane
through the Clayfield scrub and over Cowlishaw's Hill was not provided or improved by the Council but beaten by the farmers who made the journey to and from town. By-laws which applied to the disposal of animal carcases, regulation of slaughter-yards, maintenance of a source of unpolluted water, collection of rates, etc., were enforced here as they were anywhere else in Brisbane. However, during most of the Municipal Council's lifetime, Brisbane's population was not large. The small numbers of farmers, plus their natural concern for their own health and the smooth running of their farms, ensured that the Council had to do little to enforce its few regulations. Small wonder then that there were few signs of the existence of a local authority in the Nundah area while it was under the administration of the Brisbane Municipal Council.

Local Government under the new scheme came to Nundah in June 1880, when the Nundah Divisional Board, one of the first to be proclaimed, was formed. It had control over the Nundah Division, which covered an area of about thirty square miles, extending from Bald Hills in the north-west to Myrtle Town at the mouth of the Brisbane River in the south-east. To begin with, the whole division was classified as "country". There were nine Board members, three for each of the three sub-divisions of the whole division. The first members of the Board were appointed by the Queensland Government, but from 1882 the ratepayers elected their own representatives for their sub-divisions every year. The

2. As provided in the "Act to amend 'The Divisional Boards Act of 1879'," passed in December 1882.
chairman, Government-appointed to commence with, and voted into the same office in the first election of the division, was John F. Buckland, a Member of the Legislative Assembly and an auctioneer and agent in the city, who was to give more than a decade of service to local government in Nundah. Other early board members who spent much time in succeeding years in local government included August Rode, Charles Duncan, William Widdop and David Childs. Subdivision number three of the Nundah Division was the most easterly of the three, and covered an area which embraced, among others, the present-day suburbs of Nudgee, Banyo, Nundah, Clayfield, Hamilton and Pinkenba.

A considerable amount of the Board's revenue went to road forming and maintenance. The important arterial roads, Gympie Road, which linked Brisbane with the north coast, and Sandgate Road, which connected Sandgate with Brisbane, both traversed the Division for several miles, and adequate maintenance of them was necessary and expensive. The numerous creeks running through the division ensured a ready supply of water to most settlers. Several pumps were installed by the Board in some of the creeks to make the water more accessible. Oversupply of water, on the other hand, also presented problems. Much of the area three miles, and occasionally farther inland from the bay was low lying and swampy, of little use to farmers and, without drainage, beyond consideration as a residential area.

Suitable land in subdivision number three, south of Nundah, but reaching northwards towards it from the Hamilton Reach, was, by the 'eighties, being used for residential purposes. The new residents, unlike the established ones, were not farmers but trades-
men, office-workers, shop-keepers and assistants. During the first three years of the Board's existence, they felt and voiced increasing discontent with their form of local government. It seemed to them that on a board in which only three of the nine members represented their interests, their subdivision suffered at the expense of the other two subdivisions, farming districts with six representatives.

The main specific grievance of rate-payers in sub-division number three, according to a petition they drew up, was the disproportionate allotment of the money obtained from rates in the division. Figures from the year 1882 were quoted to support the claim that while their subdivision contributed more than the other two together in rates, it did not receive the same fraction of the expenditure. The petition, which sought the creation of a new division and board to replace the third subdivision, further advanced that the area which they desired to be the new division was separated from the rest of the Nundah Division by three natural boundaries (Nundah Creek in the north, Moreton Bay in the east, and the Brisbane River in the south), and that there were problems and features peculiar to the area - mainly those associated with river control and traffic - which required the close attention of a board concerned solely with the area. The petition was signed by about one hundred and eighty ratepayers, the name of John Buckland, chairman of the Nundah Board, heading the list.

3. See petition to Minister for Works, 25 July 1883 Toombul Divisional Board File. The income from Subdivisions 1 and 2 for 1882 was quoted as £732/12/8, while that from Subdivision 3 was £1,982/4/11. While the expenditure on each subdivision is not given, the petitioners claimed: "The Balance sheets for the last three years show a fair proportion of rates collected and the Endowment thereon, not spent within Subdivision three."
The Executive Council complied with the request of the ratepayers and authorised, on October 31st 1883, the establishment of a new division in place of subdivision number three. A Board of three members for the new Toombul Division was also authorised, and John Buckland, David Childs and August Rode were recommended as the members. The new board served the area suggested by the petitioners, extending south to north from the Hamilton Reach of the Brisbane River to Nundah Creek, and east to west from Moreton Bay to a boundary extending roughly northwards from the junction of Breakfast Creek and the river.

Although Nundah now found itself in the urban-orientated Toombul Division, it was naturally slower than the suburbs closer to the river and therefore to the city to attract a more concentrated population. Those who chose it for their home sites between 1880 and 1900 generally did so because its comparatively greater distance from the city made land cheaper than in the Albion-Clayfield area. One interesting result was that then (as now) the majority of Nundah's residents came from that rather broad monetary classification which is commonly called "middle class".

Buckland, Childs and Rode, the members recommended by the Executive Council, duly occupied their positions on the new Toombul Divisional Board. The Minute Books show that from its first meeting, held on the afternoon of November 22nd, 1883 in the Ann Street Protestant Hall, the board began immediately to attend, in business-like manner, to the various duties required of it: resolutions providing for the opening of a bank account, for the writing-up of copies of the Valuation Registers and Rates Books,

and for the future election by ballot by Board members were passed; plans to adjust expenditure with the Nundah Divisional Board were also made, a regular monthly meeting time was decided on, and a site for an office for the Board was considered.⁵

Keeping faith with those who had petitioned for the new division, and alleviating a pressing need in the area, the Board soon set about improving means of communication. The first official naming of roads in the area,⁶ construction of new roads and the forming and gravelling of existing ones received considerable attention from the Board, and a considerable portion of rate money. The Breakfast Creek Bridge, main link between the city and the district, previously notoriously unreliable, was repaired by the board at an early date and later, replaced.⁷

Attention, too, was given to improving the river bank. Retaining walls were erected to support the banks, Moreton Bay fings planted to adorn them. In August 1885, plans for wharves along the Hamilton Reach were reviewed by the board,⁸ and the first wharves there, the beginnings of the extensive loading and unloading facilities at Hamilton today, were shortly afterwards built and leased.

While the Board prepared for commercial activity along the river bank and urban development in the adjacent areas, the Minute Books indicate that the needs of German Station and other, at that time, outlying areas of the division were not neglected. The

6. These included Sandgate, Hamilton, Racecourse, Buckland and Rode Roads, which are today main thoroughfares in the district.
7. The Booroobdin Board on the Brisbane side of the Creek refusing to contribute towards the cost of the bridge, the Toombul Board was obliged to foot the entire bill.
8. Minutes of meeting 1 August 1885, Minute Book of Toombul Divisional Board.
erection and repair of dams, pumps, drains, roads and culverts, the supervision of dairies and slaughter houses and the destruction of animal carcases in these areas were all effected by the Board. In short; if one can judge from the Minutes of the meetings, and from available accounts of the Board's activities (generally eulogistic, perhaps because they have been invariably based on material supplied by members of the Board or their descendants), the Board provided the outlying district with all the facilities necessary to a rural population.

How rapid was the increase in land and building values in the division is illustrated by the fact that the value of rateable property nearly doubled between 1884 and 1885. Growth of the division necessitated an increase in the Board's membership from three to six in April 1884, and from six to nine in 1888, when the area under the Board's care was divided into three subdivisions. Subdivision number one was the most populous, comprising most of the new suburban areas. Subdivision number two, to the east of number one, extending along the north bank of the river to Moreton Bay, was an area with few people and was practically undeveloped. Subdivision number three was the portion of the Toombul Division north of Racecourse Reserve. This last included Nundah.

By 1890 another breakaway movement had begun. Once more the reason was the realisation of a difference of interests between two sections of the division. In 1887, certain portions had been proclaimed suburban land, and it was the ratepayers from the suburban

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9. e.g. Article on Shire of Toombul in Brisbane Centenary Official Historical Souvenir - August 1924 (Brisbane, 1924).
10. In 1884 £1,172/17/6 was collected in rates; in 1885, £2,076/16/-.
section (mainly subdivision number one of the Toombul Division) who desired the formation of a new division and board to provide for their interests. The proposed division was a popular topic of debate, as ratepayers and board members squabbled over proposed new boundaries or denied the need for a new division at all. Several opposing petitions were circulated for signatures. The end result was the authorization of the new Board of the new Breakfast Creek Division on May 16th 1890.

As a result of the formation of the new Board, the Toombul Board went out of existence in 1891, and the boundaries of the Nundah Division were altered to include the part of Toombul Division not contained in the Breakfast Creek Division. The suburb of Nundah was once again in the Nundah Division, the same division from which the German Station ratepayers had sought to remove themselves in 1883 when they petitioned for a new board. Returning to the Nundah Division was not, however, a retrograde step for the ratepayers. In the 1890's the Nundah Division was no longer considered too far distant for suburban development by some Brisbane townpeople, and the division lost its predominantly rural character as suburbia spread rapidly. Many of the old estates were subdivided into small allotments, and the Nundah Board had a busy time providing new roads, drainage, and other facilities to the new residential areas - in short, adjusting itself to the changing pattern of life in the division.

The influx of residents to Nundah had one noteworthy effect on the general character of the suburb's population. The new residents were of the same varied origins as those moving into any

11. See Toombul Divisional Board File.
other Brisbane suburb of the time. This meant that in fact, as in name, Nundah was no longer a "German Station". While the old families were still to be found in Nundah in the 'nineties, the preponderance of Germans and those of German stock was not, and the new arrivals, by their greater numbers, by their (in comparison) heterogeneity of background, and by their collective similarity with residents in other suburbs, destroyed many of the characteristics which had distinguished the people of Nundah from the rest of Brisbane's population since 1838.
CHAPTER VI.

BEGINNING OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

NUNDAH BECOMES A SUBURB.

It was during the eighties that Nundah began to acquire the characteristics which shape the suburb today. Shops, services, industries, the railway, homes belonging to non-farming workers, and a great many more people - all these made their appearance at Nundah in the eighties. They were all aspects of a period of development which began in that decade and which transformed a rural hamlet into one of the suburban centres of Brisbane. The object of this chapter will be to examine the beginnings of commercial enterprise and services for health, protection and communication in Nundah and hence show that by the nineties, the above-mentioned transformation had commenced and that the strength of its beginnings was such that there could be no reverting to the isolated farming district of earlier years.

The previous chapter mentioned the expansion of Brisbane's residential area during the sixties and seventies. This was an indication of the town's growing population, business and industry. German Station farmers on their way to town in the seventies would pass through quite a bustling show of habitation at the Albion, and again at Hamilton, before crossing Breakfast Creek. The older industries of Brisbane, the slaughteryards, the tanneries, the stone quarries and the sawmills were supplemented by others catering for the more specialized tastes of a complex and prospering society. Foundries, food-processing factories, a brewery - these were first established in Brisbane in the seventies. It was a period of...
stimulus and growth in the town's economy.¹

Not immediately, but inevitably, the settlement at German Station felt this quickened pulse. The main land-owners in that part of Nundah and Toombul where business activity commenced and still continues were Henry Donkin, who had purchased a large area of land from August Rode, Charles Hows, and George Bridges.² In the eighties they subdivided much of this land and rented or sold it to newcomers to the district.

Prior to the eighties, the only local ventures not directly related to the land were the blacksmith establishments of William Westfall (on Sandgate Road, near Nudgee Waterhole), and Ted Buck's father (on the corner of London Street and Northgate Road), Gottschalk's wheelwright shop (began in 1865, it was situated just across Kedron Brook, on the Brisbane side), and Wilhelm Gerricke's general store (near the original mission site).

The first business undertaking not catering for the farmers' immediate requirements was the Queensland Railway Carriage and Wagon Co., first owned by a Brisbane businessman called Smellie, and purchased from him in the nineties by George Agnew. This was located just north of the present Nundah Railway Station, where Plaisted's mill and garage now stand. Springs providing an abundant and easily accessible water supply were responsible for the Works' particular location. A dam (which became the local swimming hole)

Information on dates of commencement of businesses and their locations has come from various sources: from notes in hands of G. Dawson, from Mrs. V. Corbett, Syd. Sluice, F. Jordan, Dennis Cleary, Mr. & Mrs. V. Hemmings and other residents of the Nundah-Toombul-Wavell Heights area. Where possible, information from one source has been cross-checked with that supplied by other sources.

2. See Map IV in back folder.
was built to contain the water, which was used in the boilers. The sheds were long enough to house the whole length of a train of carriages. The carriage-building works brought many families to Nundah. Many old houses were moved there for the Works' employees. It is interesting to note in passing that a number of electric trams, including Tram No 2., patterned on Tram No 1., which was imported from America, were built at the Works around the turn of the century.

The year which saw the establishment of the carriage works - 1882 - saw also the coming of the railway to Nundah. It was William Westfall who supplied all the iron work for the construction of this line to Sandgate. The railway was the biggest single factor responsible for bringing large numbers of residents to the Nundah area. The increased population caused numerous other businesses to establish themselves at this time. Those begun in the early eighties appear to have been Halliday's general store (the first store in Nundah itself), Irvine's drapery and boots shop (at the corner of Sandgate Road and Boyd Road), George Parker's shop (he was the first bootmaker and barber in Nundah), and Hathaway's bakery (in Buckland Road, and later in Boyd Road). Bill Franklin began as a builder in the district in 1882. Another service, the building of tombstones (for use in the small local cemetery, still in existence), was performed by a Mr. Neville from 1883. At this time also, an early farmer of West Nundah (now Wavell Heights), Mr. Bilsen, built a hall - known as Bilsen's Hall - on the corner of Eton Street and Sandgate Road.

Following the construction of the railway, the Government extended other services to Nundah. In 1883 the Police Station was
built, on its present location in Station Street - in fact the original building, comprising two rooms, plus cells and an office, is incorporated in the present structure. Although the Police Station itself has no record of its early personnel, other evidence suggests that the first policeman in charge was Sergeant Primrose, who vacated the post in 1891. The first post office was opened in 1883 (probably housed in the railway station), with Mrs. R. Cooke the first postmistress, on a salary of £25 p.a. In October of that year, A.E. Oxenham took over, while the following month saw Mrs. J. Ferguson in charge. She remained the postmistress until at least 1894. In the same year as the Post Office opened, a Telegraph Office was opened at the railway station, and a morse operator was stationed there.

In the second half of the eighties, other businesses began. G. Attewell and E. Procter established themselves as saw-millers and builders in 1887. The firm still occupies its original position in Union Street. John Corbett, an Irish emigrant of 1884, befriended by August Rode, was a builder in the district before joining the firm of Attewell and Procter in 1891. John Him started out as a tin-smith in 1886. His kettles and pans business quickly expanded and he was soon employing plumbers in order to make the most of the building boom in the district. The firm, John Him, Plumber, is still in the hands of the family, functioning on what was the site of Bilsen's Hall. Oliver Collins began the

3. Information supplied by officers of Nundah Police Station.
4. This seems likely as A.E. Oxenham, the second to take charge of the Post Office, was also the Station Master.
5. Information supplied by Public Relations Officer, Post Master General's Department.
second bakery in Nundah, at the corner of Eton Street and Sandgate Road (where Curran's Bakery now stands). About the same time, Alf Tainton, also a baker, set up shop, on the present site of Waltons in Sandgate Road. Britton's grocery shop was another which began in the late eighties, opposite Bilsen's Hall.

Medical assistance to the inhabitants of Nundah has yet to be considered. In the earlier section dealing with the missionaries, it was mentioned that Dr. Ballow came out from town to attend to the sick. For all of the nineteenth century, the district had to turn to other centres for a doctor's services. However, from the 1860's, Mrs. Gottschalk (wife of the wheelwright) acted as the local midwife, while in the 1880's there were four nurses offering their services to the local population. These were Mrs. Hindman, who kept a nursing home in Station Street, Mrs. Messenger, who had a similar establishment at the corner of Bridge Street and Sandgate Road, Mrs. Kehrer and a Nurse Kahlers.

The variety of business undertakings and services established in Nundah by the end of the eighties indicates that a centre of industry, trade and residence was taking form. It is in this form, though of a more complex degree, that we view the phenomenon of Nundah today. True, there were a few ventures the suburb was to court which resulted in ultimate failure and disappointment - in the nineties, the tobacco farms by the Brook and the coalmine behind the State School, the glass and tile manufacturing in the early years of this century - but these failures did not alter the general lines of development which were begun so firmly in the eighties.

It has been my intention to trace the history of the Nundah area in its course from mission to suburb. The creation of the
Mission, through the efforts of Dr. Lang and the Gossner-trained missionaries and Pastor Zipper, was the first stage. Less spectacular, but equally important, were the later stages, when the Mission became a farming community, and other settlers joined the ex-missionaries on the land there, and facilities for religious worship, education and local government were developed. The final stage was the emergence of Nundah as a residential area for urban workers, with a business centre to provide their services and goods. By 1890, this stage had been reached - Nundah had become a suburb.
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MAP III

Places visited or explored by the missionaries.