



## **A Food Culture Transplanted**

Origins and Development of the Food of Early German  
Immigrants to the Barossa Region, South Australia  
(1839 – 1939)

Angela Heuzenroeder

Thesis presented as requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
School of Humanities, University of Adelaide  
2006

## Contents

<b>Declaration</b>	iv
<b>Abstract</b>	v
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	vi
<b>Terminology</b>	vii
<b>Maps and Illustrations</b>	
Maps of Europe and the route of the ships' voyages; map of the Barossa	22,23
Alexander Schramm, A Scene in South Australia, <i>circa</i> 1850	39
Minge family <i>Schweineschlachten</i> , 1913	113
Cow horns and metal horns for cleaning sausage skins, Luhrs Cottage	124
Fermentation bowls of red gum and European timber in the Tanunda museum	124
Ceiling of a <i>Schwarzeküche</i> ; Corrugated iron smokehouse	136
<i>Backofen</i> exterior; <i>Backofen</i> hearth	162
"THE BAROSSA" improved oven	302
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	1
Focus and Methods	2
German Primary and Secondary Sources of Information	8
Australian Primary and Secondary Sources of Information	11
Sources Relating to Broader Themes	13
Origins of the Emigrants and Their Reasons for Leaving Europe	15
The Situation in the Barossa	20
Hypothesis	21
<b>Chapter 2: Culture to Culture, Part One; Aboriginal Food</b>	24
Introduction	24
Elkin's Stages of Encounter: Indigenous Inhabitants and European Invaders	25
Predisposition for Accepting a New Food	29
Adopted Ingredients	30
Shared Meals	37
Adopted Recipes or Cooking Methods	41
Spiritual and Cultural Values	50
Conclusion	53

<b>Chapter 3: Culture to Culture, Part Two; People with Power</b>	56
Introduction	56
Acculturation Models and the Situation in the Barossa	57
Predisposition For Accepting a New Food	61
Adopted Ingredients	69
Shared Meals and Recipes	72
Adopted Recipes or Cooking Methods	77
Spiritual and Cultural Values: The Example of Christmas Foods	80
Conclusion	89
 <b>Chapter 4: Pork and Sausages</b>	 92
Introduction	92
Settlers' Meat Consumption Before Departure	94
Enter: The Pig	102
The Family Production of Pork Smallgoods	108
Ham	110
Cooked Sausages	118
Mettwurst	122
The Symbolism of Sausages	127
Conclusion	133
 <b>Chapter 5: Bread</b>	 137
Introduction	137
The Seeds	142
Grinding Flour	152
Mixing the Dough	154
Baking	159
Conclusion	166
 <b>Chapter 6: Honey Biscuits</b>	 168
Introduction	168
A Simplified Recipe in a New Environment?	170
Combination of the Ingredients	174
The Sweeteners	177
The Flour and the Leavening	183
Spices and Other Flavourings	185
Presentation and Decoration	192
Serving Methods and Names	196
Conclusion	198

<b>Chapter 7: Porridge, Fruit and the Dish Called <i>Rote Grütze</i></b>	203
Introduction	203
The Northern European Tradition of <i>Grütze</i>	205
The Northern European Tradition of Fruit	209
European Changes Affecting Fruit Porridges	212
Fruit Porridge in the Diet of Emigrants to South Australia	216
Porridge in the Barossa	219
Fruit in the Barossa	224
<i>Rote Grütze</i> in the Barossa	229
Conclusion	232
<b>Chapter 8: Taste Predilection; Sour and Salt in Ferment</b>	235
Introduction	235
Sour Tastes – Pickled Vegetables From East of the Elbe	240
Sour Tastes and Body Needs	245
Sour Tastes and Long-standing Habit – Four Fermented Vegetables	247
Sour Tastes, Transit and Cultural Significance	256
Sour Tastes – An Organoleptic Pleasure?	264
Conclusion	269
<b>Chapter 9: <i>The Barossa Cookery Book</i>; Local Food in the 1930s</b>	273
Introduction	273
How The Barossa Cookery Book Came Into Being	275
The Cookery Book and the Barossa’s German Background	277
Australia’s First Regional Recipe Book?	285
A Comprehensive Account of the Region’s Cuisine?	289
<i>The Barossa Cookery Book</i> : Portait of an Urbanising Society	294
Modernising the Peasant: The Arrival of Global Commodities	299
Modernising the Peasant: The Arrival of Industrialisation	301
Conclusion	307
<b>Chapter 10: Conclusion</b>	310
<b>Bibliography</b>	333

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, if it fulfills the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ANGELA HEUZENROEDER  
School of Humanities  
University of Adelaide, 2006.

## **Abstract**

The German-speaking Lutheran congregations who came to settle in the Barossa Valley, South Australia, between 1839 and 1860 brought with them traditional food customs from Silesia, Brandenburg, Posen, Mecklenburg and Saxony. Many foods that they prepared required skills developed over centuries in Europe and suited to European temperatures and climate conditions. The settlers transplanted these food practices to another part of the world and to a completely different set of environmental conditions. My thesis examines how this transplant affected the food prepared by the settlers and their descendants. Different climates and soils, new ingredients and other people's food customs tested the ancient practices. This study identifies the elements of people's food culture that endured and offers reasons for any changes. In the Barossa the settlers, their descendants and their food were in contact with two other distinct and culturally cohesive groups of people. I describe these cultural encounters and I discuss the extent to which they influenced the general food practices of the German-speaking immigrants. Of the foods still familiar to Barossa people in the early twenty-first century I examine five in turn, devoting each a chapter to discuss their origins, cultural significance and old ways of making them, and assessing how much these altered in the Australian setting. This culinary history evaluates the importance of cultural, geographic, religious, political and economic factors in the process of change. It illustrates fundamental elements of human behaviour and adaptation, all manifest in people's food.

## Acknowledgements

My thanks and gratitude go to Dr A. Lynn Martin and to Dr Robert Dare, who as my supervisors have challenged and encouraged me at every opportunity. I value the amount of time that they have spent reading my work, and I have learned a great deal from their comments. I appreciate the hospitality of Lynn and Noreen Martin and the friendship of the other history post-graduate students as well. I should also like to thank Dr Barbara Santich for her insights and for indicating many valuable resources, and Dr Roger Haden for allowing me to read his thesis, *Technologies of Taste*. Margaret Hosking, history librarian at the Barr Smith Library, was helpful with suggestions and information. The resources on the Barr Smith library website have enabled me to work from my home in the country, for which I am most grateful. The Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink has provided many ideas and contacts through its conferences and seminars. That body and the History Discipline helped me to attend a conference on culinary history at Bologna and to gather materials in Europe in 2003. These experiences greatly influenced my work.

I am also thankful to the many people in the Barossa who were willing to be interviewed and for whom no question was too small or too insignificant. They invited me into their kitchens; they showed me their family documents, cookbooks and cooking equipment; they shared their food, and I made many new friends.

The daunting task of gathering secondary source material in Europe would not have been possible without the help of Professor Dr Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and his wife, Erika, who gave me their kind hospitality and access to Professor Teuteberg's library. Primary sources in the form of old diaries and cookbooks I acquired from my dear friend and relative Ursula Lynen of Stolberg, from Inge and Günter Hunecke of Schalksmühle and from Ulrich and Ute Brunnert of Uslar. I was indeed fortunate to have their friendship, interest and support.

I am grateful to Paddy Carter and Frances Wells for checking the manuscript for punctuation and typographical errors. Finally, I thank my family for carrying on regardless and my husband, who spent solitary evenings while I worked away in front of the computer.

## **Terminology**

### **A collective term for the immigrants to the Barossa from Brandenburg, Posen, Silesia, Mecklenburg and Saxony:**

Although these people all spoke German, the kingdom of Germany did not exist when they migrated. To call them Germans does not make the important distinction that these people came from east of the Elbe and therefore lived in different conditions and under a different regime from the west. Many of them were Slavic Wendish people. Their food bore eastern European influences. Their common characteristic was that they were Lutheran. I therefore refer to them often as Lutherans, sometimes as Prussians, as German-speaking people and as eastern Europeans or people from eastern central Europe, depending on the context.

### **A term for the district in which they settled in South Australia:**

The area receives publicity as the Barossa Valley. Indeed, a shallow valley lies between the Barossa Range and a low line of hills to the west called The Moppa. The cultural area extends much further, however. Maps of the Barossa Wine Region, of the local food region defined by Food Barossa, and of the initial region settled by Lutheran congregations also cover the Barossa Range, lands to the east and north of the range, and the Lyndoch Valley as far south as Williamstown. Like other local people, I refer to this region as 'the Barossa'.

### **German and anglicised words:**

Most foreign words in this thesis are in italics, but where the word is commonly in use in the Barossa I use the current spelling, for example, mettwurst, instead of *Mettwurst*. In the German titles in the bibliography, only the first word and nouns of each begin with capital letters, in accordance with standard German spelling.

### **Australian words and spelling:**

I use Australian spelling and vocabulary. For example, the Australian word for 'cookies' is 'biscuits'.



## Chapter 1: Introduction

At the opening of the food history conference run by the Institut Européen de l'Histoire d'Alimentation in Bologna in December 2003, a geographer and a cultural historian shared the opening address. The theme of the conference was 'Alimentary Frontiers'. On one side of the dais geographer Jean-Robert Pitte spoke of the power of the structure of the earth in determining what people eat in every different location.<sup>1</sup> The configuring of France, for example, with its several microclimates and the positioning of Paris, the nerve centre taking in food from the regions as a conduit to the rest of Europe, had ultimately given rise to French gastronomy, a phenomenon that greatly influenced western cooking. Speaking on the other side of the dais, Massimo Montanari emphasised the importance of people's cultural attachment to their food.<sup>2</sup> Their eating patterns are a synthesis of their repeated customs, family practices, religious beliefs and historic experiences, all of which endow food with attributes and meaning and motivate people to pursue or reject certain foods through differing circumstances. Any confrontation with difference, however, does challenge people's food practices. Such confrontational challenges are worth examining, for the extent to which a food culture alters under pressure and why it does or does not change are questions about fundamental elements of human behaviour and adaptation. This was the rationale for the theme of the conference.

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Robert Pitte is Professor of Geography at the University of Paris IV Sorbonne and President of the Société Nationale de Géographie.

<sup>2</sup> Massimo Montanari is Professor of History at the University of Bologna, specialising in food of the Middle Ages.

## Focus and Methods

The aim of my study is to analyse people's food to discover what alters and what endures. Like Professors Pitte and Montanari, I consider that cultural pressures and the dictates of the environment in which people live – the climate, soil types and location – shape the attributes of food. A recurrent debate concerns the relative strength of these two pressures, and in the quest to discover the stronger determinant of human behaviour a study of what happens when people migrate to another part of the world can be revealing. To examine European food in the diaspora is like an experiment in a laboratory, proving a pattern of behaviour by altering the conditions under which it must survive. Different climates and soils, new ingredients and other people's food customs test the ancient cultural practices. Such was the experience of the earliest German-speaking immigrants who left the regions of Brandenburg, Silesia, Mecklenburg, Lusatia and Posen from 1839 onwards to establish a new life in the wilderness in South Australia. Many of these German-speaking emigrants settled in the Barossa Valley, today the largest wine region in Australia. In the last decade the legacy of the food of the early European settlers in the Barossa has begun to achieve recognition along with the wine, a recognition that is evident in the foods served for local culinary events and in wider publicity about the region. What foods the emigrants made and ate before departure and why, and the extent to which their food culture survived or changed over time in the new location and why are the questions that drive my investigation.

Barossa food's cultural attributes, strengthened because they endured in relative isolation for the first thirty years of settlement, make a useful case study. A

similar study of the history of immigrant food in the United States by Donna Gabaccia gives a large overview of the development of food from the first immigrations of different ethnic groups (including Germans), recounting the influences of cultural intermingling, commercial enterprise and the development of an American national culinary identity.<sup>3</sup> Harvey Levenstein's work on the food of Italian immigrants to the United States analyses the culinary fortunes of one ethnic group confronted by the power and influence of the larger egocentric Anglo-American sectors of society with their ability to control eating patterns across the nation.<sup>4</sup> My study follows Levenstein's example, for in the Barossa the German-speaking immigrants also encountered the power of the English ruling society that surrounded them and which affected their way of life. My approach differs from the investigations of Gabaccia and Levenstein, however, because I focus my study on the making of specific recipes and on the manner of their consumption. Recipes from the German settlements of Pennsylvania receive similar attention from William Woys Weaver, in whose book *Sauerkraut Yankees* nineteenth-century German recipes are set within their historical context.<sup>5</sup> All of these studies give valuable insights into the history of ethnic food within the United States. Hasia Diner's survey extends back further to the European origins of Jewish, Irish and

---

<sup>3</sup> Donna R. Gabaccia *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts/London, England: Harvard University Press, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Harvey Levenstein 'The American Response to Italian food, 1880 – 1930', *Food & Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, Vol. I, 1985, pp. 1–24; Harvey Levenstein, 'The Food Habits of European Immigrants to America: Homogenization or Hegemonization?', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann und Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 465–472; Harvey Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

<sup>5</sup> William Woys Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania Dutch Foods & Foodways* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 2002).

Italian immigrants to America and examines their food before and after migration.<sup>6</sup> Her comparative methods are similar to my own, although Diner concentrates on the cultural contexts of eating, whereas I place emphasis on particular dishes, seeking out the reasons for their enduring or altered states. Thus, the work of these American cultural historians has influenced my own approach, but none has employed my method of examining specific foods in their context before and after migration in a search for evidence of the struggle between environmental forces and cultural influences on people's food.

Surveying foods familiar to Barossa people in the early twenty-first century, I observe that several are survivors of the transfer from one location to another. These are my examples for comparing practices in the old country and the new. Five in particular are dishes which people in the Barossa still enjoy or at least expect to have on their table from time to time. They include the sausages that were traditionally produced from the annual slaughtering of the pig, the bread that remains an essential staple, the dessert made with red grapes called *Rote Grütze*, the traditional Christmas honey biscuits and the sour fermented cucumbers pickled with dill weed. Descendants of the early Lutheran settlers perceive that these foods form a link with the practices of their ancestors. I therefore devote chapters to examining these five foods in turn, discussing their origins, cultural significance and old ways of making them and ascertaining whether these factors altered in the Australian setting. In the Barossa the settlers, their descendants and their food were in contact with two other distinct and culturally cohesive groups of people. These

---

<sup>6</sup> Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001).

were the Aboriginal inhabitants (the Peramangk) and the English settlers who arrived in the district around the same time as the Lutheran congregations. To create a broad context for my examination I use the first two chapters to describe these cultural encounters, and I discuss the extent to which they influenced the general food practices of the German-speaking immigrants.

The time span of my study is one hundred years from the arrival of the first shiploads in South Australia. This length of time enables me to show the effects on food brought about by intermarriage and increasing identification with the settlers' new home. It covers the impact of the First World War, which turned the German-speaking people into enemy aliens in the eyes of the rest of Australia and challenged their food practices. The response of the local inhabitants was the publication of the first edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* in 1917. Essentially an exercise in patriotism, this book reveals a growing sense of social cohesion in the district and a desire to be recognised as a region by the rest of the world. The appearance of the third major edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* in 1932 marked a time when the people of the Barossa were revealing details of their identity and ethnic culinary practices for the public at large. For the first time the book contained traditional German recipes from eastern central Europe, including three that are the focus of chapters in this study. The recipes mingle with the many that are either English or middle-class dishes of unspecified nationality, a fact that in itself reveals much about the living style of 1930s Barossa residents. The period of my study ends in 1939 just before the outbreak of the Second World War. The consequences of that war, as well as increasing communication with the outside

world and the innovation and variety of foods that resulted, are broad enough to require a study of their own. I therefore confine my study to the original cultural encounters and to the fate of particular dishes of cultural value before 1939.

Examining food and the effects of geography and history on certain dishes requires clarification of some frequently-used terms and concepts. People talk about food using the words *customs*, *traditions*, *foodways*, *food practices* and *food culture*. This last term begins the title of my thesis, but I shall briefly record my interpretation of the other terms before justifying my title. Clifford Geertz claims that ‘culture is best seen not as complexes of concrete behavior patterns – customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters ... but as a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions ... for governing behavior.’<sup>7</sup> My understanding is that customs here mean visible manifestations of cultural behaviour, and that traditions are those customs recognised as important and taught from generation to generation. Some exceptions to this concept of tradition receive attention in Hobsbawm and Ranger’s collection of essays, *The Invention of Tradition*, in which research into several so-called traditional behaviours reveals that they have not originated in the dawn of time but emerged in the nineteenth century. The Scottish clan tartan kilts are a good example, made popular by the Waverley novels after 1815.<sup>8</sup> The revelations of Hobsbawm, Ranger and others do not alter the fact that many other traditions are older than one or two generations and that their origins are not the self-conscious national or regional identities developing in the

---

<sup>7</sup> Clifford Geertz, ‘The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man’, in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Highland Tradition of Scotland’, in Eric J. Hobsbawm Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 18–28.

nineteenth century. *The Invention of Tradition* does, however, provide an impetus for reflecting on the relationship of time and culture and on whether or not the changes that I observe within the dishes in my study are an indication of cultural decline.

Transplanting the food culture to another geographic location can indeed produce change. As Barbara and James Shortridge observe, food is a part of culture that is retained but at the same time easy to alter.<sup>9</sup> The Shortridges recommend the term *foodways* to discuss food and its revelations about 'who we are, where we came from, our current social cultural economic and religious circumstances and what our aspirations might be.'<sup>10</sup> *Foodways* is thus a broad term, encompassing values, practices and traditions. In my examination, when writing of the concrete aspects of making and eating particular foods I find it appropriate to refer to *food practices*. When examining the history, attitudes and beliefs behind these foods I believe that a better term is *food culture*. Since I base my study around the making and eating of five traditional dishes, my work makes only scant reference to the nature and structure of entire meals, how they were eaten and in what company. I therefore do not use the all-encompassing word *foodways*. The cultural meanings accumulated within the dishes themselves I do, however, explore. For this reason, I choose to entitle my thesis *A Food Culture Transplanted: Origins and Development of the Food of Early German Immigrants to the Barossa Valley, South Australia (1839 – 1939)*.

---

<sup>9</sup> Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge, eds, *The Taste of American Place* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

## German Primary and Secondary Sources of Information

Material on habits of country people in eastern central Europe in the early modern period is not easy to accumulate, but the observations of travellers from England and America can be revealing. Fortunately some were interested in food, notably the seventeenth-century writer Fynes Moryson, who wrote extensively about what he ate in Germany, and who was particularly interested in the German ways of cooking with fruit.<sup>11</sup> An evolving picture of the way of life of people in Silesia and Brandenburg comes from the accounts of Joseph Marshall (1769–1770), John Quincy Adams (1800–1801) and William Jacob (1824).<sup>12</sup> Through their diaries emerges a portrait of country people impoverished by war, suffering from poor soil and harsh winters and increasingly burdened with financial obligations. Jacob's brief from the British government had been to assess the availability of food in the region, particularly the crops, with a view to establishing trade agreements for supplying England during a shortage of corn, and so his observations about people's material life give valuable detail of a period corresponding to the first departures of the emigrants.

For specific dishes and how they were prepared I refer to recipe books from the region and compare them with earlier and later books of recipes. The most pertinent has been the *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch für bürgerliche*

---

<sup>11</sup> Fynes Moryson, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. containing his ten yeeres trauell through the twelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: John Beale, 1617).

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769-1770* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971); John Quincy Adams, *Letters on Silesia Written During a Tour Through That Country in the Years, 1800, 1801* (London: J. Budd, 1804); William Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe* (London: James Ridgway, 1826); Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).



*Haushaltungen* published in 1835.<sup>13</sup> From the neighbouring region but published over a century earlier for cooks of the gentry is *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch* of 1723.<sup>14</sup> One contemporary recipe book which came to South Australia with the emigrants was Betty Gleim's *Bremisches Kochbuch* of 1834.<sup>15</sup> These and others have furnished interesting comparisons with recipes that were still current in the Barossa in 1939. To gauge developments later in the nineteenth century I refer mostly to Henriette Davidis' *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche* and to Elise Weber's *Bürgerliches Kochbuch*, 25<sup>th</sup> Edition, both published around 1890.<sup>16</sup> Copies of both books belonged to cooks in the Barossa. Where comparisons with traditional food from neighbouring Poland are appropriate I turn to Maria Dembińska's *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*.<sup>17</sup> A further insight into food consumed in Germany in 1822 has been Count von Rumohr's *Geist der Kochkunst*.<sup>18</sup> Searching for earliest examples of certain dishes has taken me to the websites of Thomas Gloning and Henry Notaker, where I have perused many rendered manuscripts and early publications including the earliest known German recipe book written by a woman, namely that of Sabina Welserin, dated about 1553.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen ... von einer Schlesischen Hausfrau* (Berlin: Eduard Pelz, 1835).

<sup>14</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch* (Berlin: Johann Andreas Rüdiger, 1723).

<sup>15</sup> Betty Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch* (Bremen: Johann Georg Hense, 1834).

<sup>16</sup> Henriette Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, Luise Rosendorf, ed. (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1884); Elise Weber, *Bürgerliches Kochbuch*, 25<sup>th</sup> Edition (Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, ?1890).

<sup>17</sup> Maria Dembińska, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, Magdalena Thomas, trans. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Karl Friedrich von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery (Geist der Kochkunst)* [1822], Barbara Yeomans, trans. (London: Prospect Books, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Gloning, University of Marburg, <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/bvgs.htm>; Henry Notaker, <http://www.notaker.com/onlitxts/kogebog.htm>. Both accessed 2005.

These primary resources I supplement with the writings and research of European social, economic and culinary historians. My understanding of the lives of the emigrants before departure has benefited from the work of Jerome Blum summarising the state of workers and peasants before the arrival of the modern age, a theme developed also by Werner Rösener.<sup>20</sup> The somewhat pessimistic picture of country people's life and diet in these sources requires balance from the intensive culinary findings of Günter Wiegelmann in *Alltags- und Festspeisen: Wandel und Gegenwärtige Stellung*.<sup>21</sup> Wiegelmann's examination of dishes eaten daily and for special occasions shows with primary records and a series of maps that people's food habits were changing in the nineteenth century because of influences from countries to the east and to the west. Joan Thirsk's writings about the life of country people also give reasons for assuming that simple country living did not prevent people from enjoying their food.<sup>22</sup> The importance of festive meals in providing culinary interest to peasant fare in the nineteenth-century transition to the modern world receives attention from Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Peter Lesnicziak in their article 'Alte ländliche Festtagsmahlzeiten in der Phase sich intensivierender Verbürgerlichung 1880 – 1930'.<sup>23</sup>

I am therefore reassured that at least some of the recipes in my primary sources were familiar to country people in Europe for festive occasions, even

---

<sup>20</sup> Jerome Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*; Werner Rösener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, Thomas Barker, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993)..

<sup>21</sup> Günter Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen: Wandel und Gegenwärtige Stellung* (Marburg: N. G. Elert Verlag, 1967).

<sup>22</sup> Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

<sup>23</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Peter Lesnicziak, 'Alte ländliche Festtagsmahlzeiten in der Phase sich intensivierender Verbürgerlichung 1880 – 1930', *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, Vol. 46, 2001, pp. 319–353.

though, according to Kirsten Schlegel-Matthies, nineteenth-century regional cook books did not always present a true picture of people's local culinary practices.<sup>24</sup> Teuteberg and Wiegelmann's collaborative series of essays entitled *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* describe the evolution of European food as it passed through industrialisation into the modern world. In these and other essays Teuteberg shows how gradual modernisation enabled people to raise general standards of living and leave behind the threat of impending famine which had blighted existence until the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> A similar enlightening perspective comes from Eugen Weber's book about the coming of the modern age in rural France.<sup>26</sup> I have found further essential background material in Fernand Braudel's *Capitalism and Material Life* and in *Food: A Culinary History* edited by Albert Sonnenfeld under the direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari.<sup>27</sup>

### **Australian Primary and Secondary Sources of Information**

Wilhelm Iwan provides a valuable profile of the settlers arriving from Brandenburg, Silesia and Posen. This Lutheran minister visited Australia and later

---

<sup>24</sup> Kirsten Schlegel-Matthies, 'Regionale speisen in deutschen Kochbüchern des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts', in Teuteberg, Neumann und Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven*, pp. 212–227.

<sup>25</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986); Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'The Escape from the Malthusian Trap and the Beginning of the "Nutritional Revolution"' (Münster: unpublished paper, ?2002); Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'The General Relationship Between Diet and Industrialization', in E. and R. Forster, eds, *European Diet From Pre-industrial to Modern Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 48–61.

<sup>26</sup> Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870–1914* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977).

<sup>27</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> Century: The Structures of Everyday Life*, Vol. 1 (London: Collins, 1981); Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

searched church and state archives in Europe to publish an inventory of Lutheran settlers, giving their backgrounds and a summary of their personal wealth and family relationships, entitled *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*.<sup>28</sup> David Schubert's translation of this book has enabled me to analyse occupations and status of the settlers and relate these to the accounts given by the European travellers mentioned above. Diaries and first-hand reminiscences from settlers help to recreate life in the Australian setting. David Schubert's collection of these, published as *Kavel's People*, has been my principal source of primary material.<sup>29</sup> I supplement first-hand accounts in this book with other diaries and reminiscences, many of which are unpublished and some of which remain private family possessions. I have also had access to fourteen hand-written recipe books of Lutheran descendants written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These books are listed as manuscripts in the bibliography. The main published local recipe books are the different editions of *The Barossa Cookery Book*, of which the significant variants are those of 1917 and 1932.<sup>30</sup> Further revealing primary sources have been interviews with local people. These and the interpretations of Barossa history in the writings of Gordon Young, Ian Harmstorf, Donald Langmead and the Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust committee provide a reference point

---

<sup>28</sup> Wilhelm Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, David Schubert, trans., as *Because of Their Beliefs* (Highgate: H. Schubert, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> David Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1982).

<sup>30</sup> Franz W. Jüttner, F. Tuohy and W. A. Bentley, eds, *The Barossa Cookery Book* (Tanunda: Tanunda Australia Day Committee, 1917); *The Barossa Cookery Book: 1000 Selected Recipes* (Tanunda: Tanunda Institute Committee, 1932).

for my observations about the Barossa's nineteenth- and twentieth-century culinary history.<sup>31</sup>

### Sources Relating to Broader Themes

The greatest influence on my approach to culinary history has been the work of Fernand Braudel. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* shows how the climate and the positioning of mountain passes and coastline affected the history of Mediterranean countries and their people, creating or preventing possibilities of trade and communication with other places and thus shaping their whole way of life.<sup>32</sup> Braudel's concept of the history of *structures* has made me realise that understanding the food culture of emigrants leaving Brandenburg, Posen and Silesia between 1839 and 1860 means looking back to the origins of these foods and viewing them against the area's location and social, religious, economic and political developments.<sup>33</sup> Marvin Harris has a similar view on people's food in *Good to Eat*.<sup>34</sup> For studying characteristics of taste, the same long-term approach appears in the writing of Elizabeth and Paul Rozin and Marc P. Lalonde, who describe the origins and transfer of people's general and regional

---

<sup>31</sup> Gordon Young, *Early German Settlements in the Barossa Valley, South Australia* (Adelaide: Techsearch, 1978); Gordon Young, Ian Harmstorf, Donald Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3* (Adelaide: Australian Heritage Commission, 1977); Reginald S. Munchenberg, Heinrich F. W. Proeve, Donald A. Ross, E. Anne Hausler and Geoffrey B. Saegenschnitter, eds, *The Barossa, A Vision Realised* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1992).

<sup>32</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I (London: Collins, 1972); Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II (London: Collins, 1973).

<sup>33</sup> Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, 'Fernand Braudel, the *Annales*, and the Mediterranean', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 1972, pp. 468–479; J. H. Hexter, 'Fernand Braudel and the *Monde Braudellien...*', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 1972, p. 481.

<sup>34</sup> Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

taste preferences.<sup>35</sup> I realise how much economic pressures influence people's taste for food from reading Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power*.<sup>36</sup> Further insights into the way people's food practices have been modified by changing religious beliefs, forming an overlay to older pagan practices, come from Teuteberg's essay, 'Magische, mythische und religiöse Elemente in der Nahrungskultur Mitteleuropas'.<sup>37</sup> Teuteberg's comments about the effects of the Reformation on food are relevant to settlers in the Barossa, since their Lutheran faith provided the impetus for the first wave of migration.

General discussions about what happens to people's attitudes and cultural outlook in a colonial setting include Louis Hartz's theory of colonial fragmentation. Examining the situation in South Africa, Australia and other colonial settlements, Hartz observes that the attitudes and practices of people isolated from their European places of origin were fragments reflecting their previous European existence. Colonies were strongly influenced by the driving motivation for initial settlement, which created a conservative climate unaffected by subsequent ideas and happenings in Europe.<sup>38</sup> Hartz makes these observations about the forces driving the politics of these former colonies, but his ideas also have relevance to the

---

<sup>35</sup> Elisabeth Rozin and Paul Rozin, 'Some Surprisingly Unique Characteristics of Human Food Preferences', in Alexander Fenton and Trefor Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978), pp. 243–252; Marc P. Lalonde, 'Deciphering a Meal Again, or the Anthropology of Taste', *Social Science Information*. Vol. 31, No. 1, 1992, pp. 76–83.

<sup>36</sup> Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1986).

<sup>37</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Magische, mythische und religiöse Elemente in der Nahrungskultur Mitteleuropas', in Nils-Arvid Bringéus et al., eds, *Wandel der Volkskultur in Europa* (Münster: Beiträge zur Bolkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland, 1988), pp. 351–373.

<sup>38</sup> Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Brace & World, 1964); J. B. Hirst, 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial: The Hartz Thesis Revisited', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 82, 1984, pp. 85–104; James Holt, 'Louis Hartz's Fragment Thesis', in *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1973, pp. 3–11.

food of the Lutheran settlers in the Barossa, for traditional dishes endured in the new colony and were still an important part of the food culture a century later. To that extent I agree with Hartz's argument about conservatism. In the debate about 'inheritance derived from our parent cultures, the influence of environment and the static or dynamic character of our interior development', Hartz underlines the influence of culture with scant acknowledgement of environmental and other forces.<sup>39</sup> An element of culinary conservatism is an essential component of local cuisine according to Barbara Santich. In *Looking for Flavour*, her collection of essays about Australians and their food, Santich maintains that a traditional food culture is important for building a sense of identity with a community and a region.<sup>40</sup> Some local changes must occur, however, to bring about the development of a genuine regional cuisine. My thesis will show that the way people made and ate their traditional dishes did change in subtle ways. The Barossa, with its strong links to a disappearing past and a compact, well defined geographic location, is indeed an ideal region to examine the effects of inheritance and the environment on a transplanted food culture.

### **Origins of the Emigrants and Their Reasons for Leaving Europe**

The earliest German-speaking settlers in the Barossa came from lands east of the River Elbe in the Prussian provinces of Brandenburg, Silesia and Posen surrounding the River Oder. A few came from larger centres, Grünberg, which today is Zielona Góra, and Posen (today Poznan in Poland). The first shiploads

---

<sup>39</sup> Geoffrey C. Bolton, 'Louis Hartz', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1973, pp. 168–176.

<sup>40</sup> Barbara Santich, *Looking for Flavour* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996).

arrived in South Australia in 1839 and the first cohesive group settled in the Barossa in 1842. Some brought considerable sums of money. Others were so poor that fellow passengers paid their fares.<sup>41</sup> Such mutual support could happen only if certain bonds linked the passengers together, and this was the case for the emigrants were members of Lutheran congregations dissenting from the new state regulations about religion introduced by the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III. Belonging to the section of the Lutheran church known as the *Alte Lutheraner*, they had refused to be united with the Reformed Protestants as a state-supported union church, and they had objected to the wording of the revised Protestant prayer book written by Friedrich Wilhelm III himself. The authorities did not tolerate their stance, and the government ban on their religious meetings often led to military enforcement. They were religious refugees. The groups migrated as congregations, and each congregation was led by its Lutheran pastor and group of church elders. Rich or poor, they experienced the unifying cultural force of being part of a congregation with strong convictions.<sup>42</sup>

Subsequent groups from 1846 to 1860 migrated largely for economic reasons. Having heard from the earlier settlers and from shipping agents in Germany that opportunities to live a healthy, comfortable and peaceful life were greater in South Australia than in their homeland, they departed in increasing numbers, not only from the original places but also from Mecklenburg-Schwerin and from Lusatia in Saxony. Those departing from this latter region were Slavic people known as the Wends, and their foods formed a significant part of the culinary practices in the

---

<sup>41</sup> Iwan, *Um des glaubens Willen nach Australien*, p. 88.

<sup>42</sup> Schubert (ed.), *Kavel's People*, pp. 4–12.



Barossa as this thesis will show. Most of them were Lutheran, and most fitted with ease into the Lutheran congregations that had preceded them. Their decision to migrate, however, was not initiated by religious persecution as the case had been with the first emigrants, although religious affiliation with the preceding groups was a deciding factor in prompting their decision to join those groups in South Australia. Rather, they were living through times of turbulence. Food crises resulting from bad seasons and crop failures occurred in 1816–1817, 1822, 1830–31 and 1838–39, culminating in the last great European famine when the rye and potato crops failed in 1846 and 1847.<sup>43</sup> In those times all food became expensive, and no coordinated administrative effort provided relief to the worst-stricken areas since communication and transport between regions were still rudimentary in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In short, the emigrants were seeking opportunities for a better life.

Successive wars had also affected the living conditions and eating patterns of people in Brandenburg, Silesia and Posen. Even before the Napoleonic invasions war had contributed to the poverty of the local farming communities and to the decline of their food production. As Joseph Marshall journeyed from Danzig into Silesia, which had been secured as part of the kingdom of Prussia in 1763 at the end of the Seven Years' War, he commented on the number of refugees pouring into Silesia from Poland and described Frederick the Great's moves to provide them with farms from crown land.<sup>45</sup> Villages in Brandenburg devastated by the

---

<sup>43</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'The Last Great Famine in Pre-Industrial Germany, 1846-47' (Münster, unpublished paper, ?2002), pp. 1–6.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup> Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769-1770*, pp. 269–270.

Russians had been rebuilt, but people were still nervous of further attacks.<sup>46</sup> This insecurity led in the ensuing decades to the establishment of a military draft, so that the newly formed Prussia would always have soldiers and be ready to respond to a military crisis. By the time John Quincy Adams made his journeys in 1800 and 1801 military service and the billeting of soldiers in private houses were part of daily life. War's most devastating effects on the food supplies of farming people appear in the 1825 report of William Jacob, who saw a country still recovering from the Napoleonic invasions. Napoleon's armies had travelled through Silesia in 1806 and 1812 and had fought an indecisive battle in 1813 at Bautzen, Saxony, former home of many Barossa settlers.<sup>47</sup> The crops ripening in the fields had to be harvested to feed the army horses because the barns were empty. Three years of compulsory military service removed young productive men from the economy and caused even greater hardship than the monetary taxes imposed in most European countries.<sup>48</sup> War imposts, military service and extra mouths to feed had meant less food production and less money to buy food, and even ten years later Jacob saw that Silesia had not recovered from this strain.<sup>49</sup>

Heavy civil taxes and feudal dues often meant that farmers must sell their produce rather than eat it themselves. Silesian taxes had been notoriously high. 'Their taxes are very heavy and carry as much into the King's coffers almost as into their own pockets', wrote Marshall in 1770.<sup>50</sup> The land reform achieved in 1807

---

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278,

<sup>47</sup> Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France, Volume 2* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 60.

<sup>48</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, pp. 25, 49, 50.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>50</sup> Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769–1770*, p. 272.

and 1811 during the Napoleonic wars released farmers from what had been akin to slavery and gave them the right to own their traditional land, but they had to compensate the nobles to whom they had previously owed rent. Many farmers did this by parting with some of the land, leaving themselves a smaller parcel on which to produce their own food.<sup>51</sup> Increases in taxes and debts were a further imposition. By 1825, in the decade before the emigrants' departure, even farming families previously exempt for different reasons were obliged to pay the land tax or *Grund Steuer*. This and other taxes had risen just as crop prices were falling.<sup>52</sup> People had to find money to support the local poor, the disabled, widows, bridges, roads and schools. In their poverty-stricken state, they were much worse off than their farming counterparts in England.<sup>53</sup> Many mortgaged their land but were unable to keep up the payments.<sup>54</sup> They had to sell most of their farm produce to meet their commitments. The dietary restraints that this situation produced were illustrated by William Jacob, who wrote:

If they have bees and a plot of chicory their produce serves as a substitute for sugar and coffee; but too often these must be sent to market to raise the scanty pittance which the tax gatherer demands.<sup>55</sup>

Life for many was a struggle against poverty and hunger, dominated by debt to the taxation officer and the financier, and the ultimate benefits of land and taxation reform would have their full effect only years after the emigrants' departure.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, pp. 105–106.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

### **The Situation in the Barossa**

The colony of South Australia to which the emigrants came had been established in 1836 as a business proposition by members of the South Australia Company. Their venture made use of the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Robert Gouger, whose theory of colonisation, published in 1829 as *A Letter From Sydney*, postulated that a colony would survive more successfully if its population had a solid base of people with sufficient financial means to buy land and fund a labour supply than if it were a convict settlement like previous British colonies.<sup>57</sup> In the sales of land that dominated financial activity in South Australia at its inception, the chairman of the South Australia Company, George Fife Angas, became the owner of a large tract of land in the Barossa Range fifty miles north-east of the main town, Adelaide. The beautiful rolling countryside in the hills became grazing properties for members of the Angas family, but 2,000 acres on the adjacent western plain Angas sold to the incoming Lutheran settlers. By farming the land the Lutherans would earn money to pay off the debt.

On part of this land the settlers established the first entirely Lutheran village of Bethany. Its *Waldhufendorf* layout with cottages along the road at the head of separate strips of land reaching down to the water supply in the creek imitated the villages the settlers had known in Europe, and the houses and belongings of this and subsequent settlements in the Barossa recreated their European way of life. Friedrich Gerstäcker, who visited the Barossa in 1851, recorded this faithful replication.

---

<sup>57</sup> Carol Fort, 'Edward Gibbon Wakefield', in Wilfrid Prest, Kerrie Round and Carol Fort, eds, *The Wakefield Companion to Australian History* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2001), p. 575.

At the stove sat an old grandmother with a white-haired child on her knees. The old woman was a faithful, excellent example of an elderly German peasant woman of the kind found only in the centre of Germany ... Not only that, but everything in the room was German: oven, chairs, tables, cupboards, footstool, spittoon, earthenware pots, plates decorated with texts, dishes and verses from the hymnbook.<sup>58</sup>

The settlers even built farm dwellings with the smokehouse in the central room, the 'black kitchen' or *Schwarzeküche*. They tenaciously transplanted food practices from an area of Europe 50 degrees north of the equator, to a place in a continent 35 degrees south. Foods suited to average temperatures ranging from a little below freezing-point in January to an average high of 20 degrees centigrade in July, with a relatively high humidity, had to adapt to a drier place where average temperatures ranged between 5°C and 35°C. Plants that had survived on the poor sandy soils east of Berlin took root in the chocolate loam of the Barossa.

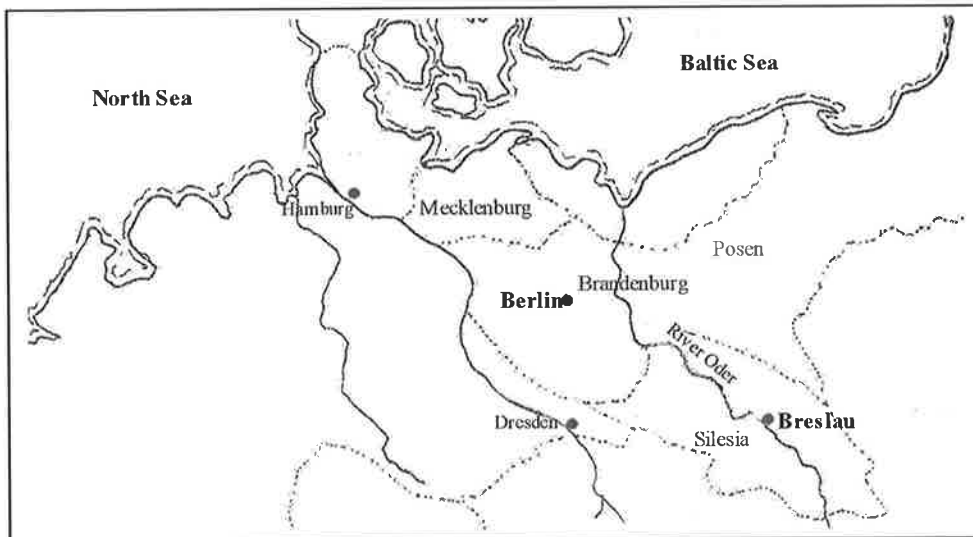
## **Hypothesis**

How this transplant affected the food prepared by the settlers and their descendants forms this study. Its hypothesis is that, even though the cultural aspects of people's food endure, the new environment will alter the foods in some ways. As long as people are aware of aspects of their culture, secular or religious, which influence its particular tastes and culinary styles, that awareness will continue to determine their food and their perception of what needs to appear on the table. Within enduring dishes and in the range of dishes, however, the influence of geographic location and of contact with other people causes changes. The study will also assert that culture and geography are not the only important forces to

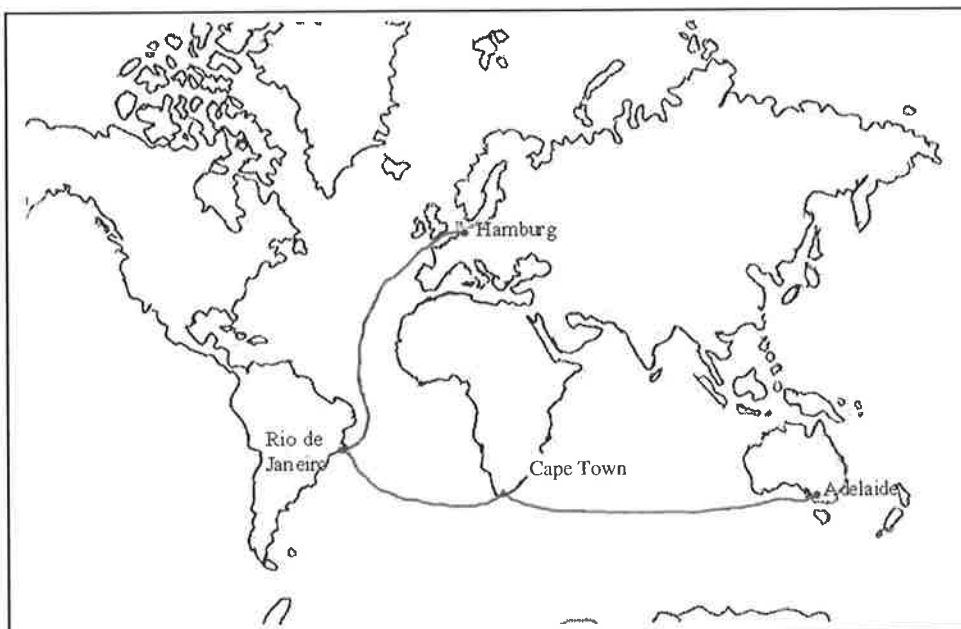
---

<sup>58</sup> Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Reisen: Australien* (Stuttgart und Tübingen : I.G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1854), pp. 248–251.

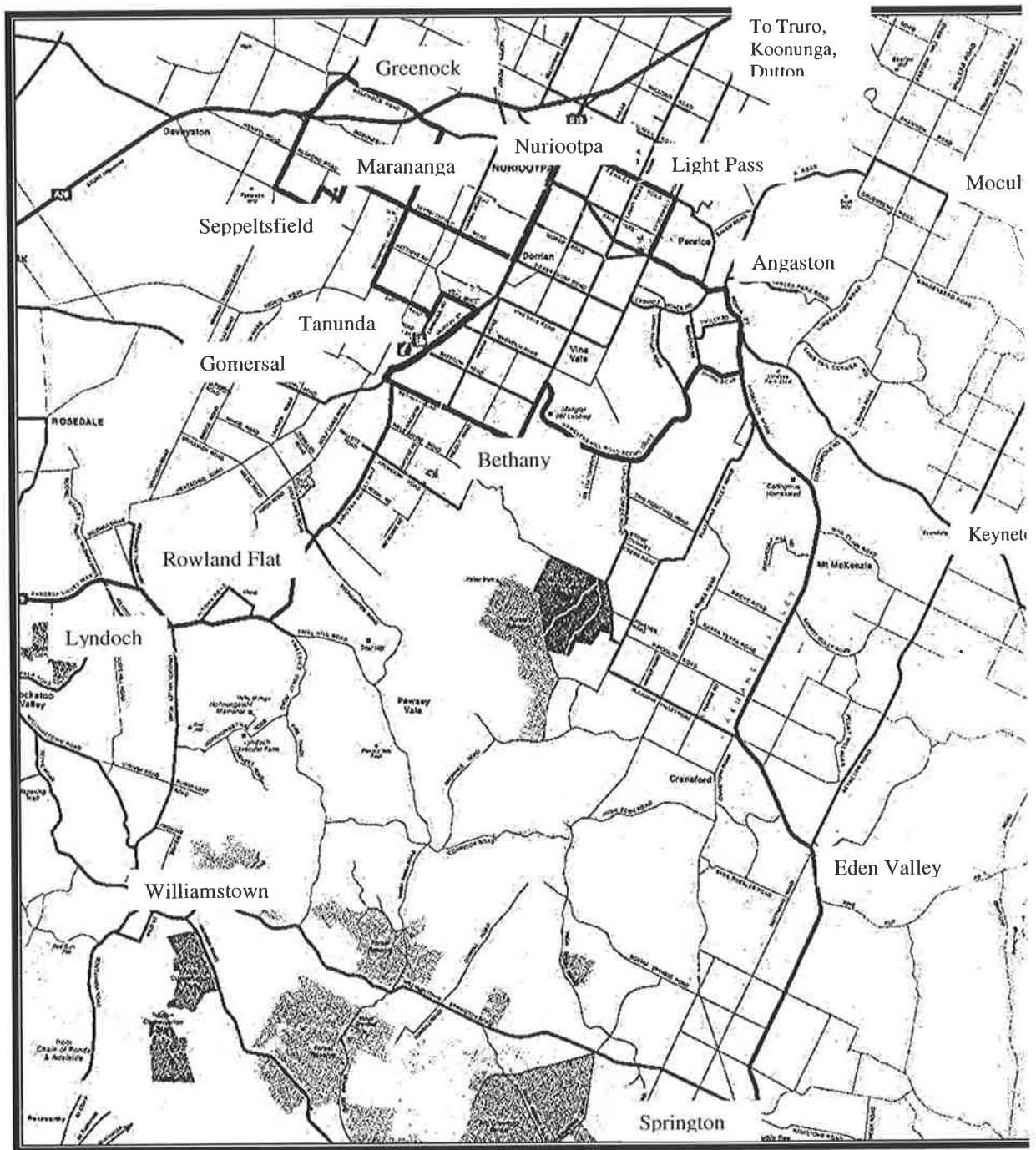
shape people's food. The market place and the economy significantly determine the foods people make and eat, and they have done so for a very long time. What effect so many adjustments ultimately have on the cultural meaning of food will be considered in the conclusion, Chapter 10.



Places of origin of European emigrants to the Barossa, 1839-1860



The most frequently used route for ships carrying European emigrants to South Australia, 1839-1860



Map of the Barossa

## Chapter 2: Culture to Culture Part One; Aboriginal Food

### Introduction

When people come into contact with other cultures, they have opportunities to learn about each other's food practices and consequently to make adjustments to their own to a greater or lesser degree. A recent example is the way South Australian food habits have altered because of the influence of Italian food in the late twentieth century. Sometimes when many cultures mix together, their influences are multiple and difficult to tease apart. Yvonne and William Lockwood's article about the effects of several different cultures on Michigan's Upper Peninsula and in particular on recipes for pasties shows how the cultural attributes of settlers draw from those of other immigrant groups and how this can affect one particular dish, varying not only its ingredients and method but also its appearance.<sup>1</sup> Identifying cultural influences on the food practices of the Lutheran migrants to the Barossa is less complex because life in the Barossa involved contact with only two other major cultural groups until well into the twentieth century. This chapter and the following one examine the effects brought to bear on the food practices of the German-speaking Lutheran settlers in the Barossa and nearby districts by the culinary customs of local Aboriginal people and of the English immigrants who, like the Lutherans, were arriving in South Australia from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards.<sup>2</sup> Both cultures had an influence on the

---

<sup>1</sup> Yvonne R. Lockwood and William G. Lockwood, 'Pasties in Michigan's Upper Peninsula: Foodways, Interethnic Relations, and Regionalism', in Shortridge and Shortridge, eds, *The Taste of American Place*, pp. 21–36.

<sup>2</sup> Of necessity the study of Aboriginal contacts in this chapter extends beyond the Barossa to other nearby Lutherans and Lutheran communities to make best use of the available primary sources of information.



foods of the German-speaking settlers and brought about change to varying degrees. The extent and nature of their influence and the reasons for the differences illustrate my discussion of cultural confrontation. To examine the influence of Aboriginal food in this chapter, I am going to formulate some stages of cultural acceptance, basing the first set on observations of noted Australian scholar Adolphus Elkin, who described the psychological stages through which Aboriginal people had passed in their encounter with western culture.<sup>3</sup> Elkin's writing contains analysis of contact behaviour that presaged currently accepted phases of group dynamics. It also gives a perspective advanced for its time by advocating 'mutual respect for cultural tradition'.<sup>4</sup> I shall then examine recorded instances of the Lutheran settlers sharing Aboriginal food, and to determine the extent of this sharing I shall use my own devised model of stages of culinary transfer.

### **Elkin's Stages of Encounter: Indigenous Inhabitants and European Invaders**

In 1951 in *American Anthropologist* Adolphus Elkin wrote an article describing the psychological stages through which Aboriginal people had passed since white settlement in their coming to terms with western culture. The article explained the historical background to the contemporary situation concerning Aboriginal and European people, indicating measures needed to avoid a disastrous reduction of Aboriginal people into permanent pauperism and to provide hope instead. Broadening his observations on the stages of encounter in Australia, Elkin finished by reflecting that these stages might be a deterministic pattern of

---

<sup>3</sup> Adolphus P. Elkin, 'Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1951, pp. 164–186.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 175.

confrontation discernible wherever European or American culture encountered indigenous people.<sup>5</sup> Significantly, Elkin saw a pattern of behaviour showing first tentative, non-hostile contacts, followed by clashes over food and social discord, followed by uneasy truce before the economic and technological power of European culture in general finally prevailed.<sup>6</sup> In my opinion the first stages of personal response to confrontation that he observed among the Aborigines might well apply to the early personal reactions of white settlers themselves encountering an alien culture. The same graduated response could apply to the early Lutheran settlers, particularly with regard to the production and use of food.<sup>7</sup>

Early records in South Australia of contact between any Europeans and indigenous people over food certainly indicate that members of both cultures experienced Elkin's second stage of cultural confrontation. The white settlers seem to have cornered themselves into a habit of handing out food, often sugar, rice, tea and flour to Aboriginal inhabitants,<sup>8</sup> for which they expected reciprocal work or at least gratitude.<sup>9</sup> When this did not occur, some settlers' resentment grew. Clashes over food were the basis for reported violent incidents in the colony. Contemporary accounts described whites administering beatings and poisoning flour in reaction to Aboriginal petty thieving of food.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, the Aboriginal occupants of

---

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164–186.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> S. G. Klose, letter to the Mission Society in Dresden, 26 April, 1842, in Joyce Graetz, ed., *Missionary to the Kaurna: The Klose Letters* (Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archives, 2002), p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann, quoted in Robin B. Coles and Neale Draper, 'Aboriginal History and Recently-Discovered Art in the Mount Lofty Ranges', *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, p. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Foster, Rick Hosking and Amanda Nettelbeck, *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2001), p. 47; Clamor Schurmann, Correspondence with the Dresden Committee of the Evangelische Lutherische Mission Society, Dec.

the land, ever diminishing in number, became strident in their demands for food as compensation for being deprived of their hunting grounds and other natural food sources;<sup>11</sup> they grew aggressive as they saw that there was no hope of the white destroyers of food ever going away. Such clashes are understandable from both points of view, and from them arose third-stage responses in both parties as described by Elkin.<sup>12</sup> But the very first stage of cautious acceptance and exchange is pertinent to early German-speaking settlers in South Australia, including those settling in the Barossa Valley before Aboriginal groups left these areas. Accounts of what people ate, both in the early days of the colony of South Australia and at later dates, do suggest that, during the initial confrontation of the two cultures (the state of cautious acceptance observed by Elkin) new food ideas flowed in not just one direction and that the settlers did learn about food from the Aboriginal inhabitants. The way the European food of the German-speaking Lutheran settlers evolved when transplanted to a new land owes a small part of its development to encounters with Aboriginal culture.

Transfer of food practices from an incumbent culture to a newly imported one can exist on several different levels. At the most fundamental level the incoming culture can use indigenous ingredients, so that the immigrants try new foods and adopt new tastes, applying them to their own recipes. Lowering cultural barriers a little more, the immigrants may eat indigenous foods prepared and offered by

---

1838, p. 142. Schurmann described a settler violently beating an Aboriginal intruder for stealing flour.

<sup>11</sup> Teichelmann, quoted by Coles and Draper, 'Aboriginal History and Recently-Discovered Art in the Mount Lofty Ranges', p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Elkin, 'Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia', pp. 167–170.

indigenous hosts in an act of cultural sharing. But a characteristic food culture is usually described in terms of certain dishes prepared according to a recipe, which epitomise that culture.<sup>13</sup> When the newly arrived culture adopts methods of food preparation from the other culture and uses them as their own, actual transfer of culture would occur. At a fourth level of cultural acceptance, the changing culture would not only adopt specific recipes, but would also ingest any spiritual and cultural values behind the recipes. Eating food for its spiritual meaning would be a significant move towards assimilation.

The first three levels are apparent in descriptions of three different drinks in the writings of Clamor Schurmann and of Samuel Klose, German missionaries to the Aborigines at their *Piltawodli* school in Adelaide. The example of the first kind of cultural exploration concerns Klose who, in 1840, with only nine pence at his disposal to give his students a Christmas treat, prepared a tea from wild mint that he gathered on the banks of the Torrens.<sup>14</sup> He was using an indigenous ingredient but adapting it to a hot infused drink belonging to his European culture. The second level of experiencing food comes from a reading of Schurmann's early letters; in dire thirst when travelling south with Kaurna friends the missionary had shared their brackish water filtered through dry grass, drunk, as was the custom, from a receptacle made of a human skull.<sup>15</sup> This was cultural sharing but appears not to be cultural transfer, for Schurmann's journals and letters make no later mention of his

---

<sup>13</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p. 57.

<sup>14</sup> Graetz, ed., *Missionary to the Kaurna: The Klose Letters*, p. 17. The plant was *Mentha australis*, described by Andrew Fielke at <http://farrer.riv.csu.edu.au/ASGAP/APOL25/mar02-5.html>, accessed June 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Schurmann, *Correspondence with the Dresden Committee of the Evangelische Lutherische Mission Society*, 1839, p. 73.

trying this technique of filtering water for himself, although he may have done so without documentation. The third kind of food encounter had occurred two years earlier, when Schurmann had made a journey to the River Murray, accompanied by the German geologist Johannes Menge. The two travellers had relied for their drink on bottles of 'resinous soup', which Menge had made from the sweet gum of the Adelaide Plains eucalypts.<sup>16</sup> Years later Schurmann wrote that this gum was a summer staple for the Kaurna in Adelaide.<sup>17</sup> It was also the Aboriginal custom to soak sugary plants in cold water and obtain a sweet drink. Menge's resinous soup was by all indications using an Aboriginal method as well as an indigenous ingredient. This last example is the true cultural transfer.

### **Predisposition for Accepting a New Food**

Each of these three levels of culinary sharing requires an increasing degree of open acceptance of the untried, the new and the wild. The predisposition of the settlers was an important factor in shaping their acceptance of another culinary culture. Indeed, cultural ecologists writing of transfer and migration single out preadaptation as a requirement of successful settlement. The concept of preadaptation involves traits possessed by groups of people before they migrate which give them an adaptive advantage.<sup>18</sup> Most German-speaking immigrants who came to South Australia before 1850 had an attitude towards food supplies which made them receptive to new ingredients collected from the wild. They were country

---

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>17</sup> Clamor Schurmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia', in J. D. Woods, ed., *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, E. S. Wigg & Son, 1879), p.218.

<sup>18</sup> Terry G. Jordan, 'Preadaptation and Modernization in Rural North America', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 79, No. 4, 1989, p. 494.

people, and about half of them had led simple lives in Brandenburg, Posen, Silesia and Mecklenburg. They were habituated to foraging in the local forests, fields and ditches to supplement a limited diet.<sup>19</sup> Many being peasants themselves would readily consider eating newly encountered indigenous ingredients and would not refuse them out of a sense of social superiority and attendant expectations of refined foods.<sup>20</sup> The better-educated pastors and missionaries had often come from farming families, were familiar with food obtained at its source and continued to dig their vegetable gardens in South Australia, planting – in the case of the erudite missionary Clamor Schurmann – potatoes, lettuce, cabbages, onions and beets.<sup>21</sup> From these culinary-minded missionaries come detailed observations of indigenous food and its preparation, for they had instructions from the Dresden Mission Society to live among the Aborigines as part of their community, learn their way of life and record their speech so that they, the missionaries, could communicate God's message in the local language. Notwithstanding their religion, they had to drop their cultural defences and become receptive to another food-oriented way of life.<sup>22</sup>

### **Adopted Ingredients**

Several ingredients used by Aborigines were indeed adopted by the German-speaking settlers. Clamor Schurmann, who founded the *Piltawodli* school for

---

<sup>19</sup> John A. Perkins, 'The German Agricultural Worker 1815–1914', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1984, p. 13; Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45; Perkins, 'The German Agricultural Worker 1815–1914', p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Graetz, ed., *Missionary to the Kurna: The Klose Letters*, p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Schurmann, Correspondence with the Dresden Committee of the Evangelische Lutherische Mission Society, April 1844, p. 174.

Aboriginal children on the banks of the River Torrens in Adelaide and co-compiled a dictionary and grammar of the local Kaurna language, wrote that Aboriginal people divided their food into two general classes, *paru* or animal matter and *mai* 'comprising all vegetable nutriments.'<sup>23</sup> In the very early stages of settlement the Aboriginal people were happy to share both with the colonists (as long as the colonists shared in return). For example, the missionary C. G. Teichelmann wrote in 1840 that on his recent return journey from Lake Alexandrina several natives had presented him with a fish.<sup>24</sup> The settler Johann Christian Liebelt, describing survival in the new village of Hahndorf, wrote, 'At first our principal means of subsistence were buttercup roots, which we had to grub out with our hands, and opossums, the catching of which we learned from the blacks.'<sup>25</sup> The settlers probably also learned that the root vegetables were edible by being shown how to dig for them or by observing the Aboriginal people procuring them for themselves. That information might also have come via the Lutheran clergy, who looked out for the physical welfare of their congregations as well as for their souls. The pastors were in contact with the missionary Brothers Schurmann and Teichelmann. These two men, who later became parish ministers and who were regular visitors to the Barossa, both documented several root vegetables in early South Australia. This is Schurmann's account:

To the [*mai*] class [of food] belong a variety of roots, such as *nganla*, *ngarruru*, *nilai*, *winnu* and other kinds, which are nearly all the size and shape

---

<sup>23</sup> Schurmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia', p. 216.

<sup>24</sup> Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann, *Diary*, Marcus Krieg, trans., Lutheran Archives Folder TA. Unpaged.

<sup>25</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 119.

of a small carrot or radish. These are all roasted in the hot ashes and peeled before they are eaten and have a more or less bitter taste.<sup>26</sup>

Word about some of these root vegetables, particularly the yam daisy, *Microseris scapigera*, called *murnong* by some Aborigines, spread quickly among settlers and became a popular vegetable for South Australian colonists. Flavours seemed to change with the seasons; *Microseris scapigera* grew prolifically in southern Australia and in spring had such a sweet, nutty flavour when roasted that colonial botanist Ferdinand von Mueller suggested cultivating it as a vegetable in Europe.<sup>27</sup> Intensive farming in the settled areas of southern Australia later caused the plant to become scarce, since it was no match for European farm animals herded onto the virgin land. William Nott wrote in the 1860s of pigs being put to graze on yams and uprooting the whole crop.<sup>28</sup> Feral agents were already destroying the delicate indigenous environment, a situation not likely to encourage the continued use of indigenous plant foods.

Other *mai* foods adopted by early South Australian settlers were fruits and berries, and again the Lutheran missionaries identified, tasted and documented these in the company of Aborigines. Teichelmann wrote enthusiastically about tasting the pig-face fruits when travelling with Aborigines at Lake Alexandrina, and so did Schurmann and his colleague Carl Wilhelmi when arriving at Port Lincoln in 1840. Later in a publication about the Aboriginal people of South Australia Schurmann described the experience of eating this fruit:

---

<sup>26</sup> Schurmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia', p. 216.

<sup>27</sup> Tim Low, *Wild Food Plants of Australia* (Pymble, NSW, 1991), p. 109.

<sup>28</sup> Joy K. Chilman, *Barossa Valley Aboriginal Heritage Survey: Pilot Survey* (Adelaide: Department of Environment and Planning, 1990), p. 35.



[This is a ] fruit of a species of cactus, very elegantly styled pigs-faces by the white people, but by the natives called *karkalla*. The size of the fruit is rather less than that of a walnut and it has a thick skin of a pale reddish colour by compressing which the glutinous sweet substance inside slips into the mouth.<sup>29</sup>

Several indigenous fruits documented and named by early missionaries, pioneer botanists and by the explorer Edward John Eyre later found their way into the mouths of German-speaking settlers. These included desert *quandongs*<sup>30</sup> or native peaches, *Santulum acuminatum*, tart-tasting bright red berries from an attractive small tree. More than one Barossa family can trace their family custom of gathering *quandongs* or *ketango* from the areas east and west of the Barossa Ranges back through three or four generations.<sup>31</sup> Cooks in these Barossa families served them with the same crumbly *Streusel* topping used for their traditional German cake. The western stands of *quandong* have since given way to housing and vineyards, but those east of the range remain, and families still pick them, although their crops have been meagre in recent years.<sup>32</sup> In North America European acceptance of the food of local inhabitants seems to have followed a similar pattern. In *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, Donna Gabaccia observes that the Europeans settling in North America used indigenous ingredients in their own recipes, for example, making American pumpkin sweetened with maple syrup into an English pie.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Schurmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia', p. 218.

<sup>30</sup> Edward John Eyre, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines and the State of Their Relations with Europeans* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1845), p. 286. The Moorunde people called quandongs *ketango*.

<sup>31</sup> Frank Garrett, interview (Tanunda: 1994); Margaret Ahrens, interview (Tanunda: 2004).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, pp. 10, 28.

When attractive foods such as these grow above the ground, it is not always certain whether Europeans learned to eat them from contact with Aborigines or from observing birds and animals feeding. If the fruits have been identified in European documentation by an Aboriginal name, however, settlers must have learned about them from Aboriginal people. This is the case with the native cherry, which Schurmann learned from the Kaurna was called *tilti*.<sup>34</sup> The plant, resembling a native pine, has small red fruits in spring, summer and autumn, each with its seed growing outside the flesh. The shrubs still grow in hilly parts of the Barossa and local residents know where to find them. The slightly astringent fruits have never been used in cooking, but generations of people have enjoyed standing at the bush and eating them. The earliest local record of Europeans doing so described an incident in 1845, when the Matthews children on their 4½-mile walk to school in Angaston ‘saw a tree of native cherries, lovely red ones, and so ripe that they could not resist the temptation to halt a few minutes to pick some.’ They stopped to feed and were startled when a spear came flying out of the bushes, rapidly followed by three Aboriginal adults who assured the children that they had not been intending to hurt them.<sup>35</sup>

Schurmann learned from the Aborigines about berries named *kangatta*.<sup>36</sup> These were most likely the fruits later called native currants, *Acrotriche depressa* (growing on thorny bushes only in the Barossa area of Australia and on Kangaroo

---

<sup>34</sup> Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann and Clamor W. Schurmann, *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology, of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia* (Adelaide: published by the authors at the native location, 1840), p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Geo. C. Morphett, ‘The History of Thomas and Harriett Matthews’, in Young, Harmstorf, Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3*, p. 267.

<sup>36</sup> Teichelmann and Schurmann, *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia*, p. 8.

Island off the South Australian coast). They made excellent jelly. Once German-speaking settlers learned about them, they developed a tradition of annual picnics when families would spend a day in the wilderness, gathering the berries to make preserves and cordials. This widespread custom dates back to at least 1856 according to South Australian botanist Johann Gottlieb Otto Tepper who was living at Lyndoch in the Barossa at that time.<sup>37</sup> Some of the berry pickers over the years grew impatient with the painful process of extracting the berries from the prickly lower branches and, with shameful disregard of the environment, pulled up the bushes roots and all in order to harvest the crop more easily. Bushes survive to this day in conservation parks, but they are difficult to propagate and could face extinction without care.<sup>38</sup> For some local people gathering and cooking the berries to make jam still endures as a family custom. Native currants were not the only wild foods adopted by Europeans in the Barossa. As recently as the 1920s people were gathering wild cress, *Lepidium ruderake*, in the creeks up in the ranges and native cranberries, *Astroloma humifusum*, in the sandy foothills of the Barossa. They also cooked with the bitter quandong, *Santalum murrayanum*, made apple-flavoured puddings from *muntari* berries, *Kunzea pomifera*, and lemon-flavoured cordial from the sourbush, *Leptomeria aphylla*, gathered in the Moppa Scrub near Nuriootpa.<sup>39</sup> Possibly these plants were first identified for them by the German botanist Hans Herman Behr, who gave detailed accounts of food plants in the

---

<sup>37</sup> Johann Gottlieb Otto Tepper, *Authentic Family Records* (Adelaide: typescript, 192?), p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> Prue Henschke, interview, (Keynteon: 2004).

<sup>39</sup> Darrell Kraehenbuehl, telephone interview (Adelaide, 1994); Low, pp. 34, 132, 197.

Adelaide Hills and Barossa Ranges, and who preferred to travel with an Aboriginal companion.<sup>40</sup>

The *paru* or animal foods of the Aboriginal people came more readily than *mai* to the notice of the European settlers, who already had names for them like *kangaroo* and *opossum* and needed little further Aboriginal interpretation. One of the most exhaustive lists of *paru* was compiled by Edward John Eyre.<sup>41</sup> (Eyre was, incidentally, a good friend of Schurmann and stayed with him for some weeks at Port Lincoln before beginning his journey of exploration across the Nullarbor Desert.<sup>42</sup>) Eyre's list contained crayfish and other crustaceans, fish such as *mallowe* caught on the Coorong backwater, frogs, small marsupials, snakes, lizards, turtles, grubs, the *bouguon* moth, termites, possums, swans, geese, ducks and other birds, wallabies, eggs, honey from wild bees, emus and, of course, kangaroos. Europeans adopted these animal foods with more or less enthusiasm, preferring the larger mammals to such a point that kangaroos had been hunted out of the areas around Adelaide before 1842.<sup>43</sup> Daniel Thiermann, living in Tanunda in the Barossa in 1848, claimed not to have seen a kangaroo, let alone tasted one, since his arrival in Australia in 1847.<sup>44</sup> The settlers caught fish; the rainbow-spotted gudgeon was known both to Aborigines and to the Europeans, who in later decades

---

<sup>40</sup> Kraehenbuehl, 'Pioneer German Botanists in Colonial South Australia: The Ones Who Stayed – And Those Who Left' (Adelaide: unpublished typescript prepared for the Barossa Valley Vintage Festival, 1993), p. 8; Kraehenbuehl, telephone interview, 1997.

<sup>41</sup> Eyre, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines*, pp. 288–290.

<sup>42</sup> Edwin A. Schurmann, *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia, 1838–1853* (Adelaide, 1987), p. 119.

<sup>43</sup> Graetz, ed., *Missionary to the Kaurna: The Klose Letters*, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Johann Daniel Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, U. Lynen, trans. (Tanunda: hand-written diary, 1848), p. 9.

brought them in to sell at the Adelaide markets.<sup>45</sup> The Europeans enjoyed oysters, which were abundant on the coasts near Adelaide at the time of first settlement but which are no longer found in those areas.<sup>46</sup> Europeans shot birds and mammals. Alfred Brauer, in his history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, seemed to have evidence that the first settlers at Hahndorf, 'following the example of the [A]borigines,' ate baked snake and lizard and 'declared it to be a very agreeable dish to the palate,'<sup>47</sup> although most reptiles and moths seem to have met general consumer resistance.<sup>48</sup> In general, many indigenous plants and animals were acceptable eating for the European arrivals, and Aboriginal people demonstrated their use.

### **Shared Meals**

This does not mean, however, that a genuine transfer of food culture from Indigenous people to European settlers was taking place, for any kind of cultural exchange requires both resources and people in a dynamic mix.<sup>49</sup> In that regard the early German-speaking settlers in the Adelaide Hills and the Barossa had relatively small opportunity for meaningful contact with the indigenous occupants of the land. The Aborigines in their area were few, a phenomenon observed by several

---

<sup>45</sup> Lewis O'Brien, Aboriginal Elder, interview (Adelaide: 2004).

<sup>46</sup> Maritime Museum display, Port Adelaide, 2002.

<sup>47</sup> Alfred Brauer, 'A Few Pages From the Life of the Fathers', *The Australian Lutheran Almanac for 1928* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1927), p. 55.

<sup>48</sup> Clamor Schurmann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia', p. 215; Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 8, wrote that Aborigines lived 'off anything, even unclean animals,' a remark indicating the line drawn between Aboriginal and European diet tolerances.

<sup>49</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p.84.

contemporary writers.<sup>50</sup> Many had died from the small-pox that had travelled along rivers from Sydney before the colony of South Australia had begun in 1836. After the 1860s their appearances in the Barossa were rare.<sup>51</sup> Yet the diary of Daniel Thiermann, written in Tanunda in 1848, mentioned that Aboriginal people often visited neighbouring Germans and could speak English as well as a few words of German.<sup>52</sup> Other early accounts described in some detail visits by large groups of Aboriginal people to German farmhouses in the Adelaide Hills.<sup>53</sup> Between 1860 and 1870 young Emilie Wurst, living at Nuriootpa in the Barossa with her parents, was delighted when Aborigines camped behind the house for several weeks, and she wanted to take them food so that she could ask them for a corroboree.<sup>54</sup> Evidence has also come to light of a white baby in the 1880s being suckled by an Aboriginal woman in the nearby encampment along the Tanunda Creek when the baby's mother was unable to lactate. One hundred years later the same person, still mentally alert, maintained that he owed his longevity to 'black milk'.<sup>55</sup>

These reports of social interaction between settlers and the original inhabitants are supported by the contemporary painting *A Scene in South Australia*, created around 1850 by the German artist Alexander Schramm, who arrived in Adelaide in 1849 and lived there until his death in 1864. The painting depicts the

---

<sup>50</sup> Coles and Draper, 'Aboriginal History and Recently-Discovered Art in the Mount Lofty Ranges', *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, p. 32; Reimer, Rudolph, 'Süd Australien: ein Beitrag zur deutschen Auswanderungsfrage,' *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, pp. 48–49.

<sup>51</sup> Chilman, *Barossa Valley Aboriginal Heritage Survey*, pp. 36–39.

<sup>52</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, extract, B. Arnold, trans., *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, p. 50.

<sup>54</sup> Emilie Louise Pauline Leditschke, 'A Short Autobiography' (Adelaide: unpublished manuscript, 1950), p. 2

<sup>55</sup> Jenny Beckmann, interview (Nuriootpa: 2006). The man was her grandfather, 'Pop' Kaesler.

visit of an Aboriginal group to a family of settlers. The expressions on the faces of the Europeans are relaxed and benign. The woman of the house continues to do the washing as she talks to the leading Aboriginal who is carrying a baby. Only the dog is growling at an Aboriginal woman taking a log from the fire while the white woman's back is turned, an action arousing mildly amused interest among the other white onlookers.<sup>56</sup> If this scene was typical for any settlers in country settings, opportunities for social interaction with Aborigines, and thus for cultural transfer, did exist.



Alexander Schramm, *A Scene in South Australia, circa 1850*

<sup>56</sup> Alexander Schramm, *A Scene in South Australia, circa 1850*, depicted and described in Christopher Menz, *Colonial Biedemeier and German Art in South Australia during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 1992), p 11, p. 16.

Unfortunately, evidence that these opportunities gave rise to the reciprocal sharing of meals, cooking methods or recipes between Lutheran farming families and Aboriginal people has not appeared in contemporary documents available at the present time. Brauer's report of settlers sharing grilled snake and lizard is a single exception, but he does not reveal his sources.<sup>57</sup> The writings of the early Lutheran missionaries, however, are a different matter. Once again, the missionaries had been instructed by the Dresden Mission Society to immerse themselves in Aboriginal culture to gain an understanding of all aspects of Aboriginal life so that they could compile a dictionary of their language. Because documented description was part of their written reports, they have provided detailed accounts of cooking kangaroo, shellfish and vegetables, using techniques of slow cooking in a pit or grilling on a bed of fragrant branches over the coals. In his notebooks the missionary C.G. Teichelmann wrote, 'Since wood is scarce in this region, a kind of dense, low-growing shrub serves as pot, hearth and fuel. Onto this the crayfish are thrown, the bush shoved into the fire and the crayfish are cooked.'<sup>58</sup> Clamor Schurmann's description of cooking kangaroo in a ground oven, which he learned on a five-day hunting trip with Kaurna people south of Adelaide, shows not only detailed observation but evident pleasure in cultural sharing as well:

The way in which the Aborigines make a kangaroo palatable is worthy of note... as soon as the prey is killed a suitable spot for cooking is sought out nearby ... Then the animal is carried to this site and the most practised one sets himself to skinning it as far as the head and the greater part of the tail, which latter is cut off and singed in the fire, while another digs a hole in the earth about 1 ½ feet deep, a third gathers small stones and a fourth wood and

---

<sup>57</sup> Brauer, 'A Few Pages from the Life of the Fathers', p. 55.

<sup>58</sup> Teichelmann, Diary, October 22, 1840, p. 13.



lights a fire in the hole in which the stones are heated until they glow. By the time the fire has burned down, the butcher has already gutted the animal, cut off the legs and thighs and cut three slits in the thick flesh of the rump; meanwhile another has cleared the large intestines and with them made a sausage with the blood accumulated in the chest cavity. Now the stones are drawn out by the fire and the smaller ones inserted partly in the breast and bowel cavities and partly in the slitted rump, mixed with the foliage of a small gum tree as spice. Next the kangaroo is laid on the coals in the hole while twigs of the above-named tree are spread underneath as well as over it; in those on top of it, the legs, the tail, the sausage together with the vital organs are placed, and the whole lot covered with the remaining glowing stones. In the meantime a man has removed a piece of bark from a nearby tree, big enough to cover the kangaroo from its head to its tail; the gaps between the bark and the sides of the hole are then sealed with earth so that no air can penetrate. After a comfortable rest of an hour, the pit is opened and a clean, delicious tasting grilled meat drawn out.<sup>59</sup>

### **Adopted Recipes or Cooking Methods**

The flavours, the efficiency of the group effort and the cleanliness of this cooking of the kangaroo might conceivably have encouraged members of the Lutheran congregations to try an unfamiliar technique for cooking meat. Baking in ground ovens and fragrant barbecuing on foliage were certainly within the capability of the farming families, who were used to cooking outdoors on an open fire. Most Barossa families cooked in the open for at least a year when they first settled on their farming lands, and a strong tradition has continued over generations of camping and living off the land.<sup>60</sup> By 1939 it was common for families or groups of friends to spend weeks in tents at the coast when the crabs were running or visit the River Murray to catch a good 'feed' of fish or yabbies.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, Barossa settlers were no strangers to the earthy skills of preparing animals for cooking. The

---

<sup>59</sup> Schurmann, Correspondence with the Dresden Committee of the Evangelische Lutherische Mission Society, 1839, p. 74.

<sup>60</sup> Leditschke, 'A Short Autobiography', p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Yabbies are small freshwater crustaceans; Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 218.

description of the kangaroo blood sausage, indeed, is reminiscent of European pig processing. All of these habits would have created a condition of preadaptation and made it easy for the Europeans to adopt aspects of Aboriginal cooking.

Had the settlers placed meat, fruit or vegetables in a pit or ground oven or exposed them to the direct heat of an open fire because they had learned from Aboriginal people to cook this way, the evidence would have been there in pictures of cooking in the early settlement or in documents or later oral reminiscences of local people. To date such evidence has not appeared. From early documents it is possible to infer one reason for this lack of interest. The diary of Daniel Thiermann, talking about baking bread for a shop, stated, 'Here almost everyone does their own baking in pots. ... We also sell some although the madame does not like doing it. It is baked in pots, although we do have a small oven.'<sup>62</sup> Edward John Eyre also emphasised difference between the two cooking cultures when he wrote that the Aboriginal people had no vessels 'capable of resisting the action of fire'.<sup>63</sup> The Europeans had a cooking-pot culture; the Aborigines did not. It was a cultural trait of German peasants rather than an English one, for the English had cooked meat over open flames for centuries, and, according to Gabaccia, continued to do so when they settled in the American colonies, whereas their new German neighbours rapidly acquired stoves and used cooking pots.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> Eyre, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines*, p. 289.

<sup>64</sup> Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, p. 29; Ulrike Thoms, 'The Change of the Kitchen Range and the Changes in Food Preparation Techniques in Germany, 1850–1950' (Münster: Paper presented to the Fourth Symposium of the International Commission for Research into European Food History, 1995), p. 4.

Early South Australian pictures show pots enclosing the European food to protect it from the external environment. The German-speaking settlers heated water and baked bread in pots.<sup>65</sup> They cooked their meat, soup and porridge in pots. Even decades later they preferred to pot-roast and simmer their meat rather than to dry-roast in the oven. Such a cultural predisposition would not easily admit an approach to cooking that did not create a barrier between the food and its source of heat. Even in the twentieth century among Barossa families of German or German/English descent slow cooking on camping expeditions required containment in pots. In recent interviews among families identified as maintaining the camping tradition, none could remember earlier generations grilling or roasting meat over an open fire or in a ground oven when camping. The general impression was that the practice of grilling over a barbecue at a 'chop picnic' seems to have developed only after the Second World War. By this date Aboriginal people had left the Barossa district.

If Aboriginal methods did not influence the cooking of meat, the situation is less clear with regard to methods of baking loaves of bread. Connections are possible although not easy to trace conclusively between Australian Aboriginal seed loaves baked in the ashes and settlers' unleavened damper. Far greater evidence exists of Northern Europeans adopting methods of indigenous American cooking; Donna Gabaccia discerns a direct link between the Indian practice of leavening corn-meal with alkaline ash and turning ash into baking soda, an agent which was to transform methods of making cakes and breads in the European

---

<sup>65</sup> Heinrich F. W. Proeve, *Gottlieb and Hedwig Schultz of Walton: The Story of Their Emigration and the Families of Their Children* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1980), p. 36; Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 11.

tradition.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless in parts of South Australia near the Barossa two documented instances of German-speaking settlers baking dough in the ashes give cause to wonder whether colonists learned to cook damper from the Aboriginal people. Both examples appear in Brauer's history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia. According to Brauer, in the first settlement at Lobethal, begun in 1842, Frau-Pastor Fritzsche and the other women baked their bread 'in iron saucepans or in hot ashes'. The second of Brauer's examples took place between 1848 and 1855, when the theology students and their peripatetic teacher, Pastor Fritzsche, on their habitual walk from Lobethal to the Barossa, a distance of 50 kilometres, were fed at Birdwood (Blumberg) by a Lutheran congregation member Brother Pfeiffer. This shepherd served them roast mutton, tea and damper. For his Lutheran readers Brauer parenthetically defines damper as 'unleavened cake baked in hot ashes'.<sup>67</sup>

To bake their particular loaves in hot ashes Aborigines in the Barossa and Adelaide Hills, like their counterparts in many areas of Australia, used a paste of ground seeds and water. Local stones for grinding seeds still exist.<sup>68</sup> Soon Aboriginal people were obtaining flour, and Laurel Dyson, author of *How to Cook a Galah*,<sup>69</sup> suggests that it was from them that white settlers throughout Australia learned to mix flour and water to make the loaf known as damper and cook it in the ashes of the campfire. Here is part of her argument:

---

<sup>66</sup> Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat* p. 28. The practice makes the cornmeal more nutritious.

<sup>67</sup> Alfred Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross: History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1956, 1985), pp. 72, 190.

<sup>68</sup> Roger E. Teusner, *A Short History of The Barossa Valley* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1971), p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> Laurel Dyson, *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia's Culinary Heritage* (Melbourne: Lothian, 2002).

None of the discussion is to my mind at all satisfactory. None of the discussion clearly explains how Aboriginal people are cooking/eating damper and non-Aboriginal people are cooking/eating damper and how the two are totally lacking in connection (the assumption by all modern food historians is that they are unconnected). Why should they be unconnected? We use the same word to describe them, they have the same basic technique (although there are many variations, plus certain differences if you are using different native grains), and fulfil the same role in the diet.<sup>70</sup>

To Dyson the settlers' observations of Aboriginal baking in the coals indicate a natural progression to trying the technique for themselves, but Brauer does not mention how Frau-Pastor Fritzsche and Brother Pfeiffer learned to bake bread and damper in the ashes. Cooking this way intrigues him, for in his book he rarely mentions food, and yet he singles out these two instances as noteworthy. Although he does not give his sources of information, his anecdotes lead to the possible conclusion that Brother Pfeiffer learned his culinary skills from his English employers or other English workers. The Angas family and W. H. Dutton from Sydney engaged the Germans on their sheep runs and dairy farms in the Adelaide Hills.<sup>71</sup> For English settlers, mutton, tea and damper were the classic outback bush fare trio, the object of many jokes, yarns and lines of verse.<sup>72</sup> They were not the common fare of German-speaking settlers in the bush. Brother Pfeiffer was more likely to learn about damper from English rather than from Aboriginal people.

As for Frau-Pastor Fritzsche's bread baked in the ashes five years earlier, no indication remains that the women copied this method from the Aborigines, although at the time of initial settlement, according to Brauer, local communication

---

<sup>70</sup> Dyson, letter to A. Heuzenroeder (Sydney: November 2004).

<sup>71</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, pp. 85–87; E. R. Simpson, *The Hahndorf Walkers and the Beaumont Connection* (Adelaide: Beaumont Press, 1983), pp. 75–76.

<sup>72</sup> Warren Fahey, *When Mabel Laid the Table: The Folklore of Eating and Drinking in Australia* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1992), p. 19.

with the Aborigines seems to have involved some sharing of food.<sup>73</sup> It was a practice that did not endure. Once again, the Lutherans preferred to cook their food in some sort of vessel.<sup>74</sup> Masonry bread ovens protecting the food from the external environment – and iron bread tins protecting the food from the environment inside the masonry oven – soon became an integral part of baking.<sup>75</sup> Already some cooks were using a *Backofen* in the 1840s, and some family bread tins date back to at least the 1860s.<sup>76</sup> To encase their food and place a metal barrier between it and the outside world is a cultural behaviour that had been learned at least two centuries before emigration to Australia, an evolution described by Norbert Elias in *The Civilizing Process*.<sup>77</sup> As Claude Lévi-Strauss explains in his writing on the culinary triangle, boiled food is doubly mediated. One can say that the roasted is on the side of nature, the boiled on the side of culture; literally because boiling requires the use of a receptacle, a cultural object.<sup>78</sup> Mid-nineteenth-century philosophers of cuisine, says Lévi-Strauss, had a consciousness of the same contrast between knowledge and inspiration, serenity and violence, measure and lack of measure, symbolised by the boiled and the roasted. With a cultural and historical foundation like that, the nineteenth-century European cook was certainly not going to abandon the pot or the implements that went with it and adopt another way of cooking.

---

<sup>73</sup> The instances previously cited were learning to catch possums and sharing a meal of snake and lizard.

<sup>74</sup> All the ten local people interviewed about their camping practices today said that they cooked their damper in an iron camp oven.

<sup>75</sup> Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, p. 169, claims that the wife of Reverend Meyer had a separately-built bread oven in the early 1840s at the mission at Encounter Bay.

<sup>76</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Nuriootpa: 2002.); Sylvia Wohling, interview (Bethany: 2004).

<sup>77</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* [1939], Edmund Jephcott, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978–1982), p. 125.

<sup>78</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The Culinary Triangle', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 28–35.

As Levi-Strauss intimates, the use of a cooking pot was an unspoken declaration of underlying attitudes about people whose practices were considered violent and uncontrolled. In the earliest stage of settlement, that period of cautious acceptance, the Lutherans learned to use Aboriginal food ingredients and even shared grilled snake, but they always believed their culture to be superior. In spite of the early colony's resolve to behave fairly towards the original inhabitants of the land, and although the Lutheran congregations were cautious 'but not unfriendly',<sup>79</sup> some Lutheran settlers revealed their sense of superiority by referring to the latter as 'savages' and by decrying their lack of morals and work ethic.<sup>80</sup> Germans in the city engaged Rudolph Reimer to write a description of South Australia for other Germans intending to migrate. His remarks are indicative of views held by his city contemporaries: 'Of course, the natives are at such a low stage of development that one is often inclined not to credit them with human reasoning. They are not able to make the simplest conclusions and of religion they seem to have no inkling.'<sup>81</sup>

Not all German settlers held Reimer's views. The evidence cited previously in this chapter suggests that country people had much closer personal contact and understanding. Intellectuals like Schurmann and Klose, who taught Aboriginal children every day at *Piltawodli*, affirmed repeatedly that the students learned just as quickly as European children. On the other hand, most white settlers regarded the Aboriginal inhabitants as inferior people who needed to be taught civilisation

---

<sup>79</sup> Roger E. Teusner, 'The First Inhabitants', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised*, p. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Schurmann, Correspondence with the Dresden Committee of the Evangelische Lutherische Mission Society, Dec. 1838, p. 2; Graetz, ed., *Missionary to the Kurna: The Klose Letters*, p. 14; Schramm, *A Scene in South Australia, circa 1850*. This painting juxtaposes the attractive order, cleanliness and productiveness of the German family, their white-washed cottage, their washing tub and their bee-hive with the dark, unkempt and thieving blacks.

<sup>81</sup> Rudolf Reimer, 'A Contribution on the Question of German Emigration, Adelaide, 1850', B. Arnold, trans., *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, p. 49.

and religion. For one thing, as Elkin explains, Aborigines possessed few items of material culture (like cooking pots) because these were an encumbrance to their nomadic life; Europeans, on the other hand, regarded this lack as absence of culture, because they could see no material symbols, no 'points of resistance' on the cultural frontier.<sup>82</sup> Even the botanist Behr, educated as he was and accustomed as he was to contact with Aboriginal people who must have taught him much about foods in the bush, spoke condescendingly of Aboriginal acquaintances in the following passage:

I did not find any plants here, but there was manna, to which my black friend Tujaemlurig drew my attention. I had the good luck to meet this aborigine on the way to Maronde [= Moorundie] **and a native is always better than no companion at all** [emphasis added].<sup>83</sup>

To assert that this cultural attitude alone was responsible for preventing the early settlers from adopting methods of cooking meats, vegetables and grains in contact with direct heat in the coals or in ground ovens would be simplistic. Other reasons came into play: the time they needed to establish farms with a more regular source of food would have deprived them of the luxury of opportunities to experiment;<sup>84</sup> the disappearance of foods from the natural environment would have removed the rational underpinnings of a certain type of cooking; changing expectations and aspirations as the settlers' material fortune increased would have given them a taste for greater artifice. This way of life, reinforced by a yearning for

---

<sup>82</sup> Elkin, 'Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia', p. 165.

<sup>83</sup> Kraehenbuehl, 'Pioneer German Botanists in Colonial South Australia', p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat* p. 29. In North America too the excessive work demands made on the women who were also responsible for most of the cooking gave them little time for the mental processes to make the bridging possible.



home, would ensure that colonists cooked using their own traditional methods.<sup>85</sup> The important custom of cooking in a pot, with all the assumptions about material culture that accompanied that structure, was fundamental in maintaining the Lutherans' cohesive cultural identity in an uncertain situation and therefore closed the minds of most against aspects of another culinary culture.

Clifford Geertz has warned about the pitfalls of observing general patterns of behaviour and from them deducing inviolable cultural rules.<sup>86</sup> His comments are certainly relevant in this example, for the local Barossa inhabitants descended from the very earliest settlers in the village of Bethany did have exceptions to the requirement of using a cooking-pot to act as barrier between the fire and the food. Every Easter, for example, the villagers would rake together their garden cuttings, pine needles and tree branches, and on the Saturday evening before Easter Day on the stretch of open ground that formed the Bethany village common they would light their *Osterfeuer*, or Easter Fire, clearing out the old dross in a cleansing before the following day's religious festival. The custom was a European ritual from pre-Christian times, which had been condemned as a sacrilege as early as the *Concilium Germanicum* of 742 AD but later adapted to conform to the symbolism of Christianity.<sup>87</sup> In the coals the people of Bethany would put apples and quinces from the trees growing along the creek and potatoes from the garden. Such a

---

<sup>85</sup> Allison James, 'Cooking the Books: Global or Local Identities in Contemporary British Food Cultures?' in David Howes, ed., *Cross-Cultural Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 85. James quotes the menu devised by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his *Tristes Tropiques* using tropical ingredients cooked in the French manner to invoke his memories of home.

<sup>86</sup> Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p. 20.

<sup>87</sup> Frederick G. Holweck, 'Easter' in K. Knight, ed., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, website at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>, accessed December 2004.

custom in some ways might contradict any claim about an unrelenting cooking-pot culture.

Interviews with five elderly residents of Bethany who remember the *Osterfeuer* celebrations of their childhood explain the context of this now defunct custom.<sup>88</sup> The largest bonfire was for a gathering of a group of families, each comprising nine to thirteen children. Some other families, it appears, also had shared bonfires, and at each gathering the evening picnic was a chance for the adults to drink and eat food brought from their houses, with a little accordion music and dancing afterwards, while the children hunted for Easter eggs hidden among the trees. Gathering the bonfire material for weeks before the Saturday evening was the province of the children, and roasting the fruit and vegetables in the fire was mainly a children's activity. The serious food of the evening was not cooked over the embers of the fire but carried in baskets and bags from the kitchen, where it had been cooked in the usual way. The roasted food did not appear to have any connection to the cooking methods of Aborigines but to remnants of a much older tradition from which the villagers' own European religious custom had evolved.

### **Spiritual and Cultural Values**

Interpreting the simple cooking pot as an object of deeper cultural understanding leads to a final stage of the cultural transfer of food, namely, that of acknowledging that food can have significance in ceremonial observance. If people learning a new food culture were to regard certain foods as part of ritual

---

<sup>88</sup> Dennis Hage, Sylvia Wohling, Betty Nicolai, Lawrie Schrapel, Olga Nitschke, oral interviews, (Bethany: 2004).

observance, they would be displaying signs of spiritual acculturation in the use of their adopted food. Not unexpectedly, no examples of such spiritual surrender have revealed themselves in descriptions of early Lutheran immigrants confronted with Aboriginal food practices. No records appear to exist, for example, showing that the settlers were aware of the taboos placed by Aboriginal people on eating the animal of their individual totem.<sup>89</sup> On the contrary, so strongly did the Germans' culinary practices affirm their own values that they used them on at least two documented occasions in the presence of Aborigines as a manifestation of their beliefs. Consciously or unconsciously, the Lutheran settlers attached cultural significance to some of their foods. Their honey biscuits and ammonia biscuits, for example, were treats for the Christmas festival and were not seen at other times of the year. The cultural status of the settlers' daily bread was also significant. For centuries it had been a mark of civilisation and of survival. Its nature and its function in the Eucharist had been the subject of long-standing disputes that had incontrovertibly altered Christianity in Europe.<sup>90</sup>

The two following incidents illustrate how food can become involved in cultural confrontation without this profound understanding ever being explicitly articulated. The first is one already cited, when the missionary Samuel Klose wanted to prepare a Christmas treat for his pupils in the *Piltawodli* mission school.

---

<sup>89</sup> Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat*, p. 34. Like the South Australian Lutherans, the Christians colonising North America showed no appreciation of local spirituality accompanying the ingestion of local food. Writing of the widespread use of Indian corn by colonists especially in New Mexico, where corn had a deep spiritual significance for the indigenous population, Gabaccia points out that the Spanish-speaking settlers of New Mexico ate the corn of the Pueblos without adopting with it native beliefs about the creation of humans from Masa dough; they remained Christians even though they ate corn.

<sup>90</sup> These significances are explored more fully in Chapters 3, 4 and 6.

On Christmas Eve when I had given the children **their** biscuits and was leaving the school-room, in spirit I was strongly in Dresden, seeing in my mind's eye the many gifts distributed to children who are not as poor as ours... I wondered: Who will give anything to our children? I still had nine pence at my disposal with which I went into the town and bought six pence worth of bread; tea I had collected from the river where wild mint grows [emphasis added].<sup>91</sup>

Even in his state of penury, Klose as a matter of course made sure that the Aboriginal children had Christmas biscuits at the appropriate time. They were part of the concept of Christianity and civilised custom that he was presenting to the students in his charge.

The second is an incident related by early settlers in Bethany, the first Lutheran village in the Barossa, and recorded by Brauer.

The natives had been begging for bread and lard, in preference to bread and jam, for some time, and were never sent away empty. After a while, however, the discovery was made that they threw bread away after using the lard, or gave it to their dogs... The lard they scraped off the bread and used as an unguent or cold cream for the lubrication and beautification of their faces, also as an application for the hair. When they were told that the bread and lard had been given them as food and not for toilet purposes, they assumed a defiant and hostile demeanour and threatened to take revenge on the women folk when the men were away at work.<sup>92</sup>

The abuse of food in this way, particularly of bread, since for Europeans it was abhorrent to mistreat this important supporter of life, understandably appeared to the Lutheran settlers to be a cultural offence. On the other hand, for the Peramangk people in the area preparation for a corroboree with its spiritual component required the greasing of the hair and the painting of the body with a paint made

---

<sup>91</sup> Graetz, ed., *Missionary to the Kaurua: The Klose Letters*, p. 17.

<sup>92</sup> Heinrich F. W. Proeve, *A Dwelling-Place at Bethany; The Story of a Village Church* (Tanunda: Lutheran Publishing House, 1983), p. 26.

from ochre and animal fat.<sup>93</sup> The Aboriginals' anger at being chastised for anointing their hair with the lard makes sense in the context of their ritual requirements. In one small incident of misunderstanding and confrontation people of two unrelated cultures saw a food that was culturally important to each misapprehended by the other group.

## **Conclusion**

In seeking evidence of Aboriginal influence on the food of the early German-speaking settlers to the Barossa and related parts of South Australia, this chapter has examined four different stages of possible culinary acceptance, as I perceive them. These were the using of indigenous ingredients, being guests and sharing indigenous food prepared by Aboriginal hosts, adopting indigenous methods of preparing dishes and, finally, ingesting not only the food but the cultural values accompanying it. The meagre documentary evidence available shows that ordinary settlers as well as clergy running the missions did, in fact, learn about ingredients directly or indirectly from the Aboriginal occupants and that they did share meals, for example, of snake and lizard, cooked by those people. Such events seem to have occurred more frequently within the first ten years of contact, in that first receptive phase described in Elkin's analysis of Aboriginal and European relations. As for cooking methods like baking meat in ground ovens, no evidence has come to light that Barossa people ever adopted any and, although they sometimes imposed on

---

<sup>93</sup> Ian Harmstorf, 'Aboriginals in the Barossa Valley Area', in Young, Harmstorf, Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Vol. 3*, p. 263.

Aboriginal people their own deepest cultural values through food, no evidence shows that they accepted Aboriginal values in return.

Essentially the Germans rejected Aboriginal cooking methods because of their own cultural perceptions. The civilising process which had taken centuries to give Europeans all their artificial carapace of protection from the raw natural world prevented them from seeing any value in an alien alternative. Accustomed to placing barriers between their food and the environment, they had no esteem for a culture without vessels capable of cooking food over heat. Any appreciation of Aboriginal methods would take many years to stir, and as time passed the growth of settled areas made such an appreciation less likely to occur. Individuals like Menge, Baer and the ordained Lutheran missionaries, who were more receptive than others and had a greater appreciation of the finer culinary points of another food culture, were more highly educated people. Clamor Schurmann, especially in the early days of his missionary work, wrote about Aboriginal food culture with great enthusiasm at a time in his life when new encounters made him receptive to new ideas. He frequently travelled in the company of Aboriginal people and went hunting with them. In his later letters to the Dresden Mission Society, however, when he was living at Port Lincoln in a period of strife and hardship, he wrote to his superiors in Germany saying: 'Of course I visit them [the Aboriginal people] but that does not mean living with them in the sense that you appear to mean and indeed wish. This ... would only be possible if one ... nourished himself with their often meager diet.'<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Schurmann, letters to the Dresden Mission Society, Folder 5, p. 174.

Here is the final problem. Even those like Schurmann who could cast off restraint and learn new methods faced an inherent difficulty in taking up Aboriginal culinary practices, for the underlying situation went deeper than culture. It was an environmental problem. Time was running out; indigenous food was running out. Within the first decade of his ministry, Schurmann could see a change from the relatively bountiful food supply at the time of his arrival to the bitter struggle for nourishment as indigenous food and the numbers of Aboriginal people diminished. In those circumstances, the enduring influence of Aboriginal food on the culture of the descendants of the early Lutheran settlers could finally be limited to a few remaining indigenous ingredients used occasionally within the recipes of their own culture. With indigenous food sources becoming scarce in the colony, the environment could not support a cultural transfer of food practices that relied on natural ingredients now rapidly disappearing. The next chapter will reveal a different result when German-speaking families in the Barossa came into contact with the foods of the English settlers whose sense of control and cultural perceptions were similar to their own.

## **Chapter 3: Culture to Culture, Part Two; People with Power**

### **Introduction**

Aboriginal ground ovens could not undermine European cooking pots, but eastern central European food practices mixed more readily with the food of the English. Even though it never entirely replaced them, the English way of eating was compatible with food habits of the German-speaking Lutheran families, a fact which brought about change to a considerable degree. Examples in this chapter will show that the extent to which each set of food habits influenced the other varied from family to family, and that the process took some dramatic turns along the way as the two cultures confronted each other. These factors made the rate of acceptance and adoption of different foods uneven. They did not, however, stem the general flow of culinary habits from one culture to the other, so that by the start of the Second World War in 1939 food on the tables of families descended from the first Lutheran immigrants included dishes with a distinct English influence. These dishes were the result of acculturation that was taking place with the English. It was a process that passed through several different stages to a degree far more advanced than the changes created from encounter with the original inhabitants of the land. Contact with the local Aboriginal people had been fleeting, and the opportunity to learn about indigenous food lay only in that early period of cautious acceptance on both sides described by Elkin and discussed in the previous chapter. By contrast, because the English and the German-speaking immigrants to the Barossa lived in continuing contact from earliest settlement, they had extended time to learn about each other's food practices, and a protracted process of acculturation could occur.



## **Acculturation Models and the Situation in the Barossa**

Sociologists and anthropologists have minutely discussed the nature of acculturation, but many still refer to the original 1936 definition by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits: 'Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.'<sup>1</sup> This definition of changing cultural patterns is the meaning I give to 'acculturation' when examining the changing culinary practices of German-speaking people in the Barossa Valley in contact with English settlers. Subsequent writers interpret the way acculturation takes place. Some see, as Elkin did, stages of cultural encounter between two groups (or even between individuals).<sup>2</sup> John Berry, for example, identifies three phases: early encounter, followed by conflict and then by adaptation (a period in which people make changes to reduce conflict and bring the two ways of living closer together).<sup>3</sup> This pattern and Elkin's similar model follow a typical course of behaviour which, not surprisingly, is evident in records of interaction between the German-speaking settlers and the English in the Barossa Valley at different times. The stages apply to food practices just as much as to other forms of cultural behaviour and are apparent in diaries, newspaper articles,

---

<sup>1</sup> John W. Berry, 'Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation', in Amado M. Padilla, ed., *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980), p. 9; Peter Paul Jonitis, *The Acculturation of the Lithuanians of Chester, Pennsylvania* (New York: AMS Press, 1985), p. 440; Judith Goode, Janet Theophano, and Karen Curtis, 'A Framework for the Analysis of Continuity and Change in Shared Sociocultural Rules for Food Use: The Italian-American Pattern', in Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, eds, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond H. C. Teske Jr, and Bardin H. Nelson, 'Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No.2, 1974, p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Berry, 'Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation', pp. 11, 17.

hand-written recipe notebooks and printed cookery books. Some of these local documents reveal an even closer pattern of acculturation related specifically to food. Using my model from the previous chapter I propose to examine the extent to which the Germans changed their food practices by first adopting ingredients familiar to the English, then sharing food prepared by English cooks, subsequently learning to make English recipes and finally embracing, to a greater or lesser extent, the values bestowed on certain foods by the English at times of cultural significance like Christmas. As acculturation is often a two-way process, evidence emerges of some changes to English people's food as well. The focus, however, will be on adjustments to the food of the descendants of the early German-speaking settlers in the Barossa.

The hegemony implied in looking at English influence on the customs of German settlers needs some qualification, for which of the two cultures was stronger in the perception of the Germans is open to question. Harvey Levenstein has observed that the British, at the apex of the social system in the United States, relentlessly imposed their food tastes on those they dominated.<sup>4</sup> In the colony of South Australia the British were the host nation. South Australia, of all Australian colonies, required the first British occupants to have a certain amount of capital, a condition required by the Wakefield scheme of colonisation on which the colony was based. The largest tracts of land belonged to British settlers, and even in 1925 a publication about prominent graziers contained only three German names in a list

---

<sup>4</sup> Levenstein, 'The Food Habits of European Immigrants to America: Homogenization or Hegemonization?', p. 466; 'The American Response to Italian food, 1880 – 1930', p. 2; Levenstein, *Revolution at the table*, p. 3; Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 436.

of 238, most of them British.<sup>5</sup> Political and economic power, augmented in the last years of the nineteenth century by a sense of racial superiority, placed the English in a confident position to overwhelm minority cultures as they had done in other parts of the world, fired by an egocentric sense of patriotism.<sup>6</sup> Often the impetus to impose British culture came from women,<sup>7</sup> and often they conveyed part of their culture through their cooking and through published recipe books.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the Germans also had a strong sense of their own cultural strength. Of all nationalities setting out to promote their own cultures in other parts of the world, influential Germans were the closest rivals of the English. German and English pioneer settlers sometimes saw themselves as being of similar 'Anglo-Teutonic stock',<sup>9</sup> superior to labouring classes and migrating peasant populations.<sup>10</sup> And, even though the Lutherans migrating from east of the River Elbe were mostly farm workers or peasant villagers and not from those dominant classes at all, the religious motives that had influenced their migration gave them their own strong cultural cohesion. That strength was augmented by their Lutheran education, their different language and their deliberately chosen isolation away from large towns and other religious denominations. Their lives centred round their church communities and families. Women in this milieu were keepers of material culture,

---

<sup>5</sup> Rodney Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia* (Adelaide: Publishers Ltd, 1925–1927), Contents pages to Volumes 1 and 2.

<sup>6</sup> Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, pp. 336, 569.

<sup>7</sup> Nupur Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 231–2, 242. Chaudhuri describes strict English housekeeping practices that British women maintained in India until they returned to England with Indian clothing and recipes; Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, p. 436.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia* (Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982) p. 53.

<sup>9</sup> Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, p. 336.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 436–438.

which reinforced the life view preached from the Lutheran pulpit. They like the English conveyed their culture through their cooking and their recipes.<sup>11</sup>

The Lutherans had a self-contained view of the world. Having thankfully severed ties with their tyrannical and impoverished country of origin, they were glad to be part of a different nation and to swear public allegiance to Queen Victoria, but the world outside their local community impinged little on their daily lives.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the settlement pattern of the Barossa consisted of clusters of Lutheran congregations based in small Lutheran enclaves or interspersed with British inhabitants of the towns, surrounded on the peripheries by large grazing properties belonging to wealthy and powerful families of British origin like the Angases, the Gilberts, the Bagots, the Murrays and the Duttons. The Lutherans' separateness as speakers of German was initially reinforced by their own German-language newspapers, the *Deutsche Post*, the *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Sud Australische Zeitung*. Within their familiar, closed environment, within their congregation clusters, the Lutherans were their own host culture. Like the Italians in the United States, the Lutherans in the Barossa were confident of their own food.<sup>13</sup> This situation would prevent many from moving along the entire scale of British culinary practices, namely using ingredients preferred by the British, then sharing British food, learning to make

---

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Helen Rose Ebaugh, and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, 'Agents for Cultural Reproduction and Structural Change: The Ironic Role of Women in Immigrant Religious Institutions', in *Social Forces*, Vol.78, No.2, 1999, pp. 585–612.

<sup>12</sup> August Kavel, public address on the occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday, May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1839, in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People* pp. 101–103.

<sup>13</sup> Levenstein, 'The American Response to Italian Food, 1880-1930', pp. 1–12.

British recipes and, finally, spiritual ingestion of British dishes of cultural significance. But acculturation would continue nevertheless.

### **Predisposition For Accepting a New Food**

Having a clear picture first of the foods east-central German and English people were eating just before they left for Australia will make it easier to look for this pattern. Other connections also existed between the two groups of people and their food before departure, constituting the state of preadaptation described by Terry Jordan for people settling in a new place, in this case preadaptation of two northern hemisphere cultures about to meet in the antipodes.<sup>14</sup> Two food cultures based in Northern European countries will inevitably have elements in common, sharing as they do many geographic features and common historical influences. Where both countries have land and climate that support similar apple, plum and cherry trees, wild berries in the forest, pigs and poultry in the farmyards, garden vegetables and fields of grain, the dinner tables are going to hold some similar dishes. Stephen Mennell's description of the food of the rural poor of Scotland and the north of England in the late eighteenth century, consisting of broths made from a little meat, oatmeal and barley and pot-herbs, is not very different from Diedrich Saalfeld's account of the food in Eastern Europe in a similar period.<sup>15</sup> Saalfeld describes how in one pot Eastern European peasants cooked barley and oats, peas and beans with different sorts of vegetables, particularly kale and turnip as well as

---

<sup>14</sup> Jordan, 'Preadaptation and Modernization in Rural North America', p. 494.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996) p. 63.

onions, herbs and fats for seasoning.<sup>16</sup> In 1801 John Quincy Adams, later President of the United States, travelled through Silesia and ate a simple meal at a peasant farm near the southern hills. The meal consisted of ‘excellent brown bread, water, milk and butter, and tolerable cheese.’<sup>17</sup> Thirteen years later on an excursion into the northern English hill country William Wordsworth took delight in a similar meal:

... oaten bread, curd cheese, and cream;  
And cakes of butter curiously embossed ...  
Nor lacked, for more delight on that warm day,  
Our table, small parade of garden fruits,  
And whortle-berries from the mountain side.<sup>18</sup>

At its simplest, then, northern European food did have universal characteristics that transcended regional or political boundaries. And in the nineteenth century Prussia and England had other common traits, not the least of which was that their populations included a large number of Protestants. Although not agreeing on points of dogma, they did celebrate the same feast days and shared some festive customs, sometimes as a direct result of royal family members marrying across political boundaries. What is more, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries other people travelled across these boundaries many times, bringing their ideas about food production with them. Some of these travellers were soldiers fighting wars in other parts of the continent.<sup>19</sup> (For example, in 1815 Prussian soldiers led by Blucher joined with the English against Napoleon on the

---

<sup>16</sup> Diedrich Saalfeld, ‘The Struggle to Survive’, in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past* (London: Thames and London, 1982), p. 120.

<sup>17</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia Written During a Tour Through That Country in the Years, 1800, 1801*, p. 81.

<sup>18</sup> William Wordsworth, quoted in Brigid Allen, ed., *Food: An Oxford Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 314.

<sup>19</sup> Joan Thirsk, ‘The Rural Economy’, in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past*, p. 87.

plain of Waterloo.) Some after 1714 were government officials carrying out the English king's regulations in his Electorate of Hanover. Some were cooks and chefs visiting foreign courts and spreading their culinary ideas.<sup>20</sup> Some were agricultural scientists learning or teaching about farming and food production. Among these were Scottish farmers who migrated to Poland in 1816, bringing techniques for cultivating potatoes and making cheese.<sup>21</sup> In the Barossa today are members of the MacKenzie family of good Lutheran stock, descendants from Scottish refugees to eastern central Europe after the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie. European country girls were going to work in city houses, bringing urban ideas about cooking back to their village homes.<sup>22</sup> Those remaining in rural districts received news from the outside world and imported goods, including spices, from itinerant pedlars. All of these travellers spread ideas about food from one place to another, blurring the boundaries of consumption between regions and classes.

Yet in the first half of the nineteenth century the expansion of ideas and culture did not completely remove the characteristics of different regions or nationalities, and differences between English and Prussian ways of living were strong. The east central Europeans, for example, retained cultural traits particularly in their food displaying influences coming from further east in previous centuries, while English ways of living bore the effects of their global trade and rising consumerism.<sup>23</sup> Economically also the regions were dissimilar. Western European

---

<sup>20</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p. 341.

<sup>21</sup> Thirsk, 'The Rural Economy', pp. 91–94.

<sup>22</sup> Teuteberg and Lesnicziak, '*Alte ländliche Festtagsmahlzeiten in der Phase sich intensivierender Verbürgerlichung*', pp. 345–346; Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 60.

<sup>23</sup> John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds, *Introduction to Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 3, 23–24.

countries had the commercial stimulus of lively trade, more large cities and ready coastal access to the rest of the world.<sup>24</sup> The land-bound regions east of the Elbe had slower external connections and, until 1811 when Friedrich von Stein's edict gave peasants the right to freedom of movement, less personal opportunity for people to leave the home district and earn money in another place.<sup>25</sup> Peasant society, attitudes and *mores* endured east of the Elbe at a time when consumerism was raising the standard of living in England, a fact that had certain influences on the food people ate.

Comfortably fed English, according to Grimod de la Reynière in 1806, ate considerable quantities of meat, which they roasted and grilled rather than making a *ragoût* in a pot. Chickens, though, they did boil to make a dish of 'extreme insipidity'. Annual meat consumption by a farming family in Scotland included a carcass of salt beef, one hog and, notably, 24 quarters of mutton.<sup>26</sup> For centuries, English wives had brewed ale and made wines from elderberries and other fruits and flowers.<sup>27</sup> A country housewife knew how to make cow's milk cheese and bake bread. In the early nineteenth century English tastes in bread were changing, and by 1825 much bread eaten in the south of England was stone-milled white.<sup>28</sup> As strong players in the sugar trade and industry, the English had developed a preference for

---

<sup>24</sup> Thirsk, 'The Rural Economy', p. 91.

<sup>25</sup> Rösener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, p. 177.

<sup>26</sup> R. H. Campbell, 'Diet in Scotland: an Example of Regional Variation', in Theodor C. Barker, John C. McKenzie and John Yudkin, eds, *Our Changing Fare* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1966), p. 47.

<sup>27</sup> Joan Thirsk, 'The Preparation of Food in the Kitchen, in Europe North of The Alps, 1500 – 1700', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII – XVIII* (Prato: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 437–438.

<sup>28</sup> John Burnett, 'Trends in Bread Consumption', in Barker, McKenzie, Yudkin, eds, *Our Changing Fare*, p. 62.



sweet foods,<sup>29</sup> and their trade with India, China, the West Indies and the Spice Islands generated wealth in their country as well as stimulating a desire for the flavours of coffee, chocolate, nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves and tea. Tea rapidly overtook coffee to become the universal drink.<sup>30</sup> Among food for special occasions, a distinguishing dish was 'plump pudding' made with breadcrumbs and raisins and other 'bizarre ingredients' such as suet.<sup>31</sup> Pies were also frequently on the table at an English meal.<sup>32</sup>

Some but not all of these food preferences corresponded to those of the Lutherans from eastern central Europe, particularly Silesia. Early South Australian livestock inventories show that newly arrived Germans were not accustomed to mutton.<sup>33</sup> Pork made into smallgoods was an important part of their diet; intending settlers living in Silesia received letters from South Australian relatives advising them to bring ham and sausage to supplement their ships' rations.<sup>34</sup> For many, though, meat had been a rare commodity. (Their consumption of meat will form part of the discussion in Chapter 4.) John Quincy Adams' lunch suggests that at least some families in Silesia had access to a dairy cow or goat and were accustomed to making butter and cheese to go with their bread.<sup>35</sup> The 'brown

---

<sup>29</sup> Peter Griggs, 'Sugar, Demand and Consumption in Colonial Australia, 1788 – 1900', in Robert Dare, ed., *Food, Power and Community* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1999), p. 75.

<sup>30</sup> Jack Cecil Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939), p. 205.

<sup>31</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102; *Dibatito* in Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII – XVIII*, pp. 492–495.

<sup>33</sup> George French Angas, lithographs, in Gordon Young, *Early German Settlements in the Barossa Valley, South Australia* pp. 23, 25; Matthew Sanders and Bernie McInerny, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region From 1844 to 1900', in Young, Harmstorf, Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3*, p. 269 .

<sup>34</sup> August Fiedler, letter to Germany in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 96.

<sup>35</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, p. 95; Jacob, *Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 44.

bread' tasted by Adams was undoubtedly rye, for reasons explained in the chapter on bread. English travellers in the early nineteenth century in Silesia had to drink unpalatable wine (from local grapes) and poor-quality beer that was too expensive for the poor to drink every day.<sup>36</sup> Failing that they drank water, milk and sometimes even cheap brandy, probably made from potatoes.<sup>37</sup> Many brewed their own beer and wine, fuelling their reputation for being heavy drinkers of alcohol.<sup>38</sup> The early German-speaking settlers who came to the Barossa displayed skill in making both beverages. In the first German private house that Daniel Thiermann visited on his arrival in the Barossa, he drank 'a good beer, home made with pollard and sugar'.<sup>39</sup> Hand-written recipe books from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show that Lutheran housewives like their English counterparts brewed large quantities of beer.<sup>40</sup> As for wine, many Lutheran farmers had small presses and made wine for domestic consumption following their old family traditions. English and Germans both contributed to the later success of the Barossa wine industry because they both enjoyed wine.<sup>41</sup>

When tea was rising in popularity among the English, the Germans were espousing coffee. It had been unknown to Silesians in the late eighteenth century,

---

<sup>36</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, p. 19 Adams describes the vineyards around Grünberg, p. 81. Adams drank milk and water at the house of a shepherd; Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, pp. 96, 110; Teuteberg, 'Der Fleisch- und Wurstverzehr der Deutschen in historischer Betrachtung', *Ernährungsforschung*, Vol. 43, 1998, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Hasso Spode, 'Der Sauf bleibt ein allmächtiger Abgott bei uns Deutschen', *Trunkenheit als Baustein der nationalen Identität*, in Teuteberg, Neumann und Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven*, p. 290.

<sup>39</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> For example, the recipe notebooks of Anna Geier (Greenock: 1915), Mrs A. Kruger (Sedan: 1908) and Frau -Pastor M. Stolz (Light Pass: 1907).

<sup>41</sup> George Bell and Geoffrey Bishop, 'Foundations of the Barossa Valley Wine Industry', in Annelly Aeuckens, ed., *Vineyard of the Empire: Early Barossa Vignerons 1842 – 1939* (Adelaide: Australian Industrial Publishers, 1988), p. 22.

and at the time of the first migrations to Australia it was still a rare treat for farming families, to be consumed with caution but popular with women. Just as the English workers were becoming accustomed to a meal of bread with sugared tea, the farming families east of the Elbe were learning to make a quick meal of very weak coffee into which they dipped their buttered bread, especially on Sundays when they needed less energy for their work.<sup>42</sup> The coffee cannot have been very sweet, however; the Lutherans were not yet as addicted to sugar as the English. Although the sugar beet industry was developing in Silesia in the decades of their departure, sugar appears to have had little impact on the diet of people emigrating to South Australia, where in the late 1840s per capita sugar consumption was significantly less than that of the eastern colonies, presumably because of the taste preferences that the numerous German immigrants had brought from their way of life in Europe.<sup>43</sup> For their principal Christmas treat they made biscuits from an ancient recipe using honey and spices with relatively small amounts of sugar. Their Christmas pudding was made with slices of bread and poppy seeds only slightly sweetened. Their festive cake was also less sweet than English cakes. Instead of being iced with sugar it was covered with a crumbly topping of flour, butter, sugar and spice called *Streusel*. The base of the cake was leavened with home-fermented yeast like a brioche dough, the making of which was as much a specialised skill to the Germans as pie-making was to the English (and, according to the German gastronome Count von Rumohr, to the French).<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Franz Schroller, *Schlesien, Band I* (Glogau: Carl Flemming, 1885) p. 177 .

<sup>43</sup> Griggs, 'Sugar, demand and consumption in colonial Australia', pp. 77 – 78.

<sup>44</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p. 128.

The greatest point of difference between the food of the English and the Germans was the extended use of fermentation combined at times with the process of smoking. While the English used fermentation to make cheese, bread and ale, the Germans also fermented yeast dough for their cakes and buns, and they fermented and smoked meat sausages. (Such a practice for sausages was unfamiliar to the English, whose acceptance of smoked flavours was not as pronounced as the Germans' taste).<sup>45</sup> They were particularly adept at fermenting different types of vegetables. Pickling cabbage, cucumbers, turnips and green beans by salting and fermenting them was a procedure that the Germans had learned from Slavic culture.<sup>46</sup> Having prepared these foods for generations so that they would have supplies during winter, the settlers considered them an integral part of their diet.

Here, then, was the state of preadaptation with which the early Lutheran settlers approached the English colony of South Australia, determining the degree to which they would eventually adopt the ways of their English neighbours. In the case of material culture, it consisted of many similar foodways and similar ingredients, with some marked differences in methods; in the case of social acceptance, its foundations were many political ties and similar approaches to religion. One factor that would resist this acceptance, however, was the strict set of religious beliefs that bound the emigrating congregations together as tightly knit

---

<sup>45</sup> Jennifer Stead, 'Necessities and Luxuries: Food Preservation from the Elizabethan to the Georgian Era', in C. Anne Wilson, ed., *Waste Not, Want Not: Food Preservation in Britain from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 75–76.

<sup>46</sup> Uldegard Körber-Grohne, *Nutzpflanzen in Deutschland von der Vorgeschichte bis heute* (Hamburg: Nikol Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995), p. 306.

groups. Some of their principles excluded outsiders.<sup>47</sup> Yet the situation was not consistent. On one hand, a certain xenophobia regarding religious differences was compounded by the settlers' adherence to a different language and their withdrawal to the isolation of the country. On the other, some of their pastors interacted frequently with English settlers, preached in English churches and realised that eventually their own congregations' principal language would be English.<sup>48</sup>

### **Adopted Ingredients**

Just as the Lutheran settlers had found no difficulty accepting Aboriginal ingredients, their adoption of foodstuffs preferred by the English settlers happened in due course. Early diaries and letters showed the delight of the Germans in having access to the quantities of meat enjoyed by the English. In a letter written by Johann Pech to his relatives in Bautzen, Brandenburg, in 1883, he described how his life had changed on arrival in the Barossa in 1850. 'In Germany,' he wrote, 'I did not even know what bacon tasted like, but here I can eat all the bacon and meat I like, for here it is not considered a dinner if there is no meat on the table. Here I can eat all that my heart desires.'<sup>49</sup> Bountiful supplies were immediately apparent to some European immigrants. The relish with which the newly arrived workers enjoyed their food is evident in a passage from Daniel Thiermann's letter of 1848:

---

<sup>47</sup> Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, p. 118. A matter discussed by one of the earliest synods, for example, concerned 'the baptizing of infants whose parents are not members of the church', a point which the minister had listed for deep consideration.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163. The first incumbent Lutheran pastor at Bethany in the Barossa Valley was one such minister; Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 86.

<sup>49</sup> Johann Pech, letter, 1883 in *The Pech Heritage: A History and Family Tree of Johannes Pech and His Descendants 1850 – 1987* (Adelaide: Pech Family History Committee, 1987), p. 17.

In the morning he [the Tanunda innkeeper] gave his workers coffee and eggs, meat, sugar, butter and bread, for lunch meat with vegetables and beer, and in the evening the same as in the morning (tea instead of coffee). Two from the area of Posen were there, who had arrived by ship two days after we had, and they had the time of their life.<sup>50</sup>

For others, a transition to such a luxurious diet did not come so rapidly. *The Barossa News* of 21 July 1932 printed an interview with the son of an early settler of Bethany, Heinrich Ahrens. Mr Ahrens remembered his father saying that people in early Bethany had a diet of soup and vegetables. Meat was scarce and bread was a luxury. This was hardly an improvement on their life in Silesia, but they lived simply because they were paying for the land which they had bought from George Fife Angas for £10 per acre.<sup>51</sup> When they did have meat, the Germans ate pork and goat; records of livestock in Bethany in 1844 reveal that the village had 73 goats but only seven sheep. The situation had changed by 1900, when in the whole district of Tanunda the census revealed only two goats and 540 sheep, 362 pigs, 188 beef cattle, 327 dairy cows and 3670 poultry. English meat preferences were influencing the kind of meat served at the Lutheran dinner tables, and the English preference for cow's-milk products, which the English town-dweller purchased from farmers, contributed to the decline of goats in the district.<sup>52</sup>

Learning the English preference for tea instead of coffee began for the Lutherans on the voyage to Australia. Rations on the *Prince George*, an English ship bringing the first immigrants, included both tea and coffee served mornings

---

<sup>50</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> *The Barossa News*, 21 July, 1932.

<sup>52</sup> Sanders and McNerney, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region from 1844 to 1900', in Young, Harmstorf, Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3*, pp. 269 – 288.

and evenings.<sup>53</sup> The *Zebra* arriving some months later in December 1838 carried passenger provisions including 7 bags of coffee beans and 50 pounds of tea.<sup>54</sup> The *Hermann von Beckerath* bringing Daniel Thiermann to Australia in 1847 served coffee for breakfast and tea at other meals.<sup>55</sup> In the Barossa the complete transition from coffee to tea was, however, slow unless people came into contact with the English. Thiermann found employment at the hotel in Tanunda, where he continued to drink both, although his morning cup of coffee rated several mentions in his writings. On his journeys to Burra and to English sheep stations outside the Barossa he drank tea and did not mention coffee.<sup>56</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century the local taste for coffee continued. Anna Ey, who stayed on Barossa farms at different times of her life, appeared to drink mainly coffee there.<sup>57</sup> Even those in the Barossa unable to afford coffee resorted to roasting and grinding barley kernels, a practice that had begun in Europe many years earlier.<sup>58</sup> Coffee pots were prominent in the photograph of the Schlunke family picnic, taken in the early twentieth century.<sup>59</sup> Around the same time, however, in 1907 after an ordeal at sea when the ship she was travelling on came to Ardrossan Anna Ey thankfully drank a cup of tea.<sup>60</sup> Times and habits began changing and continued to change so that by 1939 tea drinking was almost universal. The childhood memory of Peter Lehmann,

---

<sup>53</sup> Schubert ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 73 .

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160 .

<sup>55</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>57</sup> Anna Ey, *Early Lutheran Congregations of South Australia: Memoirs of a Pastor's Wife* (Adelaide: A. P. H. Freund, 1986), pp. 25, 50, 147, 150.

<sup>58</sup> Henry Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot: Brotbacken auf dem Lande in Mecklenburg* (Rostock: Volkskultur Institut Mecklenburg und Vorpommern, 1992), p. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Don Ross and Reg Munchenberg, 'The Everyday Way of Life', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised*, pp. 126 – 7.

<sup>60</sup> Ey, *Early Lutheran Congregations of South Australia*, p. 79.

one of the Barossa's best-known winemakers and the son of a Lutheran pastor who visited many households, is that the usual drink served with any meal in the Barossa in the decade before the Second World War was a 'cuppa tea'.<sup>61</sup>

### **Shared Meals and Recipes**

The previous examples of Lutheran settler families adopting food ingredients preferred by English people, namely a large proportion of meat in their diet, in particular mutton, and tea rather than coffee, came about for several different reasons, and not all were the result of cultural influences. Ingredients by themselves do not demonstrate a drawing together of cultures. A full cultural transfer takes place when cooks in one culture adopt the recipes and methods from another. For this kind of acculturation some sharing needs to have occurred, either by tasting food prepared by a person from the other culture or at least by reading their recipes. Documentation of shared meals between the British and the Lutherans is not ample, but early diaries and reminiscences show that such events took place, even though early Barossa settlements like Bethany were ostensibly closed communities. The diary of Ann Jacob, who lived with her two brothers, William and John, at Jacob's Creek between 1839 and 1843, described a wedding at which Johannes Menge, the geologist who was camped downstream, supplied indifferent music by playing on a gumleaf.<sup>62</sup> Here was a German guest at an English table, and Menge the lonely bachelor frequently ate at the houses of both English and German families,

---

<sup>61</sup> Peter Lehmann, interview (Tanunda: 1996).

<sup>62</sup> Ann Jacob, diary (Jacobs Creek, 1839–1843), p. 19.



appearing at the doorway just on mealtime and indulging heartily.<sup>63</sup> No more significant guest could there have been when it came to sharing food, for Menge, whose task it was to find a suitable place of settlement for the earliest Lutheran congregations coming to South Australia, had planted an experimental garden in the Barossa and often provided seeds to both English and German settlers. In doing so he was an influential culinary agent carrying ideas from one place to another. Lutherans also found themselves tasting English food if they travelled and stayed in public houses on a journey, as Anna Ey had done.<sup>64</sup> They ate at English tables if they went into domestic service, as many did for the Angas, Keynes and Evans families living in the Barossa Ranges. In more outlying areas, especially, they established contacts for friendship as well.

The recipe books used by the Lutheran cooks show a growing interest in English recipes. The initial emphasis was on German cooking, and German-speaking Barossa families in the nineteenth century relied on recipe books published in Germany. The titles that have so far come to light include Betty Gleim's *Bremisches Kochbuch*, published in 1834, as well as Henriette Davidis' *Praktisches Kochbuch* and Elise Weber's *Bürgerliches Kochbuch*, 25<sup>th</sup> Edition, both published around 1890. Even so, the three books are not necessarily a complete document of the Barossa Lutheran settlers' food. They did not contain, for example, recipes for honey biscuits exactly like the one replicated many times in local hand-written recipe books of the early twentieth century and, apart from the stains on the pages, they do not reveal which recipes the cooks actually used.

---

<sup>63</sup> Myrene Teusner, 'Johann Menge, 1788–1852', *Barossa Historic Bulletin* Vol. I, No. 5, 1978, p. 19.

<sup>64</sup> Ey, *Early Lutheran Congregations of South Australia*, p. 79.

Owners of these German books must have been selective, and cooks must have supplemented the books with recipes taken either from memory or from their own notebooks. Hand-written recipe notebooks from the nineteenth century may still lie waiting to be discovered. Unfortunately natural attrition assigns their flimsy, much-thumbed pages to the scrap heap, perhaps after a diligent daughter has copied the recipes into her own exercise book.<sup>65</sup> The era when keeping a recipe notebook did appear to become a widespread practice in the Barossa, and from which known copies have endured, was the first three decades of the twentieth century. At a time when recipes and daily lives were undergoing transformation, these notebooks formed a crucial bridge between the empirical dictates of the commercial German publications and the fledgling South Australian ventures into published cookery books giving local recipes in English.

An examination of fourteen of these hand-written recipe collections compiled by women in the early twentieth century does indicate that Lutheran cooks were now learning not only the English language but also recipes that they would not have found in contemporary German recipe books from Europe. Each compilation's proportion of identifiable German to recognised English recipes is different, reflecting the different circumstances of the writers. Only three contain more German recipes than English, and two of these happen to belong to women who lived in relatively isolated outlying areas of the Barossa district.<sup>66</sup> The third belonged to a woman born in Germany who arrived in the Barossa only in the

---

<sup>65</sup> A good example of this is Mona Doering of Dutton, who no longer has the old family recipe books but has the necessary instructions for making sausages in her own hand in an exercise book. Mona Doering, interview (Dutton:1997).

<sup>66</sup> Nita Henschke (Keyneton: 1917); Mrs A. Kruger (Sedan: 1908).

1890s as the Frau pastor (the wife of the Lutheran minister).<sup>67</sup> Many of Frau-Pastor Stolz's recipes had been copied from German regional recipe books, often from Henriette Davidis, with the recipe's region acknowledged. The Frau pastor was clearly a woman of more advanced skills at reading and writing and more adventurous about food, although closer to her German origins, than the other women, but the fact that she copied these recipes from published books does not necessarily mean that she made them herself.

At least two lots of recipes in the fourteen books seem to be a mixed compilation from mother and daughter and give a fascinating insight into the loosening grip of German culture and a gradual adoption of the English.<sup>68</sup> In each case the mother's recipes, even the ones for English dishes like jam sponge roll, were written in German in neat, tight, ancient script (under an English title), and the German ones are repeatedly for traditional German Christmas biscuits, sour cucumbers, yeast and hop or ginger beer. The two daughters in the 1920s and 1930s did not write in German. Their hand was larger and flowed freely. They included many recipes copied from the newspaper or from other people, and yet they wrote translations of the old German recipes as well. In all fourteen notebooks the recipes outlasted the language to such an extent that in the most recent of the collections the cook, Alma Pietsch, no longer retained the word for the German cake topping called *Streusel*; she simply called it 'German top', and yet she copied several other German recipes, like the sausage *Mettwurst*. These exist alongside dishes using commercially produced foods such as condensed milk, bought biscuits

---

<sup>67</sup> Frau-Pastor M. Stolz (Light Pass: 1907).

<sup>68</sup> Gertie Sporn and her mother (Light Pass: 1925, 1900); Martha Saegenschnitter and her mother (Greenock: 1925, 1900).

and tinned tuna, so that the whole collection is an eclectic mix of recipes centuries old and those spawned by the industrialisation of western food.<sup>69</sup> The contents of the other six recipe books mirror the characteristics of the previous ones to a greater or lesser degree.<sup>70</sup> In each case remnants of the German culture survived, even as cooks noted new dishes. Annie Heinrich and Martha Saegenschmitter, who retained the fewest traditional recipes of the group, were still concerned to keep the instructions for making German Christmas biscuits, yeast, beer and the German yeast cake, all of which require some technique in handling the leavening procedure. They did not completely relinquish these family dishes, even though they were losing their grasp on the German language, and even though they were acquiring other recipes from a different culture.

Many of the writers acknowledged the friends who supplied the recipes. Louisa Schilling living at Truro copied recipes supplied by Gladys Dean, wife of the English Colonel Dean, for puff pastry and mince pies, foods which were certainly not familiar to other descendants of German Barossa families. Gladys Dean and Louisa Schilling met soon after 1910, when the Schillings bought land from the Deans.<sup>71</sup> The friendship developed, obviously involving the sharing of food which Louisa must have liked well enough to ask for recipes. A final source of recipes in the private notebooks was weekly publications; several recipes came from the English newspapers to which many farmers in the Barossa district were subscribing by the second decade of the twentieth century. The principal one was

---

<sup>69</sup> Alma Pietsch (Sedan: 1930–1980).

<sup>70</sup> Annie Heinrich (Light Pass: 1914), Anna Geier (Greenock: 1915), Louisa Schilling (Truro: 1910), Ernestine Semler (Springton: 1898), Wanda Grosser (Tanunda: 1920), Emma Hulda Nitschke (Tanunda: 1917).

<sup>71</sup> Reg Munchenberg (Tanunda: 2004). Reg is Louisa's grandson.

the *Chronicle*, which had a popular recipe column. With the newspaper spread out on the kitchen table like a virtual meal, the cook of the household shared the food offerings in her imagination, and as a result all recipe notebooks but one in the collection contained newsclippings from the *Chronicle*. Like viewers of cooking programs on twenty-first-century television, the readers of the *Chronicle* learned a great deal about food that was unfamiliar to them without initially experiencing its taste.

### **Adopted Recipes or Cooking Methods**

One major adjustment of cooking methods was the change from cooking most foods in a pot to dry roasting and baking foods in the chamber of a cast-iron oven. In European as in the early Barossa houses the central kitchen space, little more than a passageway, contained a small masonry oven for baking bread and drying fruit. The cook raked the coals from the heated oven out onto the hearth in front, where the embers continued to heat the array of cooking pots perched on a four-footed metal frame. In heavy pots, besides making soup and porridge, the German cooks roasted their seasoned meat, basting it with water or fat to make the gravy. The illustration of the Australian kitchen in early editions of Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Manners* shows an Australian cook roasting meat in the English manner with a large joint of mutton suspended before an open fire.<sup>72</sup> It took a long time for the German cooks to learn to expose meat directly to heat in this way, even in the confines of an oven. In the late nineteenth or the early part of the twentieth century

---

<sup>72</sup> Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1888, 1901) p. 1256.

English and German families were finally able to buy cast-iron metal cooking-stoves, bearing names like 'The Royal No. 3'. In countless old kitchens in the Barossa families installed the new stove with its large interior cooking space. Many German cooks, however, continued to pot-roast their meat on top of the stove. They cut the feet off their iron cooking pots to balance them on the metal hotplates.<sup>73</sup> Roasting the meat by baking it inside the oven in the English manner was a much later development, probably dating from the 1920s, although the practice varied from family to family.<sup>74</sup> The ample new oven space served instead for baking the weekly bread.

English recipes spread through the pages of the recipe notebooks, and yet evidence of a true transfer of food into the practising repertoire of the notebook owners is still not always clear. Louisa Schilling's grandson Reg cannot remember, for example, whether his grandmother actually made mince pies for Christmas after she had copied Mrs Dean's recipe. The best justification for assuming that people did adopt the recipes as their own is to see how frequently the recipe recurs. Cooks often copied many versions of one particular dish as if they were trying to master the best one. Furthermore, variations of some of the same recipes appeared in all the books, indicating general enthusiasm for the dishes. A good example of a widely recorded recipe is tomato sauce. The evidence is clear that throughout the Barossa at the start of the twentieth century families were taking up tomato sauce with conviction. For German people this was a dramatic step. German-speaking people in central Europe had never trusted tomatoes. Aware that these fruits

---

<sup>73</sup> Ivy Zwar, interview (Nuriootpa: 1997).

<sup>74</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2005).

belonged to the family of deadly nightshades, they regarded them as poisonous. The three nineteenth-century German recipe books found in the Barossa and cited above mentioned not a single tomato, although the first edition of the English Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, also published in the middle of the nineteenth century, gave three versions of tomato sauce described as 'excellent' and 'for keeping'.<sup>75</sup> Even in a food lexicon published in Leipzig as late as 1909 the entry for tomatoes announced that German cooks were only just beginning to accept the fruit, which had long been part of the British diet.<sup>76</sup> That was certainly true of the Barossa, for the Englishwoman Ann Jacob's diary mentioned as early as 1843 that she took tomatoes as a present to a friend, and yet the earliest recipes for tomato sauce appeared in the Lutheran cooks' notebooks only after the start of the twentieth century. The oldest recipe in the collection seems to be that in the book of Louisa Schilling, which she began compiling around the time of her marriage in 1910. It is the only version written in old German script. It has no heading and is for twenty four pounds of *Paradiesäpfel* (a now obsolete word for tomatoes). All the other recipes for tomato sauce in Louisa's book and in all the other books were written in English. Naturally, tomato sauce was not the only new food that families of German-speaking background were adopting. Numerous English recipes for scones, sponge cakes (plain or curled up into jam rolls) and scores of steamed puddings, jams and sweet, vinegary pickles (often spiced with curry) swelled the pages of the hand-written recipe books throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century. All had a strong English influence. This is a vivid indication that

---

<sup>75</sup> Beeton, *Book of Household Management* (London, 1859–1861), recipes 530, 531, 532. at <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/b/beeton/isabella/household/> accessed 2004, 2005.

<sup>76</sup> Richard, Vollmer, ed., *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1909), p. 563.

regarding their food at least descendants of the German-speaking Lutheran settlers were in a developed state of cultural transfer.

### **Spiritual and Cultural Values: The Example of Christmas Foods**

From cultural transfer to acculturation of values requires more than familiarity with recipes from frequent practice, however. It requires association with the customs, attitudes and the beliefs underlying the foods in question. Adopting foods associated with religious festivals, especially sweet foods, and considering them to be an essential part of the celebrations where such a custom has not previously existed, would be an example of this advanced acculturation.<sup>77</sup> Since the great religious festival for Lutherans is the birth of Christ, a festival shared by the immigrating English, no dish better illustrates this process than the widespread adoption among Lutheran families in the Barossa of Christmas pudding as an essential part of Christmas dinner on 25 December. For the Lutherans to adopt English Christmas pudding as part of their own family observance of a religious festival, preadaptive conditions had to exist to facilitate the transfer. I shall now examine these and describe the Christmas foods of the two nationalities.

Germans and English were already sharing some Christmas observances when many Lutheran emigrants were leaving for Australia. The first English Christmas tree, for example, was decorated by Queen Victoria's German husband, Prince Albert, at Windsor Castle in 1841.<sup>78</sup> The practice spread without any apparent conflict of cultures among the largest English religious denominations.

---

<sup>77</sup> The survival of such culturally significant foods is the subject of discussion in the chapter on honey biscuits.

<sup>78</sup> *The Harmondsworth Encyclopaedia*, Vol. II (London: Harmondsworth, 1900), p. 1376.



The same premise seems to have applied in South Australia; where one culture could adopt the practices of another without compromising existing customs, it was not difficult for people to learn new rituals.<sup>79</sup> No conflict occurred between the English and German Christmas food customs because in most Lutheran families Christmas celebrations took place on Christmas Eve, 24 December, called *Heilige Abend*, whereas the English festivities concentrated on the following day, Christmas Day. In the 1830s and 1840s food writers in England and the United States promoted this day as an occasion of great eating and merrymaking, ascribing to it a new significance as a festival and suggesting dishes as part of its observance.<sup>80</sup>

The most detailed description of mid-nineteenth-century English Christmas food comes from Charles Dickens' 'Ghostly little book', *A Christmas Carol*, first published in 1843. The sumptuous fare on the tables of the Spirit of Christmas Present consisted of 'turkeys, geese, game, poultry, brawn, joints of meat, sucking-pigs, long wreaths of sausages, mince-pies, plum-puddings, barrels of oysters, red-hot chestnuts, cherry-cheeked apples, juicy oranges, luscious pears, immense twelfth-cakes and seething bowls of punch.'<sup>81</sup> Even the struggling Cratchit family had a roast goose stuffed with sage and onions, served with apple sauce and boiled potatoes, followed by the plum pudding freshly removed from the copper, blazing with ignited brandy and looking like 'a speckled cannon-ball.'<sup>82</sup> At the same period in eastern central Europe in Silesia ruled by the King of Prussia, for the same

---

<sup>79</sup> This observation is consistent with the work of Jonitis, *The Acculturation of the Lithuanians of Chester, Pennsylvania*, pp. 468, 470.

<sup>80</sup> Cathy Kaufman, 'The Ideal Christmas Dinner', *Gastronomica*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 2004, pp. 19–20.

<sup>81</sup> Charles Dickens, *A Christmas Carol* [1843] (London: Peerage Books, 1986), p. 75.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

dinner well-fed families were eating a dish of smoked meat simmered with dried fruits and served with dumplings, called *Schlesisches Himmelreich*. Later in the century families of sufficient means roasted a turkey or goose stuffed with breadcrumbs, almonds and raisins.<sup>83</sup> The significant dishes, however, made up the meal on Christmas Eve after church and the unwrapping of presents, and they were honey biscuits (described in a separate chapter), *Weihnachtskuchen* (a recently-developed type of shortbread lightened with ammonium bicarbonate, sometimes called *Warmbrunnergebäck*), a dish of carp drizzled with gravy spiced with ground honey biscuits and, most renowned, a pudding made of ground poppy seeds mixed with bread, sweetener, milk and spices, called *Mohnklöße*.<sup>84</sup> These Christmas Eve dishes did not all endure in Australia, but neither did they conflict with the imminent adoption of the English Christmas pudding as an essential dish on Christmas Day.

Although Christmas pudding had not hitherto been part of Christmas Day celebrations for the Lutherans, people must at least have known about the dish, for it came to north German areas as a much-admired English dish in the seventeenth century,<sup>85</sup> and it appeared in *bürgerliche* German recipe books published in the first half of the nineteenth century. Henriette Ritter in 1826 knew about boiled puddings, but no version of plum pudding was among her recipes.<sup>86</sup> By 1835,

---

<sup>83</sup> Hanna Grandel, *Schlesische Spezialitäten* (Munich: Gerhard Rautenberg, 1988), p. 78; George Lang, *The Cuisine of Hungary* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1971), p. 17. Lang describes how turkeys imported into Hungary from Milan in the sixteenth century became a large industry, spreading slowly over Europe.

<sup>84</sup> Grandel, *Schlesische Spezialitäten*, pp. 57–69.

<sup>85</sup> Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, pp. 191–193.

<sup>86</sup> Henriette Ritter, *Kurzgefastes aber deutliches und vollständiges Kochbuch*, (Berlin: T. H. Riemann, 1826), pp. 96–100.

though, the *Schlesisches Kochbuch* had a recipe for *Englischer Plum-Pudding*,<sup>87</sup> and Betty Gleim's *Bremisches Kochbuch*, at least one copy of which came to Australia, called it *Englischer Hunter's oder Plumpudding*.<sup>88</sup> In principle these recipes both resemble Isabella Beeton's six recipes for plum pudding in the first edition of her *Book of Household Management* in that the ingredients – fruit, flour, breadcrumbs and spices – are mixed with grated suet or kidney fat, then boiled in a cloth.<sup>89</sup> Boiled puddings in general were probably part of Sunday dinner among farming families near the northern coast in Mecklenburg in the early nineteenth century as a result of contact with English traders and maritime workers (although areas further south took longer to adopt them).<sup>90</sup> Around the same time some German cooks began steaming their puddings in fluted metal moulds as an alternative container to a floured cloth.<sup>91</sup> Puddings boiled in these sorts of moulds were certainly common in the Barossa, even in the 1930s.<sup>92</sup> The local museum has examples in its kitchen display. In nineteenth-century German recipe books used in the Barossa, however, boiled puddings were not presented as Christmas fare.

The decade when German families in the Barossa took to eating Christmas pudding on 25 December is uncertain, but indubitably the practice was well entrenched by the first decade of the twentieth century, even in families without close ties to English people in the district. Ben Schiller was born in 1898. Talking about his early childhood schooldays and his life on the family farm, Ben spoke

---

<sup>87</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen ... von einer Schlesischen Hausfrau*, pp. 114–115.

<sup>88</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, p. 255.

<sup>89</sup> Beeton, *Book of Household Management* (London: 1859–1861), recipes 1324–1329.

<sup>90</sup> Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 201.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>92</sup> Olga Nitschke, interview (Krondorf: 2005); Sylvia Wohling, interview (Bethany: 2005).

emphatically about plum pudding for Christmas.<sup>93</sup> How his family learned to eat Christmas pudding is not altogether clear, but some Lutheran families were not as imbued with church traditions as others; they did not send their children to the Lutheran schools to learn the rigid Lutheran view of the world. Ben Schiller attended the government school in Tanunda and learned English customs and manners explicitly taught by his teachers. Even though his family regularly attended the Lutheran church in the village of Bethany, they were clearly receptive to outside influences. Another of the Lutheran churches in Tanunda, Tabor Free Church, was more open to the community at large than some other congregations. The family history of the Nettelbecks, who were the founding members of the Tabor congregation, shows early marriage into Church of England families as well as links to families from other Lutheran congregations.<sup>94</sup> (Coincidentally, the Nettelbeck women had the reputation of being very good cooks.) When young men with German surnames took a bride of English descent, or when young Lutheran women found British husbands, food customs at Christmas time began to change within the structure of the family. For, even though the proportion of German names to English on the electoral roll for Tanunda did not fall below 10:1 between 1848 and 1938, the German surnames on the electoral roll were often those of English women who married into German families and who were presumably accustomed to eating Christmas plum pudding.

In general, family history books show that many people were marrying spouses with English surnames by the end of the nineteenth century. Some,

---

<sup>93</sup> Ben Schiller, interview (Tanunda: 1984).

<sup>94</sup> David Nettelbeck, *Common Sense and Courage: The Nettelbeck Family* (Caulfield South: published by the author, 1999), pp. 2–5.

including the first Lutheran pastor in Australia, took English partners much earlier.<sup>95</sup> What impact this had on the household food depended on the degree of cultural resistance that the union created. Repeatedly anecdotes illustrate that Lutheran families in some congregations did not accept interlopers kindly if they did not convert to Lutheranism. A young woman raised in the Church of England and engaged to a Lutheran might not be invited to the wedding of her future sister-in-law.<sup>96</sup> The English husband of a Lutheran might not be welcome to visit his parents-in-law.<sup>97</sup> Such intolerance was often the result of Sunday sermons from individual, fanatical preachers and could lead to public disputes.<sup>98</sup> In many cases it hardened the resolve of people to maintain their traditions within their immediate family. The husband and wife would retain their separate religious affiliations, regardless of the antagonism in the rest of the family.<sup>99</sup> Thus, when St Aidan's Church of England, Tanunda, began in 1912, the altar vases were a gift from the elderly Miss Kleemann. Her mother had been Miss Holland before she married Heinrich Ferdinand Kleemann, and she had raised the children according to her own cultural persuasion. This is just one of many examples of the introduction of English traditions into German families through marriage, with the new spouse retaining an English way of life even in the face of family misgiving.

---

<sup>95</sup> Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, p. 49.

<sup>96</sup> Stella Eckermann, interview (Tanunda: 1984).

<sup>97</sup> Ken Fowler, interview (Tanunda: 1997).

<sup>98</sup> J. Reichardt, personal account of his life as a school-master, in Robertstown Jubilee 150 Historical Committee, ed., *Emmaus to World's End, A History of the Robertstown Council Area* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986), pp. 195–199. The dispute in the Lutheran community described by Reichardt is similar to ones which occurred in the Barossa, of which no written accounts are extant.

<sup>99</sup> Grace Melke, daughter of an English father and Lutheran mother, interview (Melbourne: 2004).

The publication of the first edition of the *Barossa Cookery Book* for Australia Day, 1917, gave a fillip to the expansion of English recipes, in particular of plum pudding. No fewer than seven versions of the dish, counting the ones made with sago, appeared in the pudding section. Not only was this an indication of how many families of both English and German origin were preparing and eating the pudding, it was also a way of promoting the practice to other people buying the book. Only one contributor, however, linked the food and the festival with her recipe 'Christmas pudding', and that was Mrs Tuohy,<sup>100</sup> the wife of an Irishman. Another fifteen years went by, and finally in the third major edition of the *Barossa Cookery Book* a Lutheran, the educated Miss Seppelt, daughter of one the wealthiest wine-making families, called her own recipe 'Christmas Pudding', showing an automatic association between the festival and the dish in an act of culinary acculturation.<sup>101</sup> She was one of twenty-one contributors in the same edition willing to share their separate recipes for a boiled plum pudding, but the only one besides Mrs Tuohy (whose previous contribution still remained) to call it Christmas pudding.

The Christmas pudding custom provides the best of many examples of acculturation of food. The process of acculturation did not happen evenly, though, with all dishes or across all Lutheran families in the district.<sup>102</sup> A woman from a Lutheran family in Bethany recalls that for Christmas Day in the 1930s her mother baked 'a lot of sponge rolls. We had trifle and jellies, too, baked lots of ribbon

---

<sup>100</sup> Mrs W. Tuohy, 'Rich Christmas Pudding', in *The Barossa Cookery Book 1917* (unpagged).

<sup>101</sup> S. Seppelt, 'Christmas Pudding', in *The Barossa Cookery Book: 1000 Selected Recipes*, 1932, p. 36. Beeton had called the dish 'Christmas Pudding' in her first edition, recipe 1328.

<sup>102</sup> A more rapid acculturation might have occurred with Christmas cake, for two of the Christmas cake recipes in the 1917 *Barossa Cookery Book* (unpagged) were contributed by women with German names but of unknown nationality.

cake, three coloured layers, and reared our own turkeys.’<sup>103</sup> Here were people making a point of having English foods that the English themselves would not have considered traditional for that particular occasion.<sup>104</sup> They were not bound by a century-old (but for the climate highly inappropriate) food ritual of boiled pudding. The extent of adoption might have depended also on how attached they were to the traditions of their own particular Lutheran church congregation. The more involved they were, the less contact they would have with the ideas of people outside the congregation. Significantly the cookery notebook of Frau-Pastor Stolz, closely connected to the social circle of her husband’s congregation, contained no recipe for plum pudding but three recipes for the traditional poppyseed *Mohnklöße* eaten by Silesian Lutherans on Christmas Eve.

Lutheran foods for Christmas Eve illustrate another aspect of cultural acceptance, namely, the abandonment of a previous customary recipe. The *Mohnklöße* recipe appeared in none of the editions of *The Barossa Cookery Book*. People remember it being made by earlier generations between 1910 and 1925.<sup>105</sup> Its omission from the book’s first edition in 1917 during the First World War is understandable because *The Barossa Cookery Book* of that date contained overwhelmingly English recipes. Yet even subsequent editions did not include *Mohnklöße*, and few people seem to have made it after the 1930s. It appears that the dish had lost its significance as a food for Christmas Eve. The disappearance of

---

<sup>103</sup> Sylvia Wohling, interview and hand written note (Bethany: 2004).

<sup>104</sup> David Howes, Introduction to David Howes, ed, *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, p. 5.

<sup>105</sup> Stella Eckermann, interview (Tanunda:1984); Vera Bockmann, interview (Tanunda: 1993); Frank Rothe, interview (Tanunda:1992); Rita Bartsch, interview (Light Pass: 1993); Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 1993) ; Winifred Schulz, interview (Tanunda: 1993).

*Mohnklöße* was not related to a disintegration of the Lutheran food culture, however; those who remembered the dish years later did not do so with affection. They considered it to be heavy, grey and visually unappealing, and some claimed that the poppyseeds were addictive.<sup>106</sup> The examination of food as part of people's material culture needs to take into account its sensual appeal and its health properties as reasons for people's food choices, not just its cultural value. Thus, *Mohnklöße* slipped into oblivion, unlike Christmas honey biscuits. Those longstanding favourites in Barossa families, for which the third edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* gave several different recipes, endured and cooks continued to bake them in vast quantities as the decades went by.

Finally, cultural elements could move in both directions regardless of which culture was dominant.<sup>107</sup> If for political and economic reasons the dominant culture in the Barossa was becoming more English, examples of cultural transfer the other way were nevertheless apparent in many families. A family of sisters raised in the Church of England faith, married to Lutheran husbands, although fiercely maintaining that their cooking was English and that they were English also, made many German dishes like sour cabbage steamed with bacon. Without a second thought they sliced up cucumbers and mixed them with pepper, salt, sugar and cream for cucumber salad, a German recipe which had become a new tradition for Christmas in the Australian summer. They were proud of their hot potato salad dressed with bacon, cream and vinegar, and they developed a certain sisterly rivalry

---

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*; Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass, 1993).

<sup>107</sup> Teske and Nelson, 'Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification', p. 353.



in making these dishes.<sup>108</sup> Even James Fowler, a naval officer returned from active service in the Second World War, had long been accustomed to making the supply of fermented sour cucumbers for his wife's Lutheran family in the village of Bethany.<sup>109</sup> The Englishwoman Amy Heinze, always in a hurry and having no abiding interest in the slow processes of German cooking, tried very hard every year to make Christmas honey biscuits and ammonia biscuits, although her German family joked about having to soften them in the bath before they were edible. Yeast-risen *Streuselkuchen*, however, was something she never tackled.<sup>110</sup> These examples relate to people of British descent married into individual families in the Barossa. Their cooking choices as well as their other ways of dealing with conflicting family preferences show the kind of compromise described by John Berry in his stages of acculturation mentioned early in this chapter.<sup>111</sup>

## Conclusion

Acculturation between Lutherans and English people might have been uneven across the Barossa, but it was nevertheless a potent force in Barossa food practices, augmented by the catalyst of printed recipes and the hand-written recipe notebooks belonging to individual families. These recipes show a general adoption of certain English recipes and a relinquishing of other German dishes. Even in the case of foods connected to religious festivals, customs appear to have changed without

---

<sup>108</sup> Margaret Severin, interview (Tanunda: 2005); Stella Eckermann, interview (Tanunda: 1984); Winifred Schulz, interview (Tanunda: 1993). Fermented dishes and yeast cooking, however, were beyond their repertoire.

<sup>109</sup> Grace Melke, née Grace Fowler, interview (Melbourne: 2004).

<sup>110</sup> Myrna Heinze, interview (Marananga: 2005).

<sup>111</sup> Berry, 'Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation', p. 11.

difficulty. Why such acculturation developed with English food when it did not occur with Aboriginal cooking practices, apart from an adoption of certain ingredients, had much to do with the extensive preadaptation of the two cultures from the northern hemisphere. The relationship also benefited from association over a long period of time. People of both cultures prized their own traditions, including those based on religious observances, but a protracted social contact, particularly when this meant inter-marriage, finally brought about the lowering of cultural barriers necessary for culinary transfer. The most extensive documentation of the mingling of culinary cultures is *The Barossa Cookery Book*, which will be the subject of the last chapter.

In any observable change in behaviour when people of one group go to live among another group, the easiest conclusion to draw may be that these changes are purely cultural, for the *mores* of one group take on some of the characteristics of the other. This conclusion perhaps ignores the fact that economic considerations directed the change, or that the other group's characteristics were determined in the first place by the environment. For example, the German-speaking settlers might well have replaced their goats with sheep for meat and with cows for milk not only because they were living in a place in the world where mutton was culturally preferable to goat meat and cow's milk was preferable to goat's milk. They might have been influenced also by economic factors, because they could buy the animals and sell the products more easily if other people with purchasing power preferred these animals to goats. The environment, too, might have directed their tastes towards tomato sauce, hitherto rejected, because tomatoes grew well in the new

climate and so were available in larger quantities in the Barossa than in the Lutherans' lands of origin. Making sauce was one way of dealing with the crop. Nevertheless, culture had clear influences on the food practices of the early German-speaking immigrants, as these first two chapters have shown. The chapters have prepared the way for examining examples of specific dishes important to these people to see how they were modified during the course of a century. The tug between culture, economic factors and the environment will shape these dishes, and it will be interesting to see how each force affects the final result.

## Chapter 4: Pork and Sausages

### Introduction

People adapt their food when they come into contact with other cultures, as the two preceding chapters have illustrated. Such cultural transfer happens readily when the two cultures already share similar characteristics. This was the case with the Germans and the English, and by 1939 the descendants of the early Lutheran immigrants in the Barossa were eating foods strongly influenced by their English neighbours, even at religious festivals. Specific dishes from their past, however, remained. Past habits acquired over centuries had made the preparation of these dishes a firm part of the yearly, weekly or daily routine, and as long as families were producing their own food, particularly on farms, these routines would not easily founder. Regular repetition had made them part of a recognised food culture. As Marvin Harris explains in his book, *Good to Eat*, people have certain foods for reasons beyond mere digestive physiology, and their food culture comes from gastronomic traditions rather than from immediate hunger.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, according to Harris, such gastronomic traditions themselves emanate from material causes, based on the economy, ecology and nutritional requirements underpinning the lives of the people who make and eat the food. These influences come first and only later become codified into cultural rules.<sup>2</sup>

But what happens when a food culture moves to another part of the world, as indeed it has done with all emigrations in world history, and the material and environmental reasons underlying people's food cultures change? The gastronomic

---

<sup>1</sup> Harris, *Good to Eat*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

traditions, even though they grew out of material causes, having assumed an intrinsic importance, endure. In spite of environmental and other changes the families descended from the first settlers of the German-speaking Lutherans arriving in South Australia continued to produce certain traditional foods. In both culture and cuisine, as Barbara Santich points out, people are a significant determinant; their learned habitual preferences count for as much as their environment.<sup>3</sup> Michael Symons, who justifiably calls non-authentic cultural behaviour 'silly', claims nevertheless that the 'authentic table' is the one where people 'feel in closest touch with traditions'.<sup>4</sup>

Even within dishes of longstanding significance, however, the new environment and altering economic conditions brought about subtle changes to ingredients, techniques and equipment used for their preparation. The constant interaction between all these pressures and the influence of other factors as well gave the dishes a character that diverged from that of the originals. This chapter and the following four will examine specific traditional foods the preparation of which survived the transfer to South Australia. The examination will include significant ingredients, preparation methods and where possible the equipment used as part of European practice up to the time of departure. I shall compare these with the Australian equivalents common in the Barossa in the middle of the twentieth century. The chapters will also analyse cultural values and customs attached to each dish in its European context and investigate how much remained in the Barossa one hundred years later. I shall attempt to offer reasons for some of the changes as well

---

<sup>3</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Symons, *The Shared Table: Ideas for Australian Cuisine* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993), p. 71.

as for some of the enduring elements of the settlers' best-loved foods. In their own eyes, as the previous chapter has indicated, the greatest culinary contrast between the new land and the old was the abundance of meat. When they could afford a pig they could perpetuate their sausage-making traditions. Since the region is still noted for its smallgoods based on pork, this Barossa food will be the starting-point.<sup>5</sup>

### **Settlers' Meat Consumption before Departure**

The Barossa tradition of making smallgoods from pork has obvious links to European peasant practices. Elderly local people know that the advertisements outside the Barossa butchers' shops for mettwurst, smoked ham and bacon and for black and white puddings promote meats that before 1939 people made on farms or at home. Many recall the once familiar German names: *Mettwurst*, *Schinken*, *Speck*, *Blutwurst*, *Leberwurst*, *Knackwurst* and *Presswurst*, and they remember which families were renowned for their sausages. Such families were carrying on traditions that their forebears knew before leaving for Australia. This does not mean, however, that all country people from Brandenburg, Silesia and Posen departing from Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century produced smallgoods. Difficult conditions could make access to meat, both fresh and processed, irregular. Indeed, although some settlers had been wealthy peasant farmers or villagers accustomed to eating such foods, others had not tasted meat often or at all. The scarcity of meat in their diet was due partly to debt following

---

<sup>5</sup> Ian Harmstorf, 'Germans: German Settlement in South Australia until 1914', in James Jupp, ed., *The Australian People, An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988), p. 482.

land reforms, to the general poverty among small farmers caused by heavy taxes and bad seasons and to obligations imposed by the military during times of both war and peace. A description of these conditions in the introduction, based on the personal observations of the travellers Joseph Marshall, John Quincy Adams and William Jacob, shows that for some people in Silesia, Posen and Brandenburg the living standard was low, and all food was meagre. Meals based on meat had belonged to a much earlier age.

From about 1550 lower-class people's consumption of meat had declined in both the countryside and in towns, a decline that connected with a growing population, with increasing restrictions on peasants and with their access to land. At a time after the Black Death when the population was small, working-class people had eaten a great deal of meat. Edicts in neighbouring Saxony in 1482 had required employers to supply their craft workers with a four-course meal containing two kinds of meat twice a day, and country peasants could graze their livestock in forests, on wasteland and on common ground, enabling them to have an assured supply of meat.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, an increasing population until the Thirty Years' War meant that more people had to share the supply.<sup>7</sup> For peasant farmers east of the River Elbe, the situation had worsened not only with the enclosing of the wastelands where they had previously grazed their pigs, sheep and cattle but also with the reimposition of serfdom by the nobles between the fifteenth and

---

<sup>6</sup> Massimo Montanari, 'Production Structures and Food systems in the Early Middle Ages', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Variations in Meat Consumption in Germany', *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, Vol. II, No. 5, 1971, p. 14.

seventeenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Frederick the Great, unable to restrain the power of the nobles and thinking to assist larger landowners' attempts at commercial agriculture, allowed them by edict in 1751 to enclose even more tracts of common land.<sup>9</sup> With each whittling away of grazing land the scope for peasants to eat meals containing meat diminished. As Marvin Harris might have observed, the culture that moved away from meat as a principal food grew from such fundamental causes as this reduction of available grazing.

Besides losing their grazing land as a result of political decisions imposed from above, farmers in parts of Silesia, Brandenburg and Posen had to battle against natural conditions to maintain livestock. One universal difficulty was the extreme climate. John Quincy Adams observed that even fields which seemed fertile lay unproductive for 'six months of the twelve ... bleaching under a thick crust of snow.'<sup>10</sup> Stock animals in those conditions required extra care and feeding. William Jacob also wrote of the contrasting heat and droughts of summer and blamed the climate extremes for the poor quality of hay.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, the number of animals on farms, observed Jacob, was far smaller than in England.<sup>12</sup> Jacob commented that farmers trying to support themselves on tiny farms in these regions were doubly disadvantaged by natural conditions. The soil was too poor to yield even middling crops without manure, and 'the portion of cattle of all kinds [was] too small to create such a quantity of that necessary ingredient in husbandry,

---

<sup>8</sup> Frank E. Huggett, *The Land Question and European Society* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975), p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 104–5.

<sup>10</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, p. 179.

<sup>11</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.



as to keep the land up to its present low standard of fertility.’<sup>13</sup> Thus, in spite of a German preference for meat reaching back at least to the period of Roman invasions,<sup>14</sup> by the time of the Lutheran emigrations meat had given way to poorer varieties of grain and to potatoes as the staple for many struggling peasant families.<sup>15</sup>

The eastern part of central Europe was not of course devoid of livestock. As Wilhelm Abel maintains, all country people in the nineteenth century who were self-sufficient kept some farm animals,<sup>16</sup> and certain owners of large investment farms kept substantial flocks of the newly introduced merino sheep to supply the cloth industry.<sup>17</sup> But for small landowners in areas where conditions were difficult an animal had to contribute to farming income by drawing a cart or plough or by providing useful products during its life like milk, cheese and eggs. William Jacob’s description of farmers owning tiny holdings shows how few their farm animals were:

If they happen to be both industrious and economical their own labour on the small portion of land which they possess will supply them with potatoes and some little bread corn as well as provision for their two oxen. They all grow a small patch of flax, and some contrive to keep five or six sheep ... The flax and the wool spun in their cottages must supply the clothing of the family; and the fat of the animals they kill must be converted into soap and candles.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> Massimo Montanari, *The Culture of Food*, Carl Ipsen, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> These grains are described in the next chapter.

<sup>16</sup> Wilhelm Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Olive Ordish, trans. (London: Methuen, 1980), p. 255.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Juhnke, *Wohlau, Geschichte des Fürstentums und des Kreises* (Würzburg: Holzner Verlag, 1965), p. 299; Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, pp. 38–39; Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, p. 210.

<sup>18</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 44.

Such animals, too valuable to eat frequently, often sheltered under the same roof as the family, a practice which lengthened their productive life and therefore meant less slaughtering and less meat consumption.<sup>19</sup>

Differences between regions (and sometimes between districts of varying soil quality in small areas within those regions) also affected people's access to meat. Günter Wiegelmann's research into German eating patterns shows that around 1800 people in the north had more meat and vegetables in their diet, whereas the middle region with its sandy wastes and hilly regions, including parts of Brandenburg and Silesia, produced very poor foods, and people survived with little meat the whole year long.<sup>20</sup> Northern Brandenburg was particularly barren. It was too poor to provide good pasture for large numbers of animals. William Jacob writing in 1825 observed that the area was part of a vast sandy plain which extended to the Asiatic coast of Russia.<sup>21</sup> The area between Berlin and the River Oder was so poor that John Quincy Adams, passing that way in 1800, compared the 'scattered spires of wheat, rye, barley and oats' to 'the hairs upon a head almost bald'. Silesians fared better where the land was richer. Fifty years before the settlers departed Joseph Marshall had been impressed with the richness of the land around Breslau but had observed a decline in prosperity as he travelled further north.<sup>22</sup> On the more southerly plains near Breslau keeping animals for meat was a better proposition. The greatest meat-eaters however were from Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, a duchy on the far north coast from which numbers of settlers came

---

<sup>19</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769–1770*, p. 271.

to the Barossa.<sup>23</sup> Farmers there around 1800, according to Wiegelmann, had meat on the table three times a week and four meat meals a day during harvest. These meats would be bacon, goose, mettwurst and freshly killed beef, pork and mutton. When farmers supplied young men and women to glean the fields, their baskets had to contain fresh and smoked meat. Farm workers from Saxony or the highlands in the south, claimed Wiegelmann's 1784 source, would think they were dreaming if they saw what their northern counterparts had for lunch.<sup>24</sup>

Within each region the food people ate also depended a great deal on the nature of their work. Full cottagers with paid employment as well as their farms and farmers who paid fewer taxes because they had settled at the invitation of the government as 'colonists' with certain privileges were better off, and some had amassed considerable sums of money before they left for Australia.<sup>25</sup> Meals containing meat were accessible for them. It may be no coincidence that among the thirty-one freehold full cottagers, farmers and colonists arriving in South Australia before 1850 listed by Wilhelm Iwan are names having a strong Barossa association with butchering (Schulz, Jaensch [or Jänsch], Lindner) as well as names of settlers who built houses containing a central 'black kitchen' with a chimney constructed especially for smoking sausages and bacon (Paech, Liebelt, Hentschke, Thiele).<sup>26</sup> These people had sustainable farms in Europe. Less able to enjoy a substantial diet were farmers left with only half their acreage after the Prussian land reforms had

---

<sup>23</sup> Mecklenburger families like Schmaal and Eckermann developed substantial livestock farms in South Australia. Their original settlement, now Gomersal, was called *Neu Mecklenburg*.

<sup>24</sup> Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> For example, full cottagers with money included Christian Rothe and Christian Auricht, mentioned in Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. 115.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 111, 77, 80, 84, 91.

taken effect in 1807 and 1811, especially if they had no other income. If, however, they were able to become paid labourers on the larger estates and investment farms, they were often well fed and lodged at their place of work. According to William Jacob their meals might consist of 'rye bread, potatoes, or buckwheat made into soups of various kinds, and in many instances ... meat, commonly bacon, twice a week'.<sup>27</sup> Many however laboured hard to bring in the landowner's harvest as obligatory service or for pitiful wages. When John Quincy Adams made his journey through Brandenburg and Silesia in 1800 and 1801, although he observed crops of wheat, oats and rye developing well in the south, he commented on the wretched, underfed condition of the estate workers, some of whom came to the carriage to beg.<sup>28</sup> According to Jerome Blum most Prussian peasants continued in this servile status until 1850.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, people in trade and professions ate well. John Quincy Adams described a luncheon at Warmbrunn in southern Silesia. The generous meal of several courses shared by linen merchants and the local pastor lasted until midnight when it ended with cold collations, in other words platters of meat with accompaniments.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, shiploads of emigrants to Australia carried people whose experience of eating meat was extremely varied. The direct personal account in the Pech family history book cited in the previous chapter is consistent with the reports of near starvation in the writings of Judge Schneer and John Quincy Adams.<sup>31</sup> (Pech came

---

<sup>27</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 45.

<sup>28</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, pp. 179–180.

<sup>29</sup> Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p. 387.

<sup>30</sup> Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, pp. 153–154.

<sup>31</sup> Johann Pech, letter, 1883 in *The Pech Heritage: A History and Family Tree of Johannes Pech and His Descendants 1850 – 1987*, p. 17.

from the Bautzen area devastated during the Napoleonic wars.) Other emigrants were more fortunate. Johann Andreas Geue, born in Saxony in 1837, grew up on his father's 'small holding' where there was enough land for a cow and calf, a few pigs and some geese and fowls. During the summer he had access to free pasture for his animals on the village common in the care of the village herdsman.<sup>32</sup> Christian Erdmann Jaensch had some land in Klemzig, Brandenburg, with a crop of potatoes. His only livestock was a cow, and so he probably ate principally potatoes, milk and fresh curd cheese.<sup>33</sup> Ernst Wurst writing from Breslau in 1859 to his family, who had already departed for Australia, asked if in Australia they had cattle, geese, ducks, pigeons and hens. He said that he missed the sheep in his village.<sup>34</sup> Presumably where his family had lived not far from Breslau they had raised and sometimes eaten such animals.<sup>35</sup> Apart from the full cottagers, farmers or colonists in Iwan's lists who had the means to keep farm animals, about 150 settlers mentioned in his book had paid occupations like master tailor, head servant or master joiner.<sup>36</sup> If these workers had a good wage, as some of them clearly did, they could have bought meat or eaten it at the midday meal provided by their employer. Some, however, like the shoemaker Messner, were described as being very poor.<sup>37</sup> The 22 people identified by Iwan as threshers also call to mind John

---

<sup>32</sup> Johann Andreas Geue Senior, *The Life of Andreas Geue Senior* (Bethel: typescript, 1923), p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Christian Erdmann Jaensch, account of his emigration to Australia in 1839, in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Rhonda Traeger, ed., *The Family Wurst* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1980), pp. 17–18.

<sup>35</sup> Ernst Wurst came from Ransen, a village just south of Steinau [Scinawa] downstream on the Oder.

<sup>36</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. XII. According to the editor, David Schubert, a colonist was a small landowner settling in Silesia or Brandenburg at the invitation of Frederick the Great.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Quincy Adams' description of the Silesian field workers begging. Meat was undoubtedly scarce on the plates of these emigrants.

### **Enter: The Pig**

Those farmers who bred pigs for meat were, according to Massimo Montanari, perpetuating a German food preference reaching back to Celtic civilisation, where the pig's constant presence on the periphery of human settlement came to symbolise perpetual regeneration.<sup>38</sup> By the Middle Ages the pig had become an important source of nourishment, easily fed in oak or beech forests,<sup>39</sup> and the yearly slaughter just before winter when the pig was at its fattest provided food for the lean months.<sup>40</sup> A little slice from a flitch of salted pork bacon could flavour a pot of peas porridge, and the rendered fat served as the cooking medium throughout the year.<sup>41</sup> Across northern Europe and in England the practice of salting pork products nourished people and, as general meat consumption fell, salt pork provided many with meat at least at Yule time.<sup>42</sup> When the forests were no longer a complete source of food for the pig because of official restrictions or because the wilderness reduced in size as the population and farming increased, pigs were not difficult to confine in a yard; they ate many sorts of organic matter,

---

<sup>38</sup> Massimo Montanari, 'Romans, Barbarians, Christians: The Dawn of European Food Culture', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 167.

<sup>39</sup> Dembińska, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> Werner Rösener, *Bauern im Mittelalter* (München: C. H. Beck, 1985), p. 109.

<sup>41</sup> Stead, 'Necessities and Luxuries: Food Preservation from the Elizabethan to the Georgian Era', p. 74.

<sup>42</sup> Alfio Cortonesi, 'Self-sufficiency and the Market: Rural and Urban Diet in the Middle Ages', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 273; R.-J. Bernard, 'Peasant Diet in Eighteenth-Century Gévaudan', in Elborg and Robert Forster, eds, *European Diet From Pre-industrial to Modern Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 30–31; Jean-Robert Pitte, *French Gastronomy: the History and Geography of a Passion*, Jody Gladding, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 26; R. E. F. Smith, *Bread and Salt: A Social and Economic History of Food and Drink in Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 265.

even human waste.<sup>43</sup> Archaeological remains show that in certain places in medieval and early modern times people ate more beef than pork (obtained from the large droves of cattle coming from eastern Europe, often via Breslau, as late as the sixteenth century),<sup>44</sup> but the usefulness of the pig seems to have been universal.

Pigs even roamed the streets of large cities eating refuse and then being killed for their meat.<sup>45</sup> Their proximity to humans sometimes became bothersome, according to a fifteenth-century edict in Frankfurt on the Main, and led to their culling.<sup>46</sup> Pigs remained, however, a good source of protein, especially after the introduction of new fleshy breeds fed on the newly introduced potato crops towards the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Even in poverty-stricken parts of Silesia in 1780, if the poor had meat it was pork from the family pig.<sup>48</sup> By that time farmers near Breslau were growing potatoes to supply the city and using the small ones 'to fatten their hogs'.<sup>49</sup> Schroller observed that if Silesians had a little land, they would have a pig for sausages and smoked meat, and apportioned meat from the pig would supply them for months.<sup>50</sup> Eating pork was to a certain extent a matter of class. An eighteenth-century cookbook from Brandenburg advised against removing the bristles on the slaughtered pig by singeing them as this would blacken

---

<sup>43</sup> Rösener, *Bauern im Mittelalter*, p. 109; Marvin Harris, 'The Abominable Pig', in Counihan and van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader*, p. 67.

<sup>44</sup> Bruno Laurioux, 'Medieval Cooking', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 296; Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p. 193.

<sup>45</sup> Robert Malcolmson and Stephanos Matoris *The English Pig: A History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), pp. 41–43; Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p. 192.

<sup>46</sup> Allison James, 'Piggy in the Middle: Food Symbolism and Social Relations', *Food, Culture and History*, Vol. 1, 1993, p. 32.

<sup>47</sup> Malcolmson and Matoris *The English Pig: A History*, pp. 67 – 72; Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Der Fleisch- und Wurstverzehr der Deutschen in historischer Betrachtung', *Ernährungsforschung*, Vol. 43, 1998, p. 9; Adams, *Letters on Silesia*, pp. 271–272.

<sup>48</sup> Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p. 186.

<sup>49</sup> Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769–1770*, p. 271.

<sup>50</sup> Schroller, *Schlesien*, p. 176.

the skin and displease the servants, the *Gesinde*.<sup>51</sup> (At least fourteen of the emigrants on Iwan's lists were in service.) Because of its availability pork was thus the main supply of meat for the lower classes and for the poor, if they had any meat at all.<sup>52</sup>

Among the arrivals at Bethany, the first organised Lutheran village in the Barossa, significant numbers were indeed poor. In the signed agreement between the shipping firm and the church elders who led the first boatload coming to Bethany, special rates applied to the identified poor of the congregation.<sup>53</sup> For a period after arrival in the Barossa, the financial situation of all settlers worsened. Money from the sale of their small land holdings before they left had often gone to pay their passage. When the settlers bought their new land, they had to pay off the debt. They were too far from towns to earn money from their farm produce, as they explained in an 1849 petition to the Commissioner of Crown Lands seeking permission to take timber and stones from the surroundings in order to build their houses.<sup>54</sup> For these settlers pork was an important source of meat, and records of farm animals kept at Bethany show that keeping pigs was popular. Two years after Bethany settlement (in 1844) out of 30 families only four did not have a pig, and one of these was Daniel Schlünke, the local miller. His vital occupation would have given him money to buy meat. Even the Ahrens family, whose reminiscences about early poverty appeared in the *Barossa News* in 1932, had seven pigs in the 1844

---

<sup>51</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, p. 541.

<sup>52</sup> Malcolmson and Mastoris *The English Pig: A History*, p. 116.

<sup>53</sup> Lorraine Willoughby, *Christian Seidel from Prittag, Silesia, Family History 1841 – 1996* (Evanston, South Australia: Lorraine Willoughby, 1996), p. 10.

<sup>54</sup> Max Mattner, Donald Ross and Leona Coleman, *The Mattners in Australia, 1839 – 1980* (Adelaide: Mattner Family Reunion committee, 1981), p. 21.



census.<sup>55</sup> Curiously, however, the earliest known pictures of Klemzig and Bethany, painted in 1847, depict goats, cattle and poultry, but pigs are absent. They were no doubt in pigsties out of sight.<sup>56</sup>

Pork had given some settlers their first taste of meat. Those who had never eaten meat in their homeland could try it during the voyage to Australia, for the agreement with the shipping firm stipulated a diet for each adult of ¼ lb of beef or ½ lb of pork twice a week. The meats were salted and pickled; August Fiedler, a Bethany resident who sailed to Australia on the *Prince George*, wrote in his shipboard diary on 15 October 1838: 'We are enjoying our salt meat. It is still as fresh as if it were just salted.'<sup>57</sup> About ten days before the journey's end on the *Dockenhuden* in 1851-1852 even the steerage passengers, including Silesians, ate fresh pork with dumplings, plums and apple sauce.<sup>58</sup> Pigs from Rio de Janeiro supplied some of the fresh pork.<sup>59</sup> Other livestock on the ships came from Cape Town. There H. G. Ahrens and fellow German passengers on the *South Africa* spent a week while David McLaren bought live animals for the colony of South Australia.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, from the time of the First Fleet onwards Cape Town supplied much of the original livestock for the Australian settlements, and pigs and cows brought to Bethany by the early settlers from the Adelaide markets were likely to have been the issue from South African and South American stock lines, until later

---

<sup>55</sup> Sanders and McInerney, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region from 1844 to 1900', in Young, Harmstorf, Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3*, p. 270.

<sup>56</sup> George French Angas, lithographs of Klemzig and Bethany in 1847 in Young, *Early German Settlements in the Barossa Valley, South Australia*, pp. 23, 25.

<sup>57</sup> August Fiedler, diary, in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 46.

<sup>58</sup> Traeger, ed., *The Family Wurst*, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> Betty Mangelsdorf, Elsie Ahrens and John Bell, *The Story of the Ahrens Family* (Adelaide: Betty Mangelsdorf, 2003), p. 26.

strains like the Landrace and Large White arrived.<sup>61</sup> Thus, ships not only introduced impoverished settlers to the taste of meat, namely pork, but they also made available certain strains for the settlers to breed pigs in Australia.

Breeding was successful; the recorded numbers of livestock in Bethany in 1844 mentioned above are high for a struggling two-year-old settlement. Most farmers had at least two pigs and, since sows have multiple births, pork would later become a familiar meal for the inhabitants of Bethany.<sup>62</sup> As the oldest Lutheran settlement in the Barossa, Bethany provides a good example of local rural food production. Every year certain wealthier families slaughtered their pig or pigs to make wursts.<sup>63</sup> Then fresh pork meat would be on the table for the following week or two, and the smallgoods hanging from the ceiling provided quick meals for several months.<sup>64</sup> Census figures and parliamentary reports from the nineteenth century reveal a constant supply of pigs in Bethany and the Tanunda district. The 92 pigs in Bethany in 1844 had multiplied to 253 in 1856 as settlement expanded into the nearby village of Tanunda. From then until 1900 the porcine population in the Tanunda district (including Bethany) remained between 300 and 350, with increases to 400 and 524 in 1861 and 1885. During the same period the numbers of sheep and cattle raised mostly for sale increased significantly and then fell at the end of the nineteenth century as grazing land was converted to vines for the

---

<sup>61</sup> Ian Parsonson, *The Australian Ark: A History of Domesticated Animals in Australia* (Collingwood: CSIRO, 1998), pp. 1–6; Alan Davidson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 47.

<sup>62</sup> Sanders and McInerney, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region from 1844 to 1900', in Young, Harmstorf and Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3*, p. 270.

<sup>63</sup> Florence Hentschke, interview (Tanunda: 2005). The Hentschke family killed at least three pigs each winter.

<sup>64</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

flourishing wine industry. Against these fluctuations, apart from the two exceptional years, the pig population remained relatively stable.<sup>65</sup>

Elderly residents recall that as late as 1939 many families in Bethany kept one or two pigs and made smallgoods or had these made by the neighbourhood butcher. The earliest butcher in Bethany was Gottlieb Seidel who built his stone smokehouse in about 1880, passing it on to Heinrich Liersch, his son-in-law, whose son later sold the smokehouse and business to Ewald Keil in 1926.<sup>66</sup> The steady numbers of the pig population and even the family ownership of the butchering business reflect these small domestic and commercial activities. Apart from the two rises in figures in 1861 and 1885, suggesting possible small commercial ventures to compensate years of drought and depression, they remained a modest family enterprise. In small Barossa settlements even the local pastor's family had a *Schweineschlachten* day.<sup>67</sup> The large-scale breeding of pigs that took place in Germany and Denmark after 1850 to feed increasing urban populations when communications and transport improved across the continent did not take place in the Barossa.<sup>68</sup> No large piggeries exploited the breeding of pigs for ambitious financial gain. Until the end of the Second World War when the increased production of commercial butchers in Barossa towns made it unnecessary for local

---

<sup>65</sup> Sanders and McInerney, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region from 1844 to 1900', in Young, Harmstorf and Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3*, pp. 281–282.

<sup>66</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 2005); History of land transactions for the Keil House prepared by Barossa Real Estate, 2003.

<sup>67</sup> Peter Lehmann, interview (Tanunda: 1996). Peter described the practice of his father, Pastor Franz Lehmann. The house built at Strait Gate church in Light Pass for the first teacher (and later pastor) arriving from Germany in 1849 had the stalls for livestock under the same roof as the living quarters, suggesting that he like other European peasants expected to farm animals.

<sup>68</sup> Malcolmson and Mastoris *The English Pig: A History*, p. 41; Karl-Peter Ellerbrock, 'From Pickling or Drying to Modern Food Preservation. Economic Changes on the Threshold of the Industrial Age (1750 – 1850)', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII – XVIII*, p. 444; Teuteberg, 'The General Relationship Between Diet and Industrialization', p. 82.

farming families to continue with their own smallgoods, slaughtering the pig and making the sausages remained essentially part of wealthy farming or butchering family food culture.<sup>69</sup>

### **The Family Production of Pork Smallgoods**

Even though the milder climate in Australia meant that there was still enough winter food to keep a pig alive, certain families continued to kill a pig and make smallgoods when the cold weather arrived. They did this because the processed meat lasted longer than the fresh and was available months later for a meal at a moment's notice. They enjoyed the taste of salted, smoked and fermented meats, and many were accustomed through family tradition to the complicated procedures for killing the pig and processing the meat. The main smallgoods from a pig were of three kinds. The family could take large cuts of meat from the leg, shoulder, loin or belly, salt and pickle them in brine and in most cases smoke them to make different sorts of bacon, ham and (unsmoked) pickled pork. In German-speaking families these were *Schinken*, *Speck* and *Pökelfleisch*. The organs, blood and meat scraps were better suited to boiled sausages, namely *Blutwurst* and *Leberwurst*, and for these the family members minced the meat, mixed it with herbs, thickener (like rice or bread) and seasonings, filled the sausage casings and cooked the sausages in simmering water. Afterwards, they might hang these in the smoke also. The final kind of sausage was made of raw meat minced, mixed with seasonings and saltpetre, filled into sausage casings made from the animal entrails and treated in the smokehouse. As these sausages hung in the smoke, bacteria

---

<sup>69</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

fermented and soured the raw meat to a degree, helping along the smoke's preservative function. This kind of sausage was called *Mettwurst*. The sausage *Knackwurst* was a lesser-quality variant incorporating the minced rind and different seasonings. From the remaining parts of the pig the trotters provided jelly to make brawn, and the fatty tissue, rendered slowly in a pot over the fire, made lard or *Schmalz*, while the residue of fried scraps became a minced meat paste called *Grieven*.

Many of these pork preparations were known not only in the regions from which the settlers departed but across other countries of Europe as well. *Grieven* cracklings resembled French *rillettes* and English 'greaves', as the similarity of the last name indicates.<sup>70</sup> Blood sausages akin to *Blutwurst* were, and still are, part of the peasant culture throughout Europe, Scotland and Ireland, not to mention England where among other names they were called 'black pudding' or 'black pot'. Because of the similarity of black pudding to *Blutwurst* the names became interchangeable in Barossa butcher shops by 1939, and the English name 'white pudding' alternated with *Leberwurst*. Advertisements suggest that the names began to change at the start of the twentieth century and increased pace at the end of the First World War. The few butchers who advertised in the *Barossa News* between 1906 and 1939 made unspecific references to 'small goods'. However, in the 1913 *Lutherischer Almanach* the Tanunda *Wurstmacher* Jakob Wintulich was advertising *Knackwurst, Mettwurst, Zungenwurst, Presswurst, Leberwurst, Blutwurst, Schinken, Speck, Pökelfleisch and Schmalz*.<sup>71</sup> From 1919 English

---

<sup>70</sup> *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, p. 886.

<sup>71</sup> *Lutheran Almanac* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1913), p. 282.

became the language of the Almanac and its advertisements for food, as it gradually became the language of most Barossa inhabitants. Only on outlying farms did the other German names continue to dominate, for families on these farms continued to speak German as their first language as late as the 1930s.<sup>72</sup> Local commercial butchers perpetuated the demand for pork smallgoods in the growing towns, offering products from the three main groups: the ham-and-bacon group, the cooked meat pudding group, and raw, fermented, smoked sausage. Examination of their development in an Australian setting follows, concentrating on the preparation of ham, black- and white puddings and mettwurst.

## **Ham**

The only processed pork accepted on both English and German tables by all classes was ham. This is because of ham's social connotations. Within the body of the pig itself, certain parts and certain products had long been associated with different classes of people.<sup>73</sup> Rich people ate larger cuts of meat (a shoulder of pork was often a payment from the peasants to the local lord in the Middle Ages),<sup>74</sup> and they ate meat fresh rather than salted, especially in the cities.<sup>75</sup> Ham, although brined, was a prestigious piece of meat. In the Barossa ham continued to be a meat for special occasions for families of both English and German descent. Only some German farmers, however, made ham. Instead, the meat from the leg-joints

---

<sup>72</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Bethany: 2005). Wally began school in 1931 speaking only German.

<sup>73</sup> James, 'Piggy in the Middle: Food Symbolism and Social Relations', pp. 42–44.

<sup>74</sup> Montanari, 'Production Structures and Food systems in the Early Middle Ages', p. 170.

<sup>75</sup> Massimo Montanari, 'Toward a New Dietary Balance', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 249.

commonly went into the smoked mettwurst.<sup>76</sup> This sausage incorporated any muscle tissue and so was a less wasteful way of using the animal. Even the Doering family, who had left a large and wealthy farm east of Posen to settle in the northern part of the Barossa, did not make ham. They considered that the production of mettwurst was the main purpose for killing the pig.<sup>77</sup> A row of enduring mettwursts was a much more practical proposition than a ham.

Some makers of ham came from families connected with the clergy, people who knew rural practices but whose experiences extended beyond the farm.<sup>78</sup> The tenderloin fillet, cured and smoked as *Lachsschinken*, was a popular delicacy by the end of the twentieth century. The Barossa practice of making *Lachsschinken* dates back to the 1890s and to the Lutheran seminary in Point Pass north of the Barossa, where Pastor Leidig's wife used her German cookery books to make supplies for the young men in her care.<sup>79</sup> This was food of educated people newly arrived from Europe who referred to books for their recipes and who tried new techniques using the finest meat. Its later widespread acclaim shows how new ideas introduced by travellers from other parts of the world, even new ideas developed in the old country after the first departures, enhanced the original food practices of local people. It is also an indication that with growing town life local people cast off the financial and social constraints of their ancestors and tried new foods. Somewhere along the road to modernity they came to enjoy more sophisticated results from

---

<sup>76</sup> Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1995); Eric Linke, interview (Angaston: 2005); Paul and Betty Ruediger, interview (Moculta: 1005).

<sup>77</sup> Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1995).

<sup>78</sup> This was the case in the Stiller, the Lehmann and the Stolz families.

<sup>79</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food.*, p. 107, p. 300; the book was possibly Henriette Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1884, p. 536. Count von Rumohr also mentions a similar dish in his 1822 *Essence of Cookery*, p. 117.

their humble pig, especially when they could rely on the skills of their butcher to supply them. Butchers did not sell *Lachsschinken* until well after the Second World War, however, and that dish, made by few families, was until then a rarity.<sup>80</sup>

The traditional farmers' technique of making ham followed the general methods that Europeans had known for centuries with some local adaptations. As in Europe the diet of the pig affected the taste of the meat and quality of the ham and bacon. Like their European country counterparts in the months before slaughter many pigs ate kitchen scraps along with the whey and buttermilk left from making butter and cheese. Pigs were good for using up fruit which had fallen in the orchard. Before slaughter they ate softened grain mush to ensure the maximum amount of cooking lard for the coming year.<sup>81</sup> They might not have had the acorns and beechnuts of pigs foraging in European forests,<sup>82</sup> but pigs at the Seppelt family winery ate crushed grape stalks and seeds, and bacon from the Seppelt pigs was renowned for its flavour.<sup>83</sup> Flavour and texture, as everyone had known for generations, also depended on the handling of the pig during slaughter (still called *Schweineschlachten* in farming families of the 1930s).<sup>84</sup> The pig must be quiet and relaxed. The customary European killing method had been to stun the pig with an axe handle or hammer and let it die slowly through the act of draining the blood from the jugular vein. According to Allison James, in England after the Second World War when a shot from a gun replaced the stunning blow for killing a pig, some people regretted that the quick, more humane death diminished the flavour of

---

<sup>80</sup> Florence Hentschke, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

<sup>81</sup> Maria Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 1982); Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1995).

<sup>82</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p. 116.

<sup>83</sup> *The House of Seppelt* (Adelaide: The Advertiser, 1951), p. 30.

<sup>84</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 2005).



the meat.<sup>85</sup> Most descriptions of pig slaughtering pass rapidly over the moment of death, and so I have been unable to find out when people altered the method of slaughter in eastern central Europe. There, a special apparatus – a *Bolzenschussapparat* – was used in the mid-twentieth century for shooting a bolt at point blank range between the eyes of the pig.<sup>86</sup> On many Barossa farms the change to a shotgun happened even before the First World War. A photograph of the Minge family in 1913 shows them with the slaughtered pig hanging alongside a woman (clearly the protagonist) holding the weapon.<sup>87</sup> The shotgun may not have enhanced the taste of the meat, but at least it was kinder for the pig.



Minge family *Schweineschlachten*, 1913

<sup>85</sup> James, 'Piggy in the Middle: Food Symbolism and Social Relations', pp. 35–36.

<sup>86</sup> Fritz Ritter, 'Nach Erinnerungen von Hausschlachter', in *Die Hausschlachtung in Altenstädt*, [http://www.altenstaedt.de/Unser\\_Dorf/Chronik/Sonderthemen\\_Geschichte/Schlachten\\_fruher/schlachten\\_fruher.html](http://www.altenstaedt.de/Unser_Dorf/Chronik/Sonderthemen_Geschichte/Schlachten_fruher/schlachten_fruher.html), accessed 2005.

<sup>87</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food.*, p. 102–103; Florence Hentschke, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

The procedures performed in the open air changed very little from European practices, apart from the gradual replacement of the old wooden pig trough with makeshift sheets of Australian corrugated iron for the scalding process. Even the equipment used for turning the sausage skins inside out was identical to the old European ways. 'To fill the runners,' said the *Schlesisches Kochbuch*, 'you need a Wurst horn made of metal or a cow's horn.'<sup>88</sup> Both articles are on display in the Barossa in Luhrs Cottage, the museum of a tiny Barossa farming community. Surprisingly, in the open air women had a dominant role in processing the outer part of the pig. Men had performed this task in England and parts of Europe, where the smaller sausages, prepared indoors, were women's work.<sup>89</sup> In many Barossa examples, however, women not only shot the pig but they also saw to the making of ham and bacon. They performed these acts along with the traditional female task of catching the blood in a dish and stirring to prevent clotting in order to make *Blutwurst* or black pudding. Wally Stiller said that his mother brought the skill of making ham from her mother, the wife of the Lutheran minister in another village east of the Barossa. Flo Hentschke's mother had known ham-making from her own mother, who lived on the neighbouring farm. And Mona Doering led all the pig-processing operations on the Doering farm, with her husband and son following her instructions. (These included soaking large sides of bacon in pickling brine, smoking them and later hanging them to dry in the cellar.)<sup>90</sup> Clearly, some women played an active part out of doors in a Barossa *Schweineschlachten*. Even though

---

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> James, 'Piggy in the Middle: Food Symbolism and Social Relations', pp. 38–41; Miroslava Ludvíková, 'A Contemporary Look at old Food Preserving Methods Practised in Moravia', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), p. 140.

<sup>90</sup> Florence Hentschke, interview (Tanunda: 2005); Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1995).

their assertiveness in shooting the pig and seeing to the outer joints of meat was not universal, enough examples are evident in people's reminiscences and family histories to warrant a discussion. Some possible reasons for the dominant role of women will be considered towards the end of this chapter.

Interesting changes developed in South Australia in the curing of the hams. For centuries in Europe people had treated hams by rubbing them with salt and hanging them up to dry. Preparing a ham by placing it in a tub of salt, thus drawing out the fluid so that the ham was eventually sitting in its own brine, was another way of curing before smoking. This procedure seemed to prevail in German cookbooks of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>91</sup> The method applied not only to pork hams but to legs of beef and mutton as well, although mutton hams were food for the lower classes and made principally when useful sheep had died at an old age. 'The people of Brandenburg,' wrote Count von Rumohr in 1822, 'salt down the carcasses of old ewes. It is hard to imagine anything more loathsome.'<sup>92</sup> (In the Barossa, brined smoked mutton was still a delicacy in 1939.) In the eighteenth century the ham in the brine-tub had extra brine poured over it, and the *Brandenburgische Koch-Buch* instructed cooks to make the prepared brine strong enough for an egg to float on the surface, a method for any pickling brine that has been used by Barossa families ever since their arrival in Australia. The quality of salt could affect the flavour of ham, and the *Brandenburgische Koch-Buch* devoted

---

<sup>91</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, pp. 536, 541; Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, pp 480–481.

<sup>92</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p. 116.

a paragraph to salt from different regions, recommending the salt produced at springs in Lüneburg and Halle as the best.<sup>93</sup>

Naturally occurring saltpetre in rock salt had given hams in certain areas a pink colour and specific taste, and after the seventeenth century European recipes deliberately added this ingredient. Not only did it give a rosy, palatable appearance, but the nitrite produced by bacterial action on the saltpetre acted as a preservative against botulism.<sup>94</sup> Saltpetre can, however, be dangerous to health, and English recipes in the eighteenth century used quantities considered unsafe today.<sup>95</sup> Recipes for ham brine in early German recipe books did not contain saltpetre.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, making ham and bacon without saltpetre continued to be a practice in some Barossa families. The Hentschke family continued to use a wooden pickle barrel and immerse their bacon and ham in pure salt brine for a week to a fortnight as late as 1939.<sup>97</sup> Early in the twentieth century many other families adopted a new method. Recipes began to appear in women's private notebooks for boiling a pickling brine of water, salt, saltpetre, sugar and pepper in a clean kerosene tin, into which the meat was immersed and then kept cool for about three weeks.<sup>98</sup> *The Australasian Butchers' Manual* of 1912 advocated this more efficient method also, saying that the older dry-salting process was 'simply a waste of time'.<sup>99</sup> This lateral use of the kerosene tin, a common farm commodity, made possible a new technique which

---

<sup>93</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, p. 536. Australian salt is discussed in Chapter 7.

<sup>94</sup> Harold McGee, *On Food and Cooking: The Science and Lore of the Kitchen* (New York: Scribner, 2004), p. 511.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 509–511.

<sup>96</sup> Stead, 'Necessities and Luxuries: Food Preservation from the Elizabethan to the Georgian Era', p. 76.

<sup>97</sup> Florence Hentschke, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

<sup>98</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 111.

<sup>99</sup> T. J. William, comp., *The Australasian Butchers' Manual* (Melbourne: Peacock Bros, 1912), p. 74.

must have altered the texture and flavour of the hams, considering the difference in saltpetre and salt concentrations between the boiled and the naturally induced brines and the difference in the length of time of immersion.

In Europe when ham came out of a brining solution and had been dried with clean cloths, it hung in a dry place to keep. If this was in the chimney, the smoke helped to preserve it and gave it a special flavour. German hams were smoked, often in a series of ingenious smoking chambers or racks high up inside the chimney cavity to hold the smallgoods.<sup>100</sup> Even houses in growing German cities in the nineteenth century had smoking chambers on an upper floor with cool smoke ducted from fireplaces in rooms below.<sup>101</sup> Old farmhouses devoted much space to smoking meat. The *Brandenburgisches Freilichtmuseum* in Altranft, Germany, has restored a farmhouse with a traditional *Schwarzeküche* or 'black kitchen', where the entrance room in the centre of the house contains the cooking hearth. Above the whole room rises the interior of the chimney with hooks and rods for smoking meat. Notes on the restoration website say that this was the typical structure of a middle-sized Brandenburg farmhouse before 1800.<sup>102</sup> Precisely this kind of eastern German house was built as their first substantial house by several Lutheran settlers who came to the Barossa.<sup>103</sup> The system of fires and smoke chambers within the house was not, however, suited to the Australian climate, and families who continued to smoke their meat eventually built masonry smokehouses away from

---

<sup>100</sup> Davidson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 368; Stead, 'Necessities and Luxuries: Food Preservation from the Elizabethan to the Georgian Era', p. 76.

<sup>101</sup> Finkhaeuser textilhaus, *Hausgeschichte* (Vlotho, ?1998), [http://www.finkhaeuser.com/1391/3495.html?\\*session\\*id\\*key\\*=\\*session\\*id\\*val\\*](http://www.finkhaeuser.com/1391/3495.html?*session*id*key*=*session*id*val*), accessed 2006.

<sup>102</sup> Brandenburgisches Freilichtmuseum, *Wohnhaus* (Altranft, 2006), [http://www.freilichtmuseum-altranft.de/altranft/bilder/wohnhau1.gif&imgrefurl=http://www.freilichtmuseum-altranft.de/altranft/rg\\_haus.htm](http://www.freilichtmuseum-altranft.de/altranft/bilder/wohnhau1.gif&imgrefurl=http://www.freilichtmuseum-altranft.de/altranft/rg_haus.htm), accessed 2006.

<sup>103</sup> Young, *Early German Settlements in the Barossa Valley, South Australia*, pp. 56–57.

their dwellings. Some smokehouses had domed masonry roofs like the inside of a chimney with a central vent to draw the smoke. A generation later in the early twentieth century the sons and daughters establishing other farms of their own erected their smokehouses with flat roofs from ubiquitous Australian galvanised iron. Australian methods employed in these smokehouses and the way they differed from the techniques described in nineteenth-century German recipe books will be discussed in the section on mettwurst.

### **Cooked Sausages**

In 1822 Count von Rumohr wrote that the art of making lasting provisions was dying out because ladies in the city no longer considered it one of their accomplishments. Nevertheless, some established traditions including sausage-making had not diminished, and the Count proceeded to give his advice on this subject.<sup>104</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century German recipe books for *bürgerliche Haushaltungen* contained sections on making sausages both raw and cooked. The most numerous recipes were for the sausages that the city housewife could simmer in a copper and then smoke in her townhouse *Rauchkammer*.<sup>105</sup> In the 1835 *Schlesisches Kochbuch* these were *Blutwurst* (black pudding), *Semmel-Weißwurst* (white breaded sausage), *Semmel-Blutwurst* (breaded black pudding), *Leberwurst* (white liver pudding), *Hirnwurst* (brain sausage), and *Schwartenmagen* (head cheese).<sup>106</sup> Several of the Barossa settlers would have known all of these sausages well, and most of the varieties except the brain sausage are still familiar to certain

---

<sup>104</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, pp. 115–117.

<sup>105</sup> Described in the section on mettwurst.

<sup>106</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, pp. 46–48.

families in the twenty-first century. Betty Gleim's *Bremisches Kochbuch* also had instructions for *Zungenwurst* (tongue wurst), on sale in Barossa butchers' shops in 1939 and beyond.<sup>107</sup> The list parallels the cooked sausages described by Don Yoder as part of the culture of the Pennsylvania Germans in 1981.<sup>108</sup> Clearly the sausage culture of landed and urban middle-class households in central and eastern Europe safely made the transit to new lands across the Atlantic and in the antipodes.

Betty Gleim's book from Bremen came to the Barossa in the luggage of Anna Raethel in 1844. Fortunately for the Raethel family, the typical city *Hausfrau* for whom this book was written was still buying a pig and having it slaughtered professionally but having to deal with the entrails and still-warm organs herself. Betty Gleim's instructions laid emphasis on cleanliness and thoroughness in the processing of the intestines for the sausages. Similar advice about cleanliness appeared in the *Schlesisches Kochbuch*:

Above all the utmost cleanliness must be observed in handling the bladder, the offal and the runners from within. These must all be turned inside out, cleaned and rubbed with warm saltwater. As well as that they must be placed in fresh water another 24 hours, to get rid of the slime and to remove the pervading smell.<sup>109</sup>

This was the procedure followed on Barossa farms, usually by the women and children. The principles would have significant meaning in the Australian climate, and most families observed them scrupulously. Not everyone, however, knew about them. Some Australian families who were novices, possibly because their families had not aspired to making smallgoods in Europe, did not clean the sausage casings

---

<sup>107</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, pp. 479, 480, 483.

<sup>108</sup> Don Yoder, 'The Sausage Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans', in Fenton and Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research*, pp.409–425.

<sup>109</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. 46.

properly, and when their neighbours received the customary gift of a black pudding or two the sausages smelled so offensive that the neighbours fed them to their dogs.<sup>110</sup> In other respects books like the *Bremisches Kochbuch* could give only general instructions about ingredients and measurements. Much depended on the size of the pig and its cuts of meat. Indeed in the Barossa most cooks had no written instructions at all. They relied on instinct and experience, on their memories of what their mothers did and to some extent on the general consensus of the helpers around the table. At certain points during the making of *Blutwurst* Mona Doering would ask her helpers to taste the mixture and give their opinion about how much spice and seasoning it required, and then she adjusted the mixture to their taste.

The notebooks kept by Flo Hentschke and Mona Doering were their hastily written observations as they followed their parents' practices. Even so, the books show that over the past century recipes for the traditional sausages have altered significantly. A comparison of the recipes for *Blutwurst* and *Leberwurst* in two books will be a good illustration. In both cases as a preliminary all the organs had simmered in the copper and someone had caught and stirred the draining blood until it no longer clotted.

***Blutwurst* recipe in Betty Gleim's  
*Bremisches Kochbuch***

After the blood has been passed through a sieve mix half with flour, salt, pepper and lightly cooked belly pork cut into pieces not

***Blutwurst* (called *Reiswurst*) in  
Mona Doering's book**

Mince together the lean meat: the ears, kidneys spleen, heart and lights. Add salt and pepper and 3 cups of the rice

---

<sup>110</sup> Paul and Betty Ruediger, interview (Moculta: 2005).



too small and fill into sausage skins. Fill only half full otherwise they will burst. Seal the ends. Cook the thick ones three hours and the little ones two hours.

### Betty Gleim's *Leberwurst*

Cut the liver into pieces two fingers wide. Pour over 4 or 5 pints of the simmering water from the copper, in which the innards were cooked. Then mince finely. Take out any hard and sinewy bits. Now mix this with two tablespoons of finely cut cooked ham, add a little of the meat mixture from the *Grützwurst*, ground cloves, black pepper, clove pepper, salt and finally 3 tablespoons of melted lard. These wursts are done in 15 minutes. You can smoke them for 24 hours.<sup>111</sup>

that has been cooked in the broth from the cooked meats. Add allspice and marjoram. Taste. Pour in half the blood of the pig. Fill into casings. Prick well. Simmer 20 – 30 minutes.

### Mona Doering's *Leberwurst*

Mince together the [cooked] fatty meat, the cheeks, tongue, scraps from the belly and part or all of the liver plus some onions. Crumble ½-1 loaf white bread (depending on the fattiness of the meat) and pour about ¾ cup broth over it to soak for 15 minutes. Combine mixtures. Add salt, pepper, thyme and allspice to taste. Mix, and fill the sausage skins. Prick well and simmer 20 – 30 minutes. Hang in an airy place. These can also be smoked.<sup>112</sup>

The main differences in each case were the seasonings (which varied from book to book in Germany and from family to family in the Barossa), the cooking times and the thickening ingredient. By the early twentieth century Barossa cooks were thickening their sausages with white bread or cooked rice. White bread, as the next chapter will show, would have replaced the *Grütze* (groats) very soon after settlement. Using rice followed an example set by cooks in Germany, where *Reiswurst* appeared in recipe books by 1909.<sup>113</sup> Once again, new ideas from the old country seem to have reached the Barossa with new arrivals long after first settlement. If these ideas were useful, local people adopted them. Their loyalty to European practices was not unflagging, however. Like their Pennsylvanian

---

<sup>111</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, pp. 477, 479.

<sup>112</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, pp. 115, 116.

<sup>113</sup> Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst Band II*, p. 374.

counterparts they abandoned brain sausage early in the twentieth century, and their taste preferences moved away from the sweet form of *Leberwurst*, called *Süßwurst*, containing small raisins, finely cut almonds, a little nutmeg and finely chopped lemon peel. Some local people recall *Süßwurst* from the 1930s and shudder at the thought of a taste once considered a delicacy.<sup>114</sup>

### **Mettwurst**

The sausage that most distinguished the German-speaking farmers from their English neighbours was mettwurst. Made from raw meat and fermented in the smokehouse, it was the product of a combination of food practices not followed by the English: the raw becoming the rotten as opposed to the cooked and for that reason perhaps not quite civilised.<sup>115</sup> Certainly, even in 1939 housewives from English families in Barossa towns were not likely to have mettwurst on the table.<sup>116</sup> Raw meat, after all, with its protein and neutral, moist environment, was a fertile breeding ground for toxic organisms. English families' possible fears of being poisoned by putrid meat were unfounded, however, for a judicious strength of salt encouraged lactic bacterial action that inhibited harmful microorganisms and which, combined with the mild preservative effects of pepper, saltpetre and woodsmoke, made mettwurst safe when produced in hygienic conditions. Fermented dried sausages were as old as the Babylonians, Romans and Ancient

---

<sup>114</sup> Joan Haese, interview (Lyndoch: 2003). The recipe appeared in the 1835 *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. 47. The meat and fruit combination is akin to the fruit mince in early versions of English mince pies.

<sup>115</sup> Lévi-Strauss, 'The Culinary Triangle', p. 29.

<sup>116</sup> Peter Heuzenroeder, interview, (Tanunda: 2005).

Greeks, and they kept for a long time in a cold, dry atmosphere like a cellar.<sup>117</sup> This knowledge was not available in the nineteenth century, however, for study of the microorganisms involved did not begin until the 1890s.<sup>118</sup> Besides this the sour flavour of mettwurst did not appeal to many English palates, and so some people viewed these unfamiliar foods with suspicion and disdain, unless they married into a Lutheran family and discovered how delicious the mettwursts were.<sup>119</sup>

The German word *Mettwurst* indicates meat and fat in separate proportions, and both early and modern German sausages of this name were made of pure lean pork with an added proportion of fat (sometimes cooked) to keep the sausage soft.<sup>120</sup> Mettwurst in the Barossa, however, was traditionally a mixture of pork and beef in a ratio of about 2:1, and the amount of fat was about one fifth of the meat. No cultured strain began the fermentation process as it does for commercially produced mettwurst in the twenty-first century. The farmers relied on natural air-borne organisms, although they might have inadvertently brought with them some of their own familiar breeds embedded in the family's wooden mettwurst dish, examples of which are on display at the Tanunda Museum. The fermented meat produced a ruby-coloured sausage speckled with white, with the hue enhanced by saltpetre and smoke, and the sausage hardened a little as it matured in the cellar.

---

<sup>117</sup> Carl S. Pederson, *Microbiology of Food Fermentations* (Westport, Connecticut: AVI Publishing Company, 1979), p. 211–212.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 223, 226.

<sup>119</sup> This impression comes from years of observation of many different families.

<sup>120</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p.47; Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, pp. 477, 483; Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst Band II*, p. 120.



Cow horns and metal horns for cleaning sausage skins, Luhrs Cottage



Fermentation bowls of redgum and European timber in the Tanunda museum

The Germans' success with their *Mettwurst* was due to the former generations' experience and advice, often taught by mere example. Despite the ancient tradition of fermenting sausages, the earliest published recipe for this sausage mixture that I have found was in a book of health recipes from the seventeenth century, published in Grätz near Posen in 1686. The recipe was called *Rauch-Wurst*.

Two parts of lean pork and one of lean beef. Grind it small and season it very well with roasted salt. Add finely-ground cinnamon, cloves, ginger, grated nutmeg and pepper and mix well together. Add a small amount of finely-chopped raw and smoked bacon and a little red wine. Fill them firmly into the sausage casings, leaving no air pockets. Seal them each end with a spigot and hang them in the air to dry for a few days. Then hang them in the smoke and give them quite a cool smoking. These sausages can be served like *Sauerkraut* ... or eaten raw.<sup>121</sup>

The beef in the recipe links the early immigrants from Posen to the great cattle droves from eastern Europe in earlier centuries. Mona Doering's recipe calls for 11.5kg pork and 4.5kg beef.<sup>122</sup> The ratio of pork and beef makes hers very similar

<sup>121</sup> *Ein Koch- Und Artzney-Buch* (Grätz: Widmanstetterischen Erben, 1686), <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/graz2.htm>, accessed 2005.

<sup>122</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 121.

to the European recipe. Remove the extra spices and bacon, add a small amount of saltpetre and some garlic, and the recipe becomes familiar to farmers in the Barossa. In both recipes wine and salt help to give the sausage its keeping qualities.

Making sausages to keep safely and be pleasant to eat over a period of time was, indeed, a matter of utmost importance. Achieving this aim required skill at monitoring the exposure time of the meat in the smokehouse, the temperature, the density and quality of the smoke and the ambience in later storage. For *Braunschweiger Mettwurst* Gleim advised three to four weeks in a 'warm, enclosed smoking room'. Her other *Mettwurst* recipe specified slow smoking for four to five weeks.<sup>123</sup> Sausages were then to hang in an 'airy place'. Instructions in the *Brandenburgische Koch-Buch* are slightly different:

Do not make the smoke too strong for any of them or let it get so hot that the sausages or bacon get warm. For as soon as this happens all the sausages spoil, become soft and bad-tasting. The ham also loses its flavour and is easily spoiled, therefore also a smoking room is better than the chimney for smoking, because you cannot control the chimney smoke.<sup>124</sup>

Most recipes in the old cookery books seemed to advocate long, relatively cool treatment in smoke of medium density for a length of time dependent on the weather. Times in the Barossa were just as unspecified but much shorter. In dry weather the mettwursts dried in the air in a few days and hung three days in the smoke. In wet weather the smoking lasted a week.<sup>125</sup> These times indicate a possibly warmer smoking chamber and a much drier climate than in Europe.

---

<sup>123</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, pp. 477, 483.

<sup>124</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, p. 542.

<sup>125</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 123; Mona Doering's times were the same as those used for treating smoked goods by local butchers.

In the Barossa the gradual abandonment of traditional designs and solid building materials for smokehouses suggests scant monitoring of the smokehouse temperature. None of the people I interviewed measured the temperature with a thermometer, and yet in the local climate the transition from black kitchen to external smokehouse, especially to one of iron, must have raised the question of temperature control. Sausages must also dry in the open air before going into the smoke. For this stage, however, the temperature was not such a concern. Whereas the onset of the European winter could be very cold, and Gleim gave instructions not to let the mettwursts freeze in the air before smoking to avoid the risk of mould,<sup>126</sup> this was scarcely a problem for Barossa farmers even in winter. As for the smokehouse temperature, having consulted the local butcher I conclude that farm smokehouses in the Barossa attained a temperature of around 40–50°C.<sup>127</sup> This is considered to be a cool smoke, for it does not cook the meat. At this temperature, however, the meat needed to be carefully cured before smoking, allowing the saltpetre and salt to prevent the growth of *clostridium botulinum* in the Australian climate but still permitting the correct bacterial action to take place to sour and preserve the meat. Barossa farmers also did not seem to make a point of smoking with hard wood to ensure the meat's slow treatment.<sup>128</sup> They relied mainly on sawdust and earth from the wood heap (although this often contained hard mallee-root chips and redgum sawdust) and almond shells from the autumn

---

<sup>126</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, p. 477.

<sup>127</sup> Graham Linke, butcher, interview (Nuriootpa: 2006).

<sup>128</sup> Antony and Araminta Hippisley Coxe, *The Book of the Sausage* (London: Pan Books, 1978), pp. 205–207.

harvest.<sup>129</sup> The result, often delicious because of the action on the proteins and fats and of the aromatics from indigenous and fruit timbers, seemed to keep surprisingly well in the cellar in spite of the Australian climate.<sup>130</sup>

### **The Symbolism of Sausages**

In her anthropological study of pigs and pork in England Allison James describes the rituals surrounding the killing of the pig, the letting of blood and the making of sausages and hams.<sup>131</sup> She examines the way these rituals once reinforced social cohesion as well as gender and class distinctions.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, she shows that beneath the social rituals which accompanied the raising and killing of pigs were elements of religious sacrifice. The pig had become a family friend, and its almost human qualities and appearance gave its owners deeply ambivalent feelings at slaughtering time. The supreme quality of the pig, according to James, lay in its own death, the ultimate self sacrifice to give others life.<sup>133</sup> Inevitably James, as well as Robert Malcolmson and Stephanos Mastoris in their history of the English pig, are drawn to Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, in which the death of the pig is directly related to the passion and blood of Christ the Son of God and to the impending death of Jude himself. "What's God got to do with such a messy job as a pig-killing, I should like to know!" [Arabella] said scornfully. "Poor folks must live."<sup>134</sup> The passionate allusions in Hardy's passage would not be so

---

<sup>129</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 120.

<sup>130</sup> McGee, *On Food and Cooking*, p. 176.

<sup>131</sup> James, 'Piggy in the Middle: Food Symbolism and Social Relations', pp. 29–48.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, p. 41.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*, p. 48.

<sup>134</sup> Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*, quoted in Malcolmson and Mastoris, *The English Pig*, p. 95.

profound if poor English people had not had a personal relationship with their pig. Spilling its blood and making the blood sausages are acts that garner together aspects of death and life of both the animal and the human.

The observations of Claudine Fabre Vassas in *The Singular Pig* extend the arena of these symbolic functions to Europe.<sup>135</sup> Vassas makes similar connections between spilling the blood of the sacrificial pig, the cleansing of the female menstrual cycle and periods of religious feast and fast in the Christian year.<sup>136</sup> Her exposition, however, takes a further step. Linking the sacrificial nature of the pig slaughter and the Jews' view of the pig as a forbidden animal, Vassas maintains that the Christian use of pork at Easter time is a deliberately anti-Semitic act. She enumerates the places in Europe where people present each other with Easter gifts of blood sausage, ham and yeast breads as an act of defiance against the 'murderers of Christ', namely the Jews with their unleavened Passover bread and their abhorrence of pork.<sup>137</sup> She suggests that the slaughter of the pig before Lent has had anthropomorphic significance, particularly in south-west France.<sup>138</sup>

These hypotheses about the symbolism of the pig do not relate to the practices of people in the Barossa. In the first place, families descended from the first Lutheran settlers do not appear to have had such ambivalent feelings towards the pig as the ones described by Allison James in her article. For local farmers the slaughter of an animal was part of farm life. The farm was a place where creatures

---

<sup>135</sup> Claudine Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians & the Pig*. Carol Volk, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4–7, 211, 261–266.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8, 252–260.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.



as well as members of the family lived and died at any time.<sup>139</sup> This emotional separation of the act of an animal's death and the work of producing food on the farm is apparent in the passage about killing the pig and making sausages in Colin Thiele's book, *The Sun on the Stubble*, set in the vicinity of the Barossa Valley in 1920.<sup>140</sup> The slaughter of the pig is summarily performed before the actual scene in the novel takes place. 'Dad had killed it with his usual dexterity, and now he, Oscar and Herbert were busily scraping off the bristles.' The pig is a clean and gleaming object. The focus of the scene is on the efforts of the family working together and the interaction of different personalities. No special emphasis is placed on the significance of the pig except when the mother says, reverently, 'This is meat.' No living personality of the pig is involved. The death of a pig appears to have posed no crisis of identity for farmers in the Barossa. Furthermore, pork products were not part of the Easter tradition. In 2005 I made a survey of nine people, some known for their strong Lutheran faith and one or two identified for their outspoken political tendencies. Not one said that eating ham or pork was an Easter custom. Easter was not, in any event, as important to their observances as Christmas. Nor did any of the people interviewed attach any significance to pork as a product of the pig. One person interviewed made no secret of having anti-Semitic attitudes, but that person clearly does not consume hostility along with daily food.<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1997). This conversation took place just after Mona's infant grandson had died.

<sup>140</sup> Colin Thiele, *The Sun on the Stubble* (Sydney: Lansdowne/Weldon, 1992), pp. 148–151.

<sup>141</sup> The people interviewed were: Esmā Hein (Tanunda: 2006), Walter Stiller (Bethany: 2006), Olga Lehmann (Gomersal: 2006), Bertha Hahn (Light Pass: 2006), Olga Nitschke (Tanunda: 2006), Peter Lehmann (Tanunda: 2006), Ian Rothe (Tanunda: 2006), Florence Hentschke (Tanunda: 2006), Vreni Kummerow (Angaston: 2006). There is no significance in the number nine.

The separation of people's attitudes to food from their outlooks and religious beliefs is no surprise because it reflects the original reason for the foundation of the German-speaking Lutheran settlement in the Barossa. For the first settlers embarking for an unknown land on the other side of the world was an affirmation of original Protestant beliefs. From listening to sermons and from their own reading family members were familiar with the writings of Martin Luther and took them seriously. The Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III's insensitive handling in his reformed prayer book of Luther's interpretation of the Eucharist was the major religious impetus for the early migrations.<sup>142</sup> But Luther, like other Protestant reformers, also wrote about food. In the *Confessions of Augsburg*, the *Smalcald Articles*, the *Book of Concord* and in the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty* Luther clearly separated religious faith from what people ate. 'It will not at all injure the soul that the body should ... eat and drink in the ordinary fashion,' wrote Luther in a letter concerning Christian liberty to Pope Leo X. People would attain that liberty if they dissociated material concerns from the true focus of their beliefs, namely the love and doctrines of Christ.<sup>143</sup> The slavish following of customs and imbuing them with significant meaning were the object of Luther's criticism when he wrote in *The Book Of Concord*:

Likewise, the article concerning Christian liberty also is here at stake, which the Holy Ghost through the mouth of the holy apostle so earnestly charged His Church to preserve, as we have just heard. For as soon as this is weakened and the ordinances of men [human traditions] are forced upon the

---

<sup>142</sup> Luther's sermons were for some also a source of their expressed anti-semitism.

<sup>143</sup> Martin Luther, *Concerning Christian Liberty: Letter to Pope Leo X* (Project Gutenberg, 1999), <http://isis.library.adelaide.edu.au/cgi-bin/pg-html/pg/etext99/clbty10.txt>, accessed 2006.

Church with coercion, as though it were wrong and a sin to omit them, the way is already prepared for idolatry.<sup>144</sup>

Eating and drinking 'in the ordinary fashion' were indeed very much part of Luther's own life. In his letters he wrote of the vegetables, figs and mulberries growing in his own garden, picking cherries in a friend's orchard, presents of fish, cheese and meat (including a pig) from benefactors, and having to live on sausage, bread and soup in the winter months. These foods, together with the wine and his wife's excellent brewed beer in his cellar, scarcely differ from the diet of the first two generations of Lutheran settlers in the Barossa, 'coarse food' according to Luther, but not unappetising.<sup>145</sup> As Teuteberg points out in his paper on the religious elements in food, the Reformation had a far-reaching influence on the diet of many people in the world.<sup>146</sup> This does not necessarily mean food increasingly austere, but it does mean daily food without overt religious symbolism. It should be stressed, however, that taking away religious symbolism is not removal of culture. If food specifically has no symbolic function, that is the cultural value attributed to it by a religious view of the world associating food with freedom rather than with idolatry. Turning the *Schweineschlachten* day into a dispassionate production of smallgoods and carrying that approach to the other side of the world was a smooth cultural transfer. That simplified approach happened to be useful in a place where every farm procedure had to begin without established equipment or buildings and

---

<sup>144</sup> Martin Luther, *The Solid Declaration of The Formula of Concord*, <http://www.bookofconcord.org/fc-sd/adiaphora.html>, accessed 2006.

<sup>145</sup> Martin Luther, *The Letters of Martin Luther*, Margaret Currie, trans. and ed. (London: Macmillan, 1908), pp. 32, 93, 268, 318, 342, 361, 362, 409, 464.

<sup>146</sup> Teuteberg, 'Magische, mythische und religiöse Elemente in der Nahrungskultur Mitteleuropas', p. 372.

where no previous generations had eased the way by solving specific problems in earlier times.

The constraints of establishing European farming in a place without material supports set in place by previous generations might also furnish a reasonable explanation for the dominance of women during the *Schweineschlachten* in some Barossa households. When all hands are required for a difficult operation, tasks based on gender are less important than accomplishing the work. Some women handled a firearm with as much ease as the men. Farmwork made them strong enough to carry the heavy hams. (Early accounts exist of women attaching themselves to the plough-swingle alongside the bullock to help break the earth.<sup>147</sup>) As for the customary female roles in the necessary blood-letting practices, if there was a connection with religious rites connected with the menses, it was far older than Protestant Christian beliefs or the attitude of Europeans towards the Jews. Moreover, it was present only subliminally. Rather, the slaughter of the pig had symbolic significance in the Barossa because it represented a time of joining in work and in sharing produce. In these ways it was a social symbol of the kind analysed by James. On the Doering farm, in 1998 when the family was making sausages people came to help or telephoned all through the day and twelve people sat down at the farm kitchen table to lunch on the *Schwartenmagen*. The conviviality was remarkable, but the pig remained just a pig, a welcome source of food for a Barossa community.

---

<sup>147</sup> Leditschke, 'A Short Autobiography', p. 3.

## Conclusion

When the early congregations from Brandenburg, Posen and Silesia arrived in Australia, the pig came too. Pigs had been a main source of meat in Europe for those who had known any meat at all, and the animals had no difficulty adapting to life and food on the farm in a new climate. Their owners settled well also. Maintaining cultural cohesion in their lives, the Lutherans followed their traditional food practices, and for farmers from a prosperous background this meant having a *Schweineschlachten* producing the kinds of pork sausages that their families had known for generations. These required knowledge of curing, fermenting and smoking. Pursuing their traditions, some settlers built houses with 'black kitchens' based on the ones that had existed for centuries in Europe so that they could exercise the ancient skills. Some even turned their skills into a family butchering business. They mostly followed those technical and hygienic practices established by past generations in Europe for producing successful smallgoods. At the end of the winter pig-killing weekend, the family could be assured of rows of boiled sausages airing in the kitchen and a smokehouse hung with mettwurst and possibly hams, just as there had been in Europe. And like farming families in the Old World they celebrated the end of production, sharing their pork smallgoods with others in the community, a custom without any conscious attachment to religious symbolism, but a token of social cohesion nevertheless. The popularity of pork products remained, and Lutherans continued to enjoy their garlic mettwurst in spite of their English neighbours. Such is the power of a long tradition.

While the general principles of the *Schweineschlachten* procedure continued in spite of the transplant to another environment, the settlers and their descendants made adjustments. Some adjustments took place as the Lutherans came into contact with the culture of their English neighbours. In many ways their pig-killing days were similar to English customs (although German women traditionally took a more assertive role in the process than English women apparently did), and sausages sold under the English names in butchers' shops in the larger towns. Possibly a greater deliberate use of saltpetre by the German-speaking farmers came from contact with the English (even though Europe's largest supplies of saltpetre for every purpose including gunpowder came from Stassfurt, Saxony<sup>148</sup>), so that hams came to look more like English hams, softer and pinker, with a slightly different, less salty taste and greater keeping qualities. Confirming the observations of Marvin Harris, to some extent the environment and economic conditions also influenced the way families carried out their sausage-making traditions. Transferring the smokehouse to an outside structure clearly made sense in a warmer climate. What is surprising in the process is the apparent lack of concern about temperature control and the abandonment of the longer European smoking times. Because of the climate saltpetre became a desirable agent for protecting the sausages maturing down in Barossa cellars. A technical explanation of why these alterations to time and procedure nevertheless produced delicious sausages which apparently kept well is beyond the scope of this study. It would also be difficult to find a former sausage maker who could explain when, how and why these changes took place because their practices were instinctive, and people did not take precise

---

<sup>148</sup> *The Harmondsworth Encyclopedia* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1900), p. 4872.

readings as commercial butchers do today. Nevertheless, times and temperatures and the drier climate must have altered the nature of the finished product. Smoking sausages and hams with native woods must also have imparted a flavour that was different from the smoke flavours of European timbers. Barossa hams and mettwursts in particular developed their unique regional characteristics.

In the end economic pressures possibly made the greatest changes of all. Although some changes seemed superficial (for the sausages themselves maintained their importance even though solid stone smokehouses and handcrafted wooden slaughtering troughs gave way to purchased articles made of mass-produced galvanised iron), the economics of everyday living were demanding a faster solution to replacing old equipment rather than crafting new pieces. Curiously, in the Barossa fermenting pork smallgoods remained a useful way of storing meat ready to eat at short notice, and so the tradition of making them had practical underpinnings valuable in a faster pace of life. But the time and effort to produce family smallgoods was huge, and the speed of life accompanying the arrival of modernity foreshadowed the ultimate disappearance of long, slow food preparation practices from the farms of the modern world. In 1939 they were still common but for many farms their demise was imminent. Nevertheless, people retained a cultural preference for pork smallgoods which had previously been made at home. The ancient predilection for pork sausages was an economic opportunity for people with the skills to become butchers. Although never on the huge economic scale of the drivers of the European smallgoods industry, the numbers of butchers grew, and their shops, while ushering out some long-standing cultural

practices on private farms, kept alive local people's cultural preferences and tastes. Thus, economic factors won the day, destroying the pig-killing customs on one hand but resurrecting them on the other, in a fine ambivalence that would perhaps have appealed to Thomas Hardy.



Ceiling of a *Schwarzeküche*



Corrugated iron smokehouse



## Chapter 5: Bread

### Introduction

For many people the definition of bread has been a cereal loaf, principally leavened and baked in an oven,<sup>1</sup> and a food with deeper cultural meaning would be difficult to find. Its significance to Europeans in the nineteenth century must precede any religious symbolism, stemming as it does from its own nature and its invention in prerecorded history. Its importance comes from being a combination of nutritious materials that were not simply gathered to be eaten immediately but required people to learn techniques to grind seeds, mix ingredients, work the mass and transform it by cooking. Heinrich Jacob has called this mastery of artifice ‘one of [people’s] first great chemical triumphs’.<sup>2</sup> When the nutritious materials were seeds that adapted easily to cultivation and produced versatile, elastic dough, the results of this success were profound.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately the phases of its preparation required a different way of life and tied people to one place for growing crops and domesticating animals to help.<sup>4</sup> Bread therefore came to represent civilisation and made the distinction between nomadic hunters and those who used artifice to turn their own produce into a cooked loaf.<sup>5</sup> That was the assumption of those who belonged to a bread-making culture. Quite apart from connotations attaching to bread in any subsequent religious observance, bread’s innate qualities raised it to an

---

<sup>1</sup> Montanari, ‘Production Structures and Food Systems in the Early Middle Ages’, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Jacob, *Six Thousand Years of Bread: Its Holy and Unholy History* [1944] (New York: Lyons & Burford, 1997), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years* (London: Vintage, 1998), p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> Montanari, ‘Food Systems and Models of Civilization’ in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 75.

important place in people's diet and imbued it with esteem as a staple of life. The word 'bread' became a code word for human sustenance.<sup>6</sup>

Thus Europeans in the nineteenth century had an understanding that bread would be part of their lives wherever they went in the world, and for the Lutherans migrating to South Australia one of the earliest concerns was where their bread was going to come from, for they assumed that they would need bread wherever they lived.<sup>7</sup> This assumption would transform the environment of their new land beyond recognition. But the environment itself would also help to transform bread (although not the cultural assumption that people needed bread). As with other foods of settlers arriving in the Barossa, several pressures were brought to bear on the making of bread, pressures which affected methods, equipment and the loaf itself. The settlers had to work with the materials available to them. The soil, the climate and economic factors determined what these were. The resultant loaf of bread, bearing little resemblance to the daily bread that they had eaten in Europe, met, however, with the settlers' ready acceptance, and this acceptance was born of cultural attitudes learned not only from their English neighbours but also from assumptions about bread that had developed in Europe before the Lutherans' departure. This chapter will examine the changes brought about in people's bread and bread-making and attempt to identify their causes. It will also explore some of the attributes of bread-making that did not change.

---

<sup>6</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', *ErnährungsUmschau* 45, Heft 1, 1998, p. 396.

<sup>7</sup> Christian Schubert, personal account of early settlement in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 11.

It has been difficult to locate a written recipe for bread made by local people.<sup>8</sup> So regularly did people eat bread and so fundamental was the making that few women put their method on paper. The following recipe came from an interview with an elderly woman accustomed to making weekly batches of bread in her youth before the Second World War. She dictated it easily from memory and was emphatic that her bread-making procedures came from her mother, with the likelihood that they were similar to those of her ancestor, Augusta Bertha Hampel, whose parents arrived in South Australia in the 1840s from Silesia and came to live near Ebenezer in the Barossa.

#### RECIPE FOR BREAD<sup>9</sup>

The evening before baking day, make the yeast. Use the potato water from cooking the dinner and add enough water to make half a gallon (2 litres) of liquid. To the liquid add about 6 small, peeled potatoes, each the size of an egg and a dessert spoon of salt. (These could be left-over potatoes from the evening meal.) Boil the potatoes in the water, drain, reserving the water, and mash the potatoes in a billy. In a separate pan boil a small handful of dried hops in water to cover for 3-4 minutes and strain the infusion into the hot potato water. When the liquid is luke-warm, pour it over the potatoes. To the billy add 1/2 cup of sugar and a crumbled handful of dried, unbaked dough, the size of a tennis ball, from the previous baking. Break up the mixture by hand. Wrap the billy in blankets and place it on the warm bricks beside the stove to develop overnight. This is enough yeast for 16 loaves of bread.

Next day, fill a large tin dish with strong bread flour and mix in a small handful of salt. Make a well in the flour. Give the yeast in the billy a good stir and pour it into the well of flour. Stir to combine it with just the surrounding flour and sprinkle more of the flour on top. Put it in a warm place and wait until the flour on top cracks as the yeast is rising. When the yeast has shown in this way that it is active, start adding 1 litre of warm water, warmer than luke-warm, but not hot. Begin to knead, gradually adding the water as required into the side of the pan to bring up the flour from the bottom of the pan. Keep adding warm water, kneading until the dough is soft and pliable and no longer sticks to your fingers. Cover the dish and put it in a feather bed made of goose down until it rises to the top of the dish. This will take a couple of hours, depending on the atmosphere. By this time the stove should

---

<sup>8</sup> Recipes for yeast are numerous in private notebooks, but they do not describe the quantities and procedures required for bread-making. They merely list the ingredients.

<sup>9</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2002).

be suitably hot. Test the temperature by waving a hand in the oven although it is easy to gauge its readiness just by opening the oven door. From half the dough, shape 8 oblong loaves and place them side by side in 2 greased, iron baking-tins. (Set aside a tennis ball of unbaked dough for the next baking.) Allow them to rise another half-hour, or until well risen, then place them in the oven for about an hour. Meanwhile, shape the other 8 loaves in greased tins and let them rise so that they are ready to go into the oven when the first batch is done. Tapping the loaves will show whether they are cooked or not. Turn out the loaves and place them upside down in the tins to cool.

The mere fact that people did not write down their recipes shows the familiarity of this home-made food in their lives. It is perhaps an indication also that, even though the nature of the raw ingredients and the baking equipment did alter, the basic procedure for making bread changed very little, as this chapter will show.

At this point, an important distinction needs to be made between the liturgical definitions of bread and the bread of everyday consumption. For many Europeans, bread was not only the stuff of civilisation but also a substance of religious importance.<sup>10</sup> The Catholic church regarded the communion bread and wine as the actual substance of Christ's body and blood made present through the sacrament of transubstantiation. Protagonists of the Reformation, challenging this doctrine, interpreted the nature of communion bread and wine in varying ways, and each group tolerated no other theological position but their own. When Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia sought to unite the Calvinists and the unwilling *Alte Lutheraner* into a single church in the 1830s, he introduced one prayer book espousing one interpretation of the nature of the communion wine and bread. The Old Lutherans could not agree to this compromise. It was partly because of their disagreement over the nature of bread in the eucharist that they were prepared to leave their

---

<sup>10</sup> Piero Camporesi, *The Magic Harvest: Food, Folklore and Society*, Joan Krakover Hall, trans. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p. 15.

country and travel to the South Australia on the other side of the earth.<sup>11</sup> The bread revered within the church service, however, the wafer elevated during communion, bore little resemblance to the dark loaf baked and consumed at home. This, too, they prayed for in church and at home as their 'daily bread', and it had a more tangible significance to the Lutherans as their physical nourishment. It might not always have been forthcoming, but to have daily bread on the table was their basic concept of an adequate life.<sup>12</sup>

Many changes were going to affect the nature of daily bread, however, for the settlers and their descendants. A person in 1939 might well have looked askance at the loaf of bread eaten by the emigrant family before departing. It would have looked different, had a different smell, felt different to hold and to eat and also tasted different. The differences would have come from all the determining factors that identify specific breads for particular people in the world. These include the kinds of seeds used, their method of being ground, their method of preparation and combination with other ingredients, their shape and the way people cook them. For technological reasons, certain aspects of making bread remain constant because they are necessary to produce the finished loaf. Other details in the procedure can alter, and it seems that changes because of economic and environmental factors were inevitable. However, underneath these lay people's deep-seated cultural values and taste preferences, not all of them stemming from their religious

---

<sup>11</sup> Theodor Ernst Hebart, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1938), p. 236; Brauer, *Under the Southern Cross*, p. 6; Heinrich F. W. Proeve, interview (Tanunda: 2001).

<sup>12</sup> Martin Luther, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther CLXVIII*, William Hazlitt, trans. (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society) at <http://www.netlibrary.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/Reader/>, accessed 2006.

attitudes, but all contributing to people's appreciation of the bread they made and ate in 1939.

### The Seeds

Bread for country people in Europe was not always a leavened loaf. Only wheat and rye strains supported a satisfactory rising,<sup>13</sup> and these grains were not necessarily available to all poor peasants, either at the start of the nineteenth century or earlier. For centuries in Europe the grains available were cultivated strains of various edible seeds, the oldest of which, wheat and barley, had come to kitchens and breweries five thousand years previously in Mesopotamia and Egypt.<sup>14</sup> At different times in Europe people had made flat-breads from oats, barley, spelt, millet and buckwheat. They had mixed these grains at times with lentils, peas, beans, chestnuts, sorghum and, in some poverty-stricken places when food was scarce, such indigestible ingredients as bitter acorns.<sup>15</sup> As food shortages became acute after poor growing seasons in the decades around 1788, recently introduced staples from the Americas, maize and potatoes, gained some acceptance as ingredients for bread.<sup>16</sup> In many regions people did not eat bread at all but

---

<sup>13</sup> Bread Research Institute of Australia, *Australian Breadmaking Handbook* (Kensington, NSW: TAFE Educational Books, 1989), p. 125; E. J. T. Collins, 'Why Wheat? Choice of Food Grains in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1993, pp. 26–27.

<sup>14</sup> Jacob, *Six Thousand Years of Bread*, p.13; Irene Krauss, 'Heute back' ich, morgen brau' ich: Zur Kulturgeschichte von Brot und Bier', *Deutsche Lebensmittel-Rundschau*, Heft 8, 1995, p. 251.

<sup>15</sup> Camporesi, *The Magic Harvest*, p. 25; Jacob, *Six Thousand Years of Bread*, p. 147; R. A. McCance, & E. M. Widdowson, *Breads White and Brown* (London: Pitman Medical Publishing, 1956), pp. 17, 35.

<sup>16</sup> Jacob, *Six Thousand Years of Bread*, p. 241.

existed on soup and porridge made of peas or oats.<sup>17</sup> The environment and the economy permitting, however, by the early nineteenth century to most Europeans 'bread' meant a yeast-leavened loaf of wheat or rye. Those grains contained enough gluten to make the elastic dough hold bubbles of gas from the ferment during cooking and to produce the spongy mass that millions of people recognised as bread. Other grains could supplement the leavened loaf, but rye or wheat formed the mass.<sup>18</sup>

The kinds of bread that the majority of immigrants arriving in the Barossa between 1839 and 1860 ate must have been those typically consumed by people in regions east of the River Elbe. Naturally what they ate depended on the success of crops at home and in trading countries in any one year. In general peasants in those parts of Europe used buckwheat and millet as their staples. These crops continued to grow in spite of harsh conditions. Even when they were losing favour in other areas, millet, considered by many to be heavy and indigestible,<sup>19</sup> continued to find its way into the food bowls of the peasants in areas east of the Elbe.<sup>20</sup> In less stringent circumstances the most common grain for bread was rye. William Jacob's report to the British government described the grains produced and consumed by the Prussians themselves.<sup>21</sup>

Prussia, especially near Magdeburg, is a great Corn country; but the chief Grain cultivated in that division is Rye. In the kingdom of Saxony, as well as

---

<sup>17</sup> Teuteberg, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 396; Collins, 'Why Wheat? Choice of Food Grains in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Teuteberg, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 398. Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen, 'The Porridge Debate: Grain, Nutrition, and Forgotten Food Preparation Techniques', in Carola Lentz, ed., *Changing Food Habits: Case Studies From Africa, South America and Europe* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), p. 185.

<sup>20</sup> Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p. 142.

<sup>21</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 23.

in the Prussian province of that name, the quantity of Rye very far exceeds the Wheat, both in quality and quantity.

Farmers in Brandenburg and Silesia cultivated several grain crops. Richard Juhnke's history of Wohlau (a county in Middle Silesia) shows that in 1818 the land had for centuries been producing principally rye, oats and barley as well as wheat in more fertile areas.<sup>22</sup> Owners of landed estates in Silesia grew grain for export, a fact known to the Privy Council for Trade in England who had sent William Jacob to investigate.<sup>23</sup> In the poorest areas of Brandenburg the crop was often buckwheat. Joseph Marshall, travelling in Brandenburg in 1769, claimed that the only thriving crops on those lands were buckwheat, turnips and sometimes rye.<sup>24</sup> Millet had grown around the Oder but was disappearing from fields and meals by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Around 1750 potatoes started to become a significant crop in the Silesian district of Wohlau.<sup>26</sup> By the 1850s farmers of small holdings were producing amounts of potatoes and grain for personal use as ingredients in bread.

People living near commercial centres in the regions pertaining to the South Australian immigrants seemingly consumed quantities of wheat as well. Travelling in a neighbouring region between 1769 and 1770, Joseph Marshall had made the following observation:

We travelled thirty miles before we reached Breslau. All this line of country is either rich in corn meadow or wood, the arable lands seemed very well

---

<sup>22</sup> Juhnke, *Wohlau*, p. 297.

<sup>23</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769–1770*, p. 288.

<sup>25</sup> Wiegmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 66, map 7.

<sup>26</sup> Juhnke, *Wohlau*, p. 297.



cultivated, the wheat looked well, and the quantity of land occupied with it is considerable.<sup>27</sup>

Sixty years later, in a time of poor harvests, the same area was importing much wheat from Poland. William Jacob mentioned the town of Breslau in particular as being an importer of wheat.

From the southern provinces of Poland ... in which the greatest quantity of the best wheat is produced, a portion is annually sent into the neighbouring Prussian province of Silesia by land, where a part of it is consumed by the few inhabitants of Breslau, and the other cities who eat wheaten bread. The greater part is, however, conveyed by the river Odo, and then by the canal which unites that river with the Havel, to the city of Berlin.<sup>28</sup>

Many of the early immigrants to South Australia were from rural areas in regions near Breslau, Berlin and other commercial centres. Members of their families were stationed in those cities with garrisons on military service, for example,<sup>29</sup> or travelled there on business.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the population of rural communities in Silesia and other Prussian provinces seems to have been remarkably mobile after the legislature of 1807-1811 had removed the ties of serfdom. Some, for example, travelled large distances to hear their favourite preacher, so that police had to be called in to direct crowds in the villages of their destination.<sup>31</sup> Thus, no great physical or legal obstructions prevented them from travelling to the commercial centres where wheaten flour was available. Whether they could afford to buy it when they arrived or whether they had a strong desire to change their habits to eat wheaten bread instead of rye are two further considerations.

---

<sup>27</sup> Marshall, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769-1770*, p. 270.

<sup>28</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> Ernst Wurst, letter from Breslau in Traeger, ed., *The Family Wurst*, pp. 13-18.

<sup>30</sup> Christian Schubert, 'Preface to the Congregational Register of the Lutheran Church at Langmeil near Tanunda', in Schubert, trans. and ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

With regard to the first of these, in the previous chapter the lists of emigrants to South Australia compiled by Iwan and published in 1931 suggested that the financial situation of these rural people was indeed extremely varied.<sup>32</sup> Some were comparatively wealthy and had managed to accumulate enough money to pay expenses for other ship passengers less well-off.<sup>33</sup> At times Iwan listed families carrying sums of cash amounting to 1000 *Thalers*.<sup>34</sup> Such families had enough money to have been able to afford imported wheat during their life in Silesia. Their natural preference between wheaten bread and rye bread, however, is another matter. Jacob's observations were specific.

From the time I left the Netherlands, through Saxony, Prussia, Poland, Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg ... I never saw, either in the bakers' shops, in the hotels, or private houses, a *loaf* of wheaten bread. In every large town, small rolls, made of wheaten flour, could be purchased, and they were to be seen at the tables at which foreigners were seated. In the small towns and villages only Rye bread can be obtained; and travellers commonly take in their carriages sufficient wheaten rolls to supply them from one large town to the next.<sup>35</sup>

The evidence thus suggests that in times of plentiful harvests when bread was available wheaten flour catered for the tastes of city people and for those in the wealthy lands close to Breslau. Country people, however, ate mostly rye bread.

When settlers from among their number arrived in Australia, an extraordinary change happened. Although they had eaten rye bread seemingly from preference in their country of origin when it was available, the first and principle crop that they planted was wheat. In 1843, just eighteen months after settlers

---

<sup>32</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*.

<sup>33</sup> For example, Farmer Christian Gierath, mentioned in Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. 97.

<sup>34</sup> For example, Cottager Nitschke and Gardener Hoepfner in Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. 102.

<sup>35</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 36.

arrived in the Barossa, they had planted 1300 acres of crops of which wheat occupied 1092 acres. Barley and to a lesser extent peas, rye, maize and linseed formed the balance.<sup>36</sup> Daniel George Brock, a census collector, visited the Lutheran settlements in the Barossa in the same year and wrote about the crops of wheat around Tanunda and Bethany, 'A very great quantity of land was roughly fenced, and the land ploughed and sowed between the trees. The wheat is very late, and this is the case with almost all the crops I have yet seen to the north of Gawler Town.'<sup>37</sup> Brock commented on the flour mills erected in the district. An 'enterprising German' had built one in the gully of the Tanunda creek, 'where the water comes boiling down over the broken rock.'<sup>38</sup> The mill in Lyndoch Valley fifteen kilometres further south stood 'boldly in the midst of the cornfields'.<sup>39</sup> Wheat was to become a mainstay of German farmers in South Australia. Their wheat farms spread throughout the colony, a significant source of revenue, and wheat continued to be an important crop in the Barossa. By 1863 in the *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung* speculators were advertising to buy wheat for export, even though production in the Barossa was declining as the soil became exhausted after continuous cropping.<sup>40</sup> *Weizen! Weizen! Weizen!* clamoured the newspaper.<sup>41</sup> Advertisements in the *Volkskalender* printed in Tanunda show that demand for wheaten flour also continued for local consumption. The Nuriootpa *Dampfmühle* advertised in 1861 to process grain for people's use (rather than buying for a larger grain market). The

---

<sup>36</sup> Don Ross, 'A Land of Wheat and Vines', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised*, p. 49.

<sup>37</sup> Daniel George Brock, *Recollections of D. G. B. 1843* (Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 1981), p. 30.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>40</sup> Ross, 'A Land of Wheat and Vines', p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung* April 3, 1883 p. 82.

only grains mentioned were barley (for brewing) and wheat.<sup>42</sup> Clearly, local cooks were making bread from wheaten flour.

A number of factors may have caused the overwhelming adoption of wheaten bread in preference to rye, buckwheat or millet. The first to explore is the environment, and whether the climate and soil prevented the cultivation of the cereal grains to which the first Barossa settlers had been accustomed. That appears to have been the case with the last two crops. Reports of trials at the village of Hoffnungsthal in the Barossa claim that buckwheat and millet were a definite failure.<sup>43</sup> Rye did grow but harvesting it was a problem. Rye has a slow maturation time once the heads have formed and the dried heads shatter quickly in the Australian climate soon after they ripen.<sup>44</sup> The immigrant Daniel Thiermann, writing about the Barossa in 1848, said, 'Barley and oats grow here, even rye, although it runs to leaf very much. One farmer tells me that he had rye whose ears were a foot in length, but had hardly any grains in it.'<sup>45</sup> Thus the environment presented some problems which a dedicated farmer of rye would need to solve. These however might have been overcome in time with selective breeding, for wheat itself was not entirely successful as a crop in the nineteenth century. Reports on South Australia to the British Parliament in 1840 mentioned that the wheat crops of the newly-arrived Germans in the village of Hahndorf were smutted.<sup>46</sup> Wheat

---

<sup>42</sup> *Volkskalender* (Tanunda: Basedow's Printing Office, 1861), p. 70.

<sup>43</sup> Gottfried R. Juers, 'The Story of Old Hoffnungsthal', *The Lutheran Herald*, 22 August, 1938; 9 February 1939, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Geoff Castleman, *Growing Cereal Rye State of Victoria* (Walpeup, Victoria: Department of Primary Industries, 1995), from the website <http://www.dpi.vic.gov.au/dpi/nreninf.nsf/LinkView>, accessed 2001. p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> 'Papers Relative to South Australia Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty: Official Returns for 1840', in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 114..

and all other cereal grains introduced from the northern hemisphere in the early days of Australian settlement were unsuited to the Australian climate. The seed had previously grown in lower temperatures and higher rainfall than those in Australia and did not adapt readily to Australia's long, dry weather spells.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, although wheat did ultimately adapt better than rye to the South Australian climate over time, a German farmer with a dedicated preference for rye bread could have made a concentrated effort to develop rye also as a successful crop.

Rye might have been a success. Rye's soil and climatic tolerances are far broader than those of wheat.<sup>48</sup> Rye thrives even on sandy, acid ground and can adapt to saline conditions.<sup>49</sup> Being resistant to frost and requiring less sunshine, it had grown well in eastern central Europe.<sup>50</sup> Since the Second World War farmers in the Barossa have occasionally grown rye crops.<sup>51</sup> Even on the northern outskirts of Melbourne, however, in a cool, wet area where rye might have grown tolerably well, the Mecklenburger and Silesian settlers at Westgarthtown grew wheat. A young woman working on the farm of Johann Zimmer in 1857 wrote in a letter that her employer had 50 shocks of wheat, 8 shocks of oats and 3 shocks of barley.<sup>52</sup> Rye was conspicuously lacking. In the colony of South Australia, although writers described crops of rye at Hoffnungsthal in 1850 and at Lobethal in 1866,<sup>53</sup> by 1880

---

<sup>47</sup> Michelle Eckersley, 'History of Grain Farming in Australia', in Robert Coombs, ed., *Australian Grains* (Camberwell, Victoria: Morescope Publishing, 1994), p. 20.

<sup>48</sup> Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p. 141.

<sup>49</sup> N. L. Darvey, 'Cereal Rye Industry', in Robert Coombs, ed., *Australian Grains*, p. 377.

<sup>50</sup> Huggett, *The Land Question and European Society*, p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> Dulcie and Frank Tscharke, interview (Nuriootpa: 2002).

<sup>52</sup> Maria Kaiser, letter home to parents, quoted in Robert Wuchatsch, *Westgarthtown* (Melbourne: Heritage Council of Victoria, 1998), p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> Juers, 'The Story of Old Hoffnungsthal', p. 2; Gordon Young, ed., *Lobethal, Valley of Praise* (Adelaide: South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, 1983), p. 253.

a visitor from Germany observed practically no rye at all in the Barossa.<sup>54</sup> Of all the advertisements placed by flour mills in South Australia in the local *Volkskalender* for 70 years after 1852, only one offered to grind rye.<sup>55</sup> Rye was clearly being grown by some people but the demand for this service was not overwhelming.

Some reasons for forsaking rye and planting wheat were economic ones. As the Barossa farmers' customers consisted of local English consumers in Adelaide who were not growing crops, as well as English customers overseas, the choice was obvious. The English mainly ate wheaten bread.<sup>56</sup> Among crops commanding market prices in Adelaide reported in the 1863 *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*, wheat, barley and oats appeared on the list, but rye did not. The Germans needed to sell crops to pay off the land they had bought, and they had a considerable debt to service. In another local newspaper, the *Deutsche Post*, periodic advertisements appeared from their benefactor, George Fife Angas, who had financed the passages of many settlers to Australia and who was now requesting the Germans to settle their account. One advertisement explicitly requested the German farmers to make haste with the wheat harvest so that they could pay.<sup>57</sup> Growing and selling wheat was an important way of earning money to service the debt to George Fife Angas.

A third important reason was that many people simply preferred the taste of wheat to rye. Dark rye bread, a staple peasant food in central Europe in the 1840s, was not the palatable rye bread that people enjoy today. It was 'as black as

---

<sup>54</sup> Wilhelm Wendlandt, Philip Scherer, trans. *Germans in a Strange Land* [1880] (Tanunda: Philip Scherer, 1986), p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> *Christlicher Volkskalender* (Tanunda: G. Auricht, 1893), p. 205.

<sup>56</sup> Burnett, 'Trends in Bread Consumption', p. 62.

<sup>57</sup> *Deutsche Post* 8 August, 1850.

the chimney and as gritty as if it contained a good dose of thick sand from the river. It was made of coarse-ground rye with all the husk left in and mixed with the flour.<sup>58</sup> Even before the advent of roller mills and finer flour, wheat made lighter, crustier bread. Its taste was not as strong as rye. Its lighter colour was more appealing.<sup>59</sup> But taste grows out of cultural perceptions, not just sensory receptors in the mouth.<sup>60</sup> A further important reason for wheat's popularity concerns the connotations that had surrounded the two cereals in the century before the first German settlers departed for Australia. Wheaten bread was the great power indicator, desirable for reasons of class. This perception came to the fore in the French Revolution. One of the inflammatory catchcries had been that the people must have wheaten bread like the ruling classes. White bread had become a symbol of liberation from oppression.<sup>61</sup> Napoleon, feeding his army on good white bread and marching them into German areas, had converted people in Mecklenburg and Prussia to eating wheaten bread. Goethe at this time said that the border between Germany and France was the border between rye and wheat. The invading French sought to change this custom.<sup>62</sup>

Customs did change in Europe, although for Prussian peasants wheaten flour remained a luxury food. Some might be able to afford it, but that was no reason for the conservative peasants to adopt wheat for daily use.<sup>63</sup> They continued to treat it

---

<sup>58</sup> Emile Guillaumin, *The Life of a Simple Man*, Margaret Crosland, trans. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1983), p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Teuteberg, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 398.

<sup>60</sup> Roger Haden, *Technologies of Taste: Configuring the Oven as Cultural Text* (Sydney: unpublished thesis, 2003), p. 60.

<sup>61</sup> Teuteberg, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 399.

<sup>62</sup> Jacob, *Six Thousand Years of Bread*, p. 254.

<sup>63</sup> For a light-hearted look at this conservative attitude towards wheaten bread see Guillaumin, *The Life of a Simple Man*, pp. 112–3.

as a luxury, giving it to each other as a contribution towards baking their beautiful yeast cake *Streuselkuchen* on festive occasions.<sup>64</sup> In South Australia, however, they could eat it every day. Why persist with rye? Wheat symbolised ownership of an amount of land. People who had wheat were in control. No wonder one settler wrote a letter home saying:

Dear Friends, Here I am now in Australia and every day for dinner I have stew or meat. If I feel like it, I can have it again for supper and breakfast too, as well as good coffee. Nobody here eats soup or porridge. And I eat bread from fine wheaten flour, too! My friends, I live as a lord would live back home in Europe.<sup>65</sup>

A complex interaction of pressures had driven this person's preference from rye to bread from fine wheaten flour. Notwithstanding the climate, the soil and the demands of the market place, when the Barossa settlers ate wheaten bread they tasted the ingredients of people who had control over their land and their lives.

### **Grinding Flour**

Early reports show that some Lutheran settlers brought their hand mills with them to South Australia to grind their flour. J. W. Bull in his *Early Experiences of Colonial Life* recalls that after the first harvest near Hahndorf, near Adelaide, 'their little handmills were set agoing; and they soon cleared off all their debts.'<sup>66</sup> Some used the time-honoured method of grinding grain between two grindstones. Johann Christian Liebelt, interviewed for an Adelaide newspaper, said: 'We used to grind

---

<sup>64</sup> David R. Love and Dulcie I. Love, *The Linke Families in Australia 183 1980: A History and Family Tree* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1980), p. 22.

<sup>65</sup> Trudla Malinkowa, *Sorbische Auswanderer nach Übersee* (Bautzen: Domowina Verlag, 1995), p. 56.

<sup>66</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 136.



our wheat with stones worked by hand.’<sup>67</sup> To satisfy people's need for their traditional staple food, however, commercial mills with large mill-stones very quickly appeared in the new colony. Within six years at least six were in operation in and around the capital.<sup>68</sup> Accustomed to harnessing wind or running water to power these in Europe, the settlers built windmills and water mills, sometimes unaware of the irregular flow of South Australian water-courses. The first flour water-mill in the Barossa, built by Daniel Schlinke before 1845 on the creek in the hills above Bethany (the village of the first congregation), sometimes suffered from the sluggish flow but then lost its aqueduct in a flash flood, and Schlinke decided to rebuild the mill with a steam-driven mechanism in the neighbouring town of Tanunda.<sup>69</sup>

Because of the hotter, drier climate the flour from wheat brought to this and other mills became harder than that produced in Europe and would have given people's bread much more elasticity. In both Australia and Europe, however, before roller mills (developed around 1830 in Switzerland and first installed in Hungary around 1870) refined the quality of milled flour,<sup>70</sup> wheaten bread was not really white. Grinding stones could not remove the yellowish grey germ of the grain the way rollers later did. Flour from millstones was gritty too. Its impurities had to be removed by bolting the flour. To do this bakers and, later in the eighteenth century, millers used a series of bolting sieves until the flour was fine enough to bake into

---

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>68</sup> Philip A. Scherer, *Bethany Profiles* (Tanunda: published by the author, 1993), pp. 3–4.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Jacob, *Six Thousand Years of Bread*, pp. 262–3.

bread.<sup>71</sup> As for the Barossa, writing of the flour available in 1848, Thiermann said, 'The price for bolting is high, namely 1s including bolting. For those who leave the bran in it costs 3d, but not a lot of bolting is done, because people use it [the wheaten flour] for home brewing and so on.' Thiermann's comments suggest that the bolting was done at the mill, just as it was in England and Europe. They also indicate that frugal German families must have eaten wholemeal bread and used bolted flour only for baking their yeast cake. This situation lasted until the local mills invested in the new rollers. In the case of the mill at Stockwell the new equipment arrived at the end of the nineteenth century. The proprietor, Boer, advertised in the 1898 *Volkskalender* that his mill was now 'very up-to-date' and that it had installed 'revolutionary machinery'.<sup>72</sup> From then on the Stockwell mill (and others making similar changes) transformed wheaten flour for baking bread in commercial bakeries and also at home, making it lighter and more versatile. People often spoke of the excellent quality of flour from the Stockwell mill.<sup>73</sup> Industrialisation according to some has had few culinary advantages, but of these the new bread was one.

### **Mixing the Dough**

Now settled in the Barossa, frugal German families were also baking their bread at home. In the city of Adelaide many people bought their bread, but of the Barossa, fifty miles up-country, Daniel Thiermann wrote, 'Here almost everyone

---

<sup>71</sup> McCance and Widdowson, *Breads White and Brown*, pp. 30–31.

<sup>72</sup> *Christlicher Volkskalender* (Tanunda: G. Auricht, 1898), p. 268.

<sup>73</sup> Yvonne and Les Burgemeister, interview (Light Pass: 2001); Janet Nitschke, interview (Greenock: 1997).

does their own baking although we also sell some.' (Thiermann was working in a grocery store, and the bread was made by his employer's wife.) It was almost as if their food customs were retreating to an earlier era. At a time when some of the settlers' former neighbours in Europe were moving into cities and finding that it was convenient to buy their bread, the families in Australia were moving out to lands in isolated areas and continuing or taking up the practice of making their own, along with many other farming activities which their European counterparts were relinquishing. Baking their own bread away from the city meant that they had to acquire not only the flour (often produced from their own farm wheat) but also the wherewithal for the leavening and the salt. Simply transferring a piece of cultured dough from one baking to the next is a time-honoured way of leavening rye bread, but has only limited effectiveness with wheaten bread. Yeast activity in wheaten bread needs boosting with a prepared starter culture. Salt, added for flavour, came from supplies in South Australia which will be described in Chapter 8. This examination will now, therefore, concentrate on the techniques of leavening.

Since commercially prepared fungal yeasts for bread did not develop until the second half of the nineteenth century, the home cook also had to cultivate her own fermented wild yeast strain before mixing the dough. The recipe she used was very much linked to her recipes for beer. For thousands of years since leavened bread had begun in Egypt, yeast in bread had come from the same source as yeast in beer.<sup>74</sup> 'Bread' is related to 'brewed', and the bakery and brewery were often adjacent to each other so that the fermented matter from the beer could be

---

<sup>74</sup> Elizabeth David, *English Bread and Yeast Cookery* (New York: Viking, 1980), p. 90.

transferred to the bread. In many parts of Europe barley and hops were the ingredients of beer.<sup>75</sup> Barossa hand-written recipe notebooks show that foaming hop-brewed yeast, often prepared in advance and bottled, is one they habitually used for making bread. Fluid yeast was also the leavening for the other yeast-based recipes that abounded in these books. As the recipe at the beginning of this chapter shows, it was a slurry of potatoes, hops, sugar and a handful of flour sealed securely in stoppered bottles. The potatoes (a relatively recent introduction from the late eighteenth century) and sugar provided starches to feed the yeast. The hops acted as a mild preservative, preventing the growth of certain organisms which could otherwise make the dough very sour, without destroying the fermentation of the leavening organism.<sup>76</sup> Sometimes, as in the cited recipe, the cook added to the new dough a piece of soured, unbaked dough from the previous batch of bread in the manner of the traditional sourdough breads of Europe. In the Barossa, a winemaking region, at least two families scooped the froth from the fermenting frontignan wine and used that as leavening in their yeast baking instead of hop-based yeast. They dried the froth, stored it in tins and crumbled it into the bread-making trough.<sup>77</sup> In a warm place the woman of the house (for this was usually women's work) mixed together the liquid hop yeast mixture, a small amount of the cream-coloured stone-ground flour and warm water in the large wooden trough. This was the sponge. She carefully wrapped it in a blanket and set it in front of the fire to ferment, away from draughts. It was prudent to test the yeast on a small

---

<sup>75</sup> Krauss, 'Heute back' ich, morgen brau' ich: Zur Kulturgeschichte von Brot und Bier', p. 251.

<sup>76</sup> H. R. Pearce 'The Hop Kiln in Australia and its Significance in the Lobethal Area', in Gordon Young, ed., *Lobethal, Valley of Praise*, p. 284; newsclipping among the recipes of Mrs Kleinschmidt, Lobethal, 1920; David, *English Bread and Yeast Cookery*, p. 100.

<sup>77</sup> B. Klose, interview (Tanunda: 1995); C. Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 1993).

amount of flour first to see if it was working, and that was one reason for the sponge.

Overnight, if the yeast was active, the hop mixture began to leaven the sponge. The troughs themselves might also have been impregnated with yeast from the previous mixture, which would assist the fermentation process. Records in Germany and observations by old-time Barossa residents both attest that the same wooden troughs were used for mixing the mettwurst sausage as well.<sup>78</sup> Examples of such wooden mixing tubs are on display at the Tanunda Museum. Packed into the luggage of the travellers, they might have introduced microactivity first started on the other side of the world into the Barossa environment. The South Australian troughs resembled the European troughs, except that they were made of native Australian timbers like redgum. Even in this minor way the experience of making bread had changed, although the fundamentally valued process had remained the same. By 1920, as is apparent from the recipe at the start of this chapter, technology had intervened in the ancient bread-making processes with the replacement of the old wooden dough troughs and yeast bowls by metal containers. Coincidentally commercial compressed yeast was becoming available, making the wooden trough with latent yeasts in the timber a less critical requirement for bread.

The procedure for making the bread dough described in the recipe at the beginning of this chapter followed the time-honoured mixing, kneading and proving. Achieving the blood-heat temperature required for the rising appeared to present no difficulty in some Barossa houses; Janet Nitschke maintained that her

---

<sup>78</sup> Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, p. 28; Luke Rothe, interview (Light Pass: 2003).

mother's kitchen remained a constant 37°C summer or winter.<sup>79</sup> In other kitchens, however, making bread in the height of summer must have been difficult in the extreme heat. When the dough was ready, the cook shaped it into loaves and prepared them for the oven. They fitted side by side into a baking dish or after about 1880 into rectangular black iron tins, often home-made.<sup>80</sup> The only variations in shape were miniature loaves baked in tiny rectangular tins, which produced small bread rolls.<sup>81</sup> The simple appearance of the loaves formed a strong contrast to many European breads, which were plaited or twisted into symbolic shapes. Because of its strong cultural connotations, the making of bread in Europe had accrued many religious symbols and rituals in its making over the centuries, and yet these European customs had few parallels in the Barossa. Nobody recalls the bread-maker tracing the sign of the cross over the dough, or cutting a cross into the top of the loaf or saying a prayer for its rising.<sup>82</sup> Barossa families made no entwined pretzels (purported to be symbols of praying hands) like those from Catholic Bavaria and Austria.<sup>83</sup> In the local recipe notebooks that have come to my attention are no recipes for *Dresdener Christstollen*, the yeast-based Christmas fruit loaf representing the Christ child's swaddling clothes. Apart from retaining the notion that it was a sin to burn bread, and from including a large, plain loaf in the church display for the Harvest Thanksgiving service, the Barossa Lutherans had a

---

<sup>79</sup> Janet Nitschke, interview (Greenock: 1997).

<sup>80</sup> Symons, *One Continuous Picnic*, p. 156.

<sup>81</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2005).

<sup>82</sup> Steven Lawrence Kaplan, 'Breadways', *Food and Foodways*, Vol. 1, 1987, p. 1; Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, p. 26.

<sup>83</sup> Although the story of the monk who made pretzels to resemble the shape of arms crossed against the upper body in prayer is often repeated, N. S. Hazelton in *The Cooking of Germany* (Netherlands: Time-Life, 1971) p.169, claims that the circular pretzel may in pre-Christian times have represented the solar cycle.

simple Protestant approach to life and endowed their daily loaf with few cultural embellishments. That bread alone represented daily sustenance was its importance in their culture.<sup>84</sup>

## **Baking**

By the time the Lutheran settlers in the Barossa were building substantial houses they had graduated from baking bread in cast-iron pots over open fires and were using masonry bread ovens similar to ones documented in northern areas of Europe. Occasionally these were free-standing out in the garden or open scrubland, but mostly the baking took place in the kitchen of the house. Descendants have accurately dated the large masonry bread ovens on their farms at various years between 1860 and 1920, and many of these remain. The opening of the oven was recessed into the back wall of the fireplace above a brick hearth so that the cook could scrape the hot coals into the hearth before the bread went in. This arrangement, which allowed further cooking on the coals, resembled some ovens in Mecklenberg and in Norway.<sup>85</sup> Unlike the beehive shapes of Italian bread ovens, they were long like a tunnel, plastered outside with porous slaked lime mortar allowing the oven to breathe and included a system of ventilators controlling the draught. A heavy piece of sheet iron cut in makeshift Australian fashion covered

---

<sup>84</sup> Noris Ioannou in *Barossa Journeys Into a Valley of Tradition* (Adelaide: Paringa Press, 1997), p. 72, claims that the Lutherans shaped bread to form an anchor for the Harvest Thanksgiving service in autumn. Lutherans I interviewed had no recollection of this and said it was a custom of the Anglican church.

<sup>85</sup> Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, p. 7; Else Rønnevig, *Bakaromnen, Trend og Tradisjon* (Oslo: Norskett Samlaget, 2001), pp. 66, 71.

the aperture in the fireplace to keep the heat in. Some of these iron pieces fitted the aperture and had a simple handle. They were the refined ones.

Creating an oven of this kind and fuelling it with wood to raise a sufficient heat to bake bread had certain implications in Europe as well as the Barossa. In both places it affected the environment and had social and cultural significance. At the time the settlers were leaving Europe for South Australia it was rare to find a single European family baking bread at home, (although they continued to mix their own dough for several more decades).<sup>86</sup> In many parts of Europe by 1772 people had been required to dismantle their ovens, and by 1849 many villages had been ordered to build a single large communal bread oven for the townspeople to share.<sup>87</sup> Private domestic ovens had been fire hazards for centuries, especially as many of them were wattle and daub and had wooden shingles and even thatched roofs.<sup>88</sup> In towns and villages where buildings were close together fire could spread very easily. Moreover, a rise in population at the end of the eighteenth century and increased cropping and farming using new agricultural techniques had cleared many of the remaining forests and created a timber shortage.<sup>89</sup> The self-indulgence of regular, frequent, individual baking days using quantities of wood was no longer acceptable. People had to share the town's baking kitchen and pay the landlord for its use. Baking days became less frequent. Because of the shortage of firewood people baked every three to four weeks. Indeed, in Emilie Carles' village in the southern mountains in France the villagers baked once every six

---

<sup>86</sup> Teuteberg, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 397.

<sup>87</sup> Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, pp. 6–8.

<sup>88</sup> H. Kaiser *Das alltägliche Brot* (Cloppenburg: Niedersächsisches Freilichtmuseum, 1989), pp. 32, 36.

<sup>89</sup> Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, p. 25.



months.<sup>90</sup> This feat of cooperation and social reorganisation was necessary largely because of concerns about the environment.

No such practice seems to have transferred to the Barossa with the earliest community of Bethany. There even the poorest shepherd family from the 1860s had a bread-baking nook inside the cottage fireplace.<sup>91</sup> In 1939 no fewer than eight houses in the tiny village still had at least the remnants of a masonry *Backofen*, and some were in use.<sup>92</sup> The surrounding land continued to abound in spare firewood, and the adjacent hills were not completely cleared of useful timber. The danger of fire spreading from house to house was not as great as in European villages, for in Bethany the houses were mostly situated on isolated farming plots among the vines along the road. Restrictions on the amount of baking or the number of bread ovens were therefore unnecessary. Where the environmental effects of baking bread were evident was not in regulations but in changes to the oven design over several generations. Barossa families had to learn that the intense heat of summer required alterations in placing the oven. A good example of this developing awareness is the Schmidt house at Light Pass. In the centre of the old house is the 'black kitchen', the *Schwarzeküche*. It has a raised open hearth against one wall. It must have been the site of the earliest bread-making in this house. From here, a *Backofen*, probably built at a later date, extends into another room of the house. A third, separate kitchen with bread oven, built around 1920, is outside attached to the end of the

---

<sup>90</sup> Emilie Carles, *A Wild Herb Soup: The Life of a French Countrywoman*, Avriel Goldberger, trans. (London: Gollancz, 1991), pp. 16–18.

<sup>91</sup> This was the house later inhabited by Kockrich, which became the restaurant *The Landhaus*.

<sup>92</sup> These were in the houses of Stiller, Schrapel, Nicolai, Keil, Kochrichter, Sonntag, Lindner and Tschärke. The first four were still in use in 1939.

verandah facing away from the house. At the third attempt the family had placed the oven in a good position to cope with the Australian summer.



*Backofen exterior*



*Backofen hearth*

The very different arrangements for baking that thus existed in the European and the Barossa villages during the nineteenth century might conceivably have led to differing social dynamics of village life. Having to share the baking facility in European villages frequently created disputes about which loaves belonged to whom as they were taken from the oven, and people used personal bread stamps to avoid mistakes.<sup>93</sup> Arguments arose about who would bake when the oven was hottest. Emilie Carles describes how French villagers solved these disputes by drawing lots for the baking order.<sup>94</sup> These reasonable arrangements were not necessary in Bethany where every family baked separately, but village harmony did not automatically follow. Bethany's population was divided between two separate

<sup>93</sup> Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, p. 28.

<sup>94</sup> Carles, *A Wild Herb Soup*, p. 16.

doctrinal Lutheran groups attending different churches, each wary of the other. In the 1930s Bethany was also divided by personal feuds and jealousies, aggravated by excessive alcohol, so that people called it 'Little Texas'.<sup>95</sup> Communal baking houses would not necessarily have improved the situation, but the village of Bethany certainly lacked the opportunity for social interaction and negotiation around a village bakehouse.

Cohesion might have been wanting in the Bethany community, but the similarity of *Backofen* designs throughout the Barossa strongly suggests a cultural understanding that was deeper than everyday relationships, an understanding of the best way to achieve a cooking result which had developed over a long time. Roger Haden has analysed this slow evolution of technique and oven structures and writes, 'To establish the grounds on which a culinary and gustatory knowledge can be thought to have accumulated requires reading the oven as a device which embodies a tangible wisdom.'<sup>96</sup> 'Tangible wisdom' through the course of centuries accrues stories, customs and beliefs that form part of the lore of the oven and baking bread. It generates sayings about which wood to use.<sup>97</sup> Tangible wisdom includes symbolic interpretations of the oven, its function and its connection to people's lives. The magical transformations inside the oven, from which emerges bread that has grown from warm, swelling dough, have long evoked associations in folklore of growth and birth with the oven as the nurturing womb.<sup>98</sup> These

---

<sup>95</sup> Walter Stiller, 'My Childhood and Youth Experiences, 1924–1955' (Tanunda: unpublished manuscript, 1998), p. 7.

<sup>96</sup> Haden, *Technologies of Taste*, p. 48.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

associations provoke jokes about pregnancy and about women having ‘a bun in the oven’.

The associations also influence social systems, for in domestic kitchens baking bread has traditionally been women’s work, and the skills of controlling the oven intuitive female skills.<sup>99</sup> These aspects of baking, a subliminal part of European culture, transferred to bread-making in the Barossa to the extent that the woman remained in control of the baking preparations and procedures, directing her family helpers to cut the wood for the oven and testing its temperature by throwing in a handful of flour to see if it would turn brown.<sup>100</sup> Her role may have been simply an efficient division of labour in the family, without people ever being aware of further significance. Ancient associations of baking and ovens with female fertility, however, may possibly explain why in northern Europe and Australia alike the only proper cooking that happened in the cavity of the masonry oven was the baking of bread and of yeasted cakes for important occasions. In the Barossa the oven was not for meat dishes or long-simmered stews.<sup>101</sup> These cooked in pots on the hearth in front of the opening to the oven, but never in the oven itself. Such dishes gave no sense of transformation and birth and, while the long, warm tunnel of the *Backofen* dominated the kitchen fireplace, it produced only bread and *Kuchen*, the dishes transformed by leavening.

Not until industrialisation had brought iron wood stoves to people’s kitchens near the end of the nineteenth century did meat go into the metal oven in the

---

<sup>99</sup> Teuteberg, ‘Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung’, p. 397.

<sup>100</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, pp. 74, 78.

<sup>101</sup> Thoms, ‘The Change of the Kitchen Range and the Changes in Food Preparation Techniques in Germany, 1850–1950’, p. 15.

Barossa as a 'dry' roast, and Chapter 9 discusses this development. The iron stoves in most cases replaced masonry ovens for baking bread as well, and people often installed them in the hearth, blocking the entrance to the *Backofen*.<sup>102</sup> Other cooks, however, retained the old ways and placed the two ovens side by side.<sup>103</sup> They clearly did not buy their bread from local commercial bakers, even though that choice had existed since Daniel Thiermann's employer's wife had started selling bread in the 1840s.<sup>104</sup> Advertisements in the *Volkskalender* produced by Auricht's printery in Tanunda show that Barossa towns were not lacking commercial bakers. The progression of advertisements shows domestic cooks gradually relinquishing their baking powers as towns grew and urbanisation prevailed. The Tanunda baker Menner in 1861 was offering flour for sale so that people could do their own baking. By 1890 the Tanunda baker Goers was describing himself as a *Bäcker und Konditorei* and offering prompt catering for picnics, parties and weddings. Between 1899 and 1919 Lyndoch, Angaston and Greenock offered similar advertisements, as bakers responded to the needs of communities with opportunities to enjoy frequent social occasions. Significantly, the 1919 advertisement of baker Lucas in Greenock was the first advertisement in English.<sup>105</sup> Roger Haden explores the idea that progressive industrialisation and urbanisation altered people's taste sensitivities by removing their original basic and intuitive methods of food preparation.<sup>106</sup> Since making bread by hand and baking it in a stone oven had

---

<sup>102</sup> Anna and Gwenda Geier's kitchen is an example. Interview (Greenock: 1994).

<sup>103</sup> Betty Nicolai's kitchen is an example. Interview, (Bethany: 2001).

<sup>104</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 11.

<sup>105</sup> *Christliche Volkskalender* (Tanunda: G. Auricht), 1861, p. 70; 1890, p. 254; 1904, p. 290; 1913, p. 243; 1914, p. 282; 1913, pp. 243, 283; 1916, p. 258; *Auricht's Book Almanac for Australia* (Tanunda: G. Auricht), 1919, p. 173.

<sup>106</sup> Haden, *Technologies of Taste*, 170.

intimate connections with women's identity and role, it would be interesting to know whether perceptions of the female altered with the changing times as well.

## **Conclusion**

The Lutheran settlers brought with them to the Barossa an assumption that they needed bread as well as bread-making skills. Their concept of bread as the staple remained even though the grain changed from rye to wheat. Over the century in the changed environment, as technology advanced and as demands of the market dictated, their accustomed bread changed from a coarse, moist, heavy rye to a light, white, spongy wheaten loaf. In many cases even in the 1930s the woman was still making this new bread in her own kitchen, sometimes in the large masonry oven which had been built on the farm at a date from the 1860s onwards.<sup>107</sup> Around 1920 the proliferation of these superbly constructed ovens reached a peak then died away. Variable wheat harvests, the availability of bread from town bakers and other uses of a cook's time led to the demise of pioneer-style baking. Making bread in the masonry oven had become a destructive phenomenon, for its demands on land to produce the wheat and on timber to produce the fire for the furnace meant that the landscape and the soil were depleted simply to provide an accustomed staple.

Examining the German settlers' desire for bread and the way they went about fulfilling that desire gives scope for some reflection. As they transferred their bread-making practices from one part of the world to another, they showed a certain ability to adapt. They positioned their ovens so that the heat would escape outside instead of heating the house. Technological changes, for example, in

---

<sup>107</sup> Mona Doering was still baking in the masonry oven once a year in the 1970s.

milling or in using metal baking dishes they happily adopted. Their ability to adapt, however, encompassed change of only a superficial nature. They experienced no paradigm shift in their perceptions about what should be their important staple food, even though wheat robbed the soil and caused difficulties towards the end of the nineteenth century. Too many factors combined to make leavened wheaten bread a part of their identity: perceptions of civilisation, religious factors, the association of white bread with power and with English markets and factors of taste. Their cultural intransigence was exacerbated by the fact that they were now in a landscape that was totally uncultivated, on which they could stamp their personality as on a *tabula rasa*. At the very moment that their European counterparts were having to modify their baking habits in response to reduced numbers of trees and increasing numbers of people, the unspoiled Australian landscape provided the immigrants with an environment in which they could operate as people in Europe had done hundreds of years earlier. They were experiencing cultural retrogression. For making bread their *modus operandi* developed the fragments of culture important to them at the point of their departure.<sup>108</sup> Adapting completely to Australia's own conditions rather than imposing an existing culture upon them has only recently occupied the minds of some Australians.<sup>109</sup> During the first century of settlement in the Barossa, given the Lutherans' cultural assumptions about bread, such an approach was scarcely possible.

---

<sup>108</sup> Hirst, 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial: The Hartz Thesis Revisited', p. 102; Bolton, 'Louis Hartz', p. 169.

<sup>109</sup> Tim Flannery *The Future Eaters* (Sydney: Reed New Holland, 1994), p. 355.

## Chapter 6: Honey Biscuits

### Introduction

The chapters on the *Schweineschlachten* and bread-making have shown that the cultural significance of food can exist on different levels. Even though the Lutherans attributed no conscious Christian symbolism to killing the pig and making sausages, they did perpetuate the role of the female for making bread and blood sausages in a way that suggests that these had ancient subliminal significance. As Protestants, and wary of overt religious symbolism in food, they did not give their bread symbolic shapes or perform ceremonies like blessing the dough during their bread-making. They did, however, eat celebratory foods for their religious feast of Christmas. Some of these like Christmas pudding they adopted from their English neighbours without ascribing particular significance to the shape or form of this dish. Some traditional German Christmas foods disappeared over the years, but one food did remain a Christmas treat across many generations. If any Barossa food contained symbolic religious associations from the community's past it would be Barossa honey biscuits. Honey biscuits are cookies belonging to a family of dishes, those spice-cakes loosely termed 'gingerbread', consumed in many European countries since ancient times. Honey biscuits are the most commonly made traditional Christmas biscuits or cookies in the Barossa. Every December people of German-speaking background have mixed the spices into the dough, cut out shapes of different kinds, baked them in copious quantities and decorated them for Christmas with sugar icing. Many families hang them on the Christmas tree.



Because their nature is more specific than that of the bread and porridges described in other chapters, numerous honey biscuit recipes have appeared in local cookery books of the region in the twentieth century. *The Barossa Cookery Book* contains no fewer than eleven recipes, whereas bread and porridge, even the fruit porridge called *Rote Grütze*, commonly made dishes of the book's era, do not even rate a mention. Below is a recipe for Barossa honey biscuits from *The Barossa Cookery Book* of 1932.

#### HONIG KUCHEN

Heat 1 lb. honey, 1 lb. sugar, and ½ cup water. Add 1 tablespoon lard. When cool, add 3 teaspoons carbonate of soda dissolved in vinegar and 3 eggs. One teaspoon cloves, 1 of ginger, 1 of mixed spice, 1 of cinnamon, sufficient flour to mix to the consistency of biscuits. Any honey cake mixture may stand for several days before baking. – Mrs. Vic. Kappler<sup>110</sup>

Like the numerous other versions of this dish, this honey biscuit recipe is very simple. The ingredients are invariably flour, eggs, honey and spice, they have a spongy texture, achieved with the addition of bicarbonate of soda, and the dough has a long resting period lasting several days. The recipes have far fewer ingredients than those of the *Lebkuchen* or *Pfeffernüße* recipes in nineteenth-century German cookery books. The latter often contain sugar syrup (rather than honey), ground nuts, candied citrus and sometimes other dried fruits (none of which are called for in honey biscuits) and they do not generally require a resting time.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Mrs Vic. Kappler, 'Honig Kuchen', in *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 63.

<sup>111</sup> Ritter, *Kurzgefastes aber deutliches und vollständiges Kochbuch*, p. 171; Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, pp. 511–515. In many of these recipes sugar syrup replaces honey; Elena Molokhovets, *Classic Russian Cooking: A Gift to Young Housewives* [1897] Joyce Toomre, ed. and trans. (Bloomington:Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 429–431.

The nature of honey biscuits, the widespread practice of making them throughout the Barossa district and in related areas and the fact that they differ from nineteenth-century European recipes so markedly raise questions about their provenance and about the kinds of people who made the biscuits in eastern central Europe. Were the biscuits in a simplified form because the recipe was adapted to a new environment or to new economic and socio-cultural conditions, or were they, indeed, from a much older recipe than those in the nineteenth-century German books written for the city housewife, a recipe that belonged to an earlier time and to a simpler way of living? This chapter will examine the possibility of these two alternatives, and how they relate to the whole custom of making honey biscuits. I believe that the recipe is, in fact, an old and simple version, a centuries-old Christmas treat for country peasants. How peasants in eastern central Europe were able to obtain the spices to make honey biscuits, and how much the techniques of making them were affected by the transfer to the Barossa, even though the main ingredients did not change, will be explored in this chapter, together with the causes of any changing techniques.

### **A Simplified Recipe in a New Environment?**

Simplification of people's traditional recipes is a phenomenon that has happened in many instances of migration.<sup>112</sup> Some writers like William McIntosh see the process as part of the general loosening of traditional ties which takes place over successive generations of a migrant family, often because the old ingredients are not available in the isolated new land, and because other food choices attract

---

<sup>112</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Mutters Kochtopf als Orientierung in der Fremde: Zur Rolle der heimischen Küche bei ausländische Zuwanderern', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 14–15, 2000.

people away from the old recipes.<sup>113</sup> Others like Jakob Tanner see the changing recipes in foreign lands as a creative process of self-definition where people are building their own mythology to contrast themselves to other groups. Tanner links this idea to Hobsbawm's observations about how and why traditions are invented, and how these are forever renewing themselves.<sup>114</sup> While McIntosh's ideas are all valid as an explanation of the gradual erosion of a food system and the removal of dishes and customs from the family repertoire, they do not apply to all the ingredients and instructions within this single recipe. The extra ingredients for honey biscuits, namely, the almonds, dried fruits and orange peel mentioned in nineteenth-century German cookery books, were readily available in South Australia. E. B. Heyne's gardening book for South Australia published in 1871 and 1881 said that almonds in South Australia were 'generally prolific' and that all varieties of citrus grew 'with the greatest luxuriance and vigour'.<sup>115</sup> The relative isolation of the Barossa cannot account for simplification either, for almost identical recipes appear in Lutheran cookery books from other parts of the state including Murray Bridge and Hahndorf, both of which towns had much easier access to the city's imported food supplies if necessary.<sup>116</sup> The nineteenth-century Barossa Lutheran settlers certainly had the wherewithal to make the honey biscuit

---

<sup>113</sup> William Alexander McIntosh, *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996), pp. 20, 27.

<sup>114</sup> Jakob Tanner, 'Italienische "Makkaroni-Esser" in der Schweiz: Migration von Arbeitskräften und kulinarische Traditionen', in Teuteberg, Neumann und Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven*, p. 496.

<sup>115</sup> E. B. Heyne, *The Amateur Gardener for South Australia* (Adelaide: Scrymgour & Sons, 1881), pp. 64, 72.

<sup>116</sup> St Michael's Lutheran Primary School Auxiliary, *Recipes From my Grossmutter* (Hahndorf: St Michael's Lutheran Congregation, 1995), p. 63; Nola McCallum, *The Holy Cross Lutheran Church 2003 Centenary Recipe Book* (Murray Bridge: PakPress, 2003), pp. 82–84.

recipes that their contemporaries were making and publishing in Germany, and yet they did not do so.

Tanner's argument requires further consideration. The concept that Lutheran cooks across a wide part of South Australia, not just the Barossa, were inventing their own tradition and marking out their identity in the rest of their new community has some justification, for this process did happen with other dishes. The next chapter will discuss its relevance to the red porridge called *Rote Grütze*, a dish with variant characteristics known only in the Barossa. In my opinion, however, Tanner's argument does not apply to the way honey biscuits in Lutheran settlements in South Australia differed from those in nineteenth-century German books. South Australian Lutheran settlers were too scattered for all the cooks to have made unilateral changes and to have kept them consistent in each area. Furthermore, honey biscuits themselves are a food produced by families at a time of the year with highest significance, when the concerns of families and congregations who eat the biscuits are introverted by their religious observance without thought for the reactions of the external world. The indications suggest that they all had the same recipe when they arrived in South Australia at different times in the nineteenth century, but that this recipe had not found its way into *bürgerliche* German recipe books. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that honey biscuits are a very old recipe from a group of people from small farming communities in the countryside east of the Elbe whose culinary practices were passed over by the nineteenth-century German books written for families in towns.

If this is so, their enduring nature conforms to theories about traditional customs and foods. Sociologists maintain that ethnic activities are likely to endure when they have cultural meanings. When people repeat the activities at regular intervals they accrue their own form and sense of ritual. They are especially lasting when attached to feast days.<sup>117</sup> Such repeated rituals often relate to sweet foods.<sup>118</sup> In spite of minor variations created by each generation, the customs (and presumably at least some of the foods) will remain in a recognisable form.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, they tend to be enduring if they serve to delineate the boundaries of a group surrounded by a different external world, and they typically survive at the intersection of currents of civilisation, becoming symbols of the group's common heritage and fate.<sup>120</sup>

These conditions for a steadfast cultural practice do apply to honey biscuits. The ritual of their making and eating in the Barossa was part of a particular religious and family observance. The custom prevailed within an ethnic group whose boundaries with the surrounding culture of the external world in South Australia coincided with a different language and religious faith. Notwithstanding the durability of the actual ingredients, these aforementioned conditions were in themselves a recipe for durability. This quality was not simply an example of cultural fragmentation in the colonies; it was already part of the existing traditions associated with the dish. Nevertheless, lasting recipes can respond in small ways to changing environments and other developments. The way the cooks mix the

---

<sup>117</sup> Mary Douglas and Michael Nicod, 'Taking the Biscuit: The Structure of British Meal', *New Society*, Vol. 19, Dec. 1974, p. 240.

<sup>118</sup> Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 87.

<sup>119</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 83.

<sup>120</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1986), pp. 49–50.

ingredients, the ingredients they use, the way they prepare the dough for baking, present, decorate, serve and name the biscuits all form useful points of comparison between early ways of making them and the Barossa versions in the middle of the twentieth century.

### **Combination of the Ingredients**

Melting the honey and sugar and then adding the flour, eggs and other ingredients is a very old way of making shaped cakes. Greek comedy-writer, Menander (c. 342 BC-291 BC) makes a passing reference to this method.<sup>121</sup> An early documented recipe does not appear to have survived, however, perhaps because it was basic and simple, a food for the humblest of cooks. It existed alongside more sophisticated honey cake recipes given in early European cookery books (and therefore used by educated cooks in the kitchens of nobles or clerics). These were recipes for shaped cakes flavoured with honey and spice incorporating methods used by the Romans and later by the Arabs who settled in southern Spain. Cooks following these recipes made the cakes first and then soaked them in honey sauce, much like baklava and other eastern Mediterranean cakes today. In another kind cooks pressed honey and spiced breadcrumbs to set in moulds.<sup>122</sup> The Barossa honey biscuit by contrast simply incorporates the honey in the flour-based dough. It

---

<sup>121</sup> Mark Grant, *Roman Cookery: Ancient Recipes for Modern Kitchens* (London: Serif Cookery, 1999), p. 150.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108, 150; Apicius, *The Roman Cookery Book*, Barbara Flower and Elizabeth Rosenbaum, eds and trans. (London: Harrap, 1958), p. 171; extract from the cookery book of Ibrahim al-Mahdi in an anonymous Andalusian cookbook from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Charles Perry, trans., at [http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian\\_contents.htm](http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian_contents.htm) accessed 2004. Such recipes were still being made in the fifteenth century. An example is in the Harleian MS 279, circa 1420, published in *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, Thomas Austin ed. (Oxford, 1964), recipe no. iiiij, p. 35.

is a method belonging to people using materials to hand and requiring a simple cooking procedure.

An early documented version incorporating sugar and spices with the honey and flour comes from Sabina Welserin of Augsburg, whose recipe book, written in about 1553, is one of the first European collections produced by a female writer. This woman, wife of one of the famous ‘peppersack’ merchants, gave numerous recipes for cakes and pastries including two kinds of cookies or biscuits which she called *Lezelten* and *Nierenberger Lezeltlach*. The *Lezelten* is like the Barossa versions.

<b><i>Gút lezelten zú bachten</i></b>	<b>To bake good <i>Lebkuchen</i></b>
<i>Nim am ersten ain pfünd zúcker, ain</i>	Take first a pound of sugar, a quart of
<i>quertlin geleúterts honig, nit gar ain</i>	clear honey, not quite a third quart of
<i>fiertellin mell/ nim 5 lot rerlen, 3 lott</i>	flour, take two and a half ounces of
<i>negellen, 4 lott kerner/ gestossen, die</i>	cinnamon, one and a half ounces of
<i>andere wirtz schneid aúffs klainest, die</i>	cloves, two ounces of cardamom. Cut
<i>rerlen aúfs grebest gestosen, thú jmber</i>	the other spices as small as possible, the
<i>aúch darein/ vnnd thú zúcker in das</i>	cinnamon sticks are ground as coarsely
<i>honig, lasß es mitainander siededen, thús</i>	as possible. Also put ginger therein and
<i>mell jn ain múolter, geúßß die kerner am</i>	put the sugar into the honey, let it cook
<i>ersten ein, darnach den jmber vnnd dan</i>	together, put the flour in a trough, pour
<i>die andern wirtzen.</i> <sup>123</sup>	the cardamom into it first, afterwards
	the ginger and the other spices. <sup>124</sup>

This recipe is similar to that of Mrs Vic. Kappler given on page 169. The comparison shows that the Barossa method of making the spice dough by melting the honey and sugar and adding the other ingredients must date back to at least the sixteenth century at Augsburg and at Nuremberg in central and southern Germany.

---

<sup>123</sup> Hugo Stopp, ed., *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin, Augsburg* [c.1553] (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 1980), at <http://www.staff.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/sawe.htm>, accessed June 2005, recipe nos. 151, 163.

<sup>124</sup> Sabine Welserin, cookbook, Valoise Armstrong, trans. (Little Rock, Arizona: 1998), at <http://www.geocities.com/katjaorlova/index.html>, accessed 2004.

Indeed, versions of spiced honey confectionery appeared in many parts of Europe by the end of the sixteenth century. Henri IV of France laid down statutes in 1596 requiring bakers of spice cakes to qualify at the end of an apprenticeship as members of a guild,<sup>125</sup> while visitors to Russia in the same period were impressed with the elaborate gingerbreads that they could buy there,<sup>126</sup> and Maria Dembińska in her culinary history writes about the Toruń gingerbreads made in Poland from the 1550s onwards.<sup>127</sup> Whether all these spice confections underwent the same mixing methods as Sabine Welserin's and the Barossa biscuits and whether the sixteenth century was the period when most European pastry cooks first adopted this method of making shaped spice cakes is difficult to say. Versions known today from France, Poland and Russia do follow the method of melting the honey before mixing the flour and other ingredients, and Laura Mason, writing in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, claims that such honey-flour recipes generally appeared from the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>128</sup>

Mason's claim, however, that earlier versions would mostly have been the kind made with bread-crumbs does not acknowledge the simple recipe of Menander previously mentioned on page 174. Nor does it take into account the 'honey breads' composed of wheaten flour, honey and flavourings made by the Chinese in the tenth century, which were included in the rations of the riders of Gengis Khan on the borders of Eastern Europe and also adopted by the Crusaders in the Holy Land

---

<sup>125</sup> Martine Chauney, *Le pain d'épice de Dijon* (Dijon: Christine Bonneton, 1978), pp. 17–18.

<sup>126</sup> Toomre, ed., *Classic Russian cooking: Elena Molokhovets' A Gift to Young Housewives*, p. 428.

<sup>127</sup> Dembińska, *Food and drink in Medieval Poland*, p. 145.

<sup>128</sup> Laura Mason, 'Gingerbread', in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 339.



in the thirteenth century.<sup>129</sup> Baked spiced honey biscuits could well have originated in the East, coming either via Mongol settlements in Hungary or from returning Crusaders. The thirteenth century did produce the very earliest known documentation in German of a recipe combining honey, spices and flour in a baked food. Also at that time some of these biscuits first assumed the names *Lebekuoche* (*Lebkuchen*) and *Pfefferkuchen* (a version of the biscuit containing pepper as a spice).<sup>130</sup> A connection could exist between the warriors and the appearance of a new type of food, spice-flavoured honey cakes, which they brought with them.

### The Sweeteners

Since some Barossa families can trace their ancestry back to the fourteenth century in their places of origin in Brandenburg and Silesia, and some have managed to identify their names among early farmers in their place of origin,<sup>131</sup> their forebears presumably made cakes from honey and flour, for honey has always been a sweetener available to people living on the land, an ingredient often connected with ritual, prestige and taxes.<sup>132</sup> In the time of Charles IV, 1347-1378, in the Brandenburg March honey producers had to give half of their honey as tribute.<sup>133</sup> That presumably left half to sell at market or to sweeten their own food. On outlying farms in productive seasons honey and flour would have been

---

<sup>129</sup> Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, Anthea Bell, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 31–32; Chauney, *Le pain d'épice de Dijon*, p. 16.

<sup>130</sup> Karl F. Kittelberger, *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen: Geschichte eines höchst sonderbaren Gebäcks* (Aachen: Meyer und Meyer Verlag, 1988), p. 40.

<sup>131</sup> Love and Love, *The Linke Families in Australia 1838 – 1980*, p. 8.

<sup>132</sup> Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, p. 31–37.

<sup>133</sup> Kittelberger, *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen*, pp. 36, 41.

available for baking.<sup>134</sup> In Australia at least two indications show that ancestors of the early immigrants to South Australia and of their descendants one hundred years later had a strong tradition of using honey as a sweetener. The first is that some immigrants to the Barossa took the trouble to bring with them the beehives that they had used in central Eastern Europe. Notable are those that came in 1844 in the luggage of the Stanitzky family from Bomst, for these hives function to this day on the farm of Mark and Gloria Rosenzweig at Moculta. They are the oldest working beehives in Australia. Apiarist scholars have identified the hives' design as Berlepsch-Dzierzon, developed by Dr Johann Dzierzon, a Catholic priest, and Baron August von Berlepsch, both of whom were researching and writing in the 1840s. Dzierzon's research into bees and honey production was riding a wave of renewed interest created by Friedrich II of Prussia and Maria Theresia of Austria, who promoted the honey industry and established beekeeping schools to encourage small farmers to develop their skills as honey producers.<sup>135</sup>

In Australia Stanitsky followed European directions for setting up the hives by creating a fixed elevated floor with a roof and a rear wall acting as a windbreak to protect the bees from the cold. The roof and wall shade the hives from the hot summer sun in Australia, and the system works just as well in the antipodes, although the bees must fly some distance from their fixed hives to find enough nectar in the sparse Australian landscape. The whole structure, carefully transported to the other side of the world, is evidence of a long-standing devotion to

---

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

honey as a sweetener in the face of the expanding European sugar industry at the time the first settlers were migrating.

That honey for Barossa settlers was a very old food not lightly to be cast aside is also plain from the honey biscuit recipes themselves. Most gingerbread recipes in England and the New World underwent a fundamental change in the eighteenth century as the sugar industry expanded in the West Indies and more cooks replaced honey with treacle, molasses and brown sugar. The Barossa versions continued to contain honey.<sup>136</sup> The recipe books printed for those German settlers called the Pennsylvania Dutch in the United States made a full conversion to molasses, so much so that William Woys Weaver, presenting recipes from these settlers in his book *Sauerkraut Yankees*, gives gingerbread made with molasses but then lists one of the earliest gingerbread recipes from the colony, made with honey, dated 1834, as a historic forerunner.<sup>137</sup> By contrast, even when nineteenth- and twentieth-century recipe books intended for the middle and upper classes in Germany were replacing honey with processed sugars in spiced biscuits like *Lebkuchen*, honey remained the essential ingredient and flavour in the Barossa versions.<sup>138</sup> Here, indeed, is a possible example of the conservative behaviour that Hartz associated with cultural fragmentation in the colonies. Isolation reinforced a practice that altered in other parts of the world, and in this case the colonial cooks did not adopt the changes at a later date.

---

<sup>136</sup> E. Smith, *The Compleat Housewife or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* [1753] (London: Literary Services and Production, 1968), pp. 76, 175, 177, 181.

<sup>137</sup> Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees*, p. 135.

<sup>138</sup> Ritter, *Kurzgefastes aber deutliches und vollständiges Kochbuch*, p. 171; Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1884, pp. 511–515. In many of these recipes sugar syrup replaces honey; Toomre, ed., *Classic Russian cooking: Elena Molokhovets' A Gift to Young Housewives*, pp. 429–431.

As in Sabine Welserin's recipe, sugar did appear in the Barossa honey biscuits in certain proportions. A survey of 26 different local Barossa recipes in public and private books indicates that on average the proportion of honey to sugar in the Barossa recipes is 3:2. Mrs Vic Kappler's and other recipes use equal amounts of honey and sugar, but several local recipes include twice as much honey as sugar, just as Sabine Welserin's sixteenth-century recipes also used a ratio of about 2:1. The date when sugar joined honey in the biscuits made by the east-European, country-dwelling forebears of German emigrants to early South Australia would have been much later than the sixteenth century, for only in the cooking of extremely wealthy *bürgerlicher* households like that of Sabine Welserin did sugar begin to appear at that time. People regarded it as a spice with pharmacological benefits.<sup>139</sup> A pound of sugar would have cost three days' wages for the labourer working outside Sabine Welserin's window.<sup>140</sup> During the deprivation and suffering in Prussia accompanying the Thirty Years War until 1648 and beyond, sugar would not have been a readily available commodity for many, for whole districts in Prussia lay stripped of their inhabitants, their livestock and their supplies.<sup>141</sup> For everyday use in modest households sugar would remain too expensive until it was no longer a luxury for the wealthy citizens.<sup>142</sup> Then its price would fall, and it would be accessible to people in the lower classes. In the cities it

---

<sup>139</sup> Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 30.

<sup>140</sup> Kittelberger, *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen*, p.56.

<sup>141</sup> Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (London: Pimlico, 1997), p. 568.

<sup>142</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p. 186.

would become even cheaper than honey,<sup>143</sup> but of course in the country people were producing honey from their own hives.

The time for sugar was indeed approaching, for even in the late seventeenth century a sugar refinery in Hamburg was developing economic ways to process the raw sugar bought from overseas plantations, and a refinery was subsequently established in Prussia as a state monopoly.<sup>144</sup> The world market for sugar collapsed from over-supply around 1700, making sugar considerably cheaper in the cities of Europe.<sup>145</sup> And even though Lord Sheffield noted in 1783 that sugar was ‘scarcely known in half of Europe’, he nevertheless could see a definite potential for increased consumption, no doubt at considerable profit to the purveyors.<sup>146</sup> The prices demanded by English profiteers, however, encouraged the Germans and French to develop techniques for making sugar from beet, and beet-processing factories were set up in Silesia from 1802 onwards to counteract a shortage of cane sugar caused by trade embargoes during the Napoleonic wars.<sup>147</sup> Fields of beet were part of the landscape for many country families who set out for South Australia. In beet-producing districts in the middle of the nineteenth century *Junkers’* farms had as much as 60 to 70 per cent of their land planted to beet.<sup>148</sup>

This chain of production, however, led to urban markets requiring industrial processes at some distance from the farms before people could consume the sugar. The sugar beet factory at Wohlau in Silesia, one of the first in Europe, was

---

<sup>143</sup> Kittelberger, *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen* p. 92.

<sup>144</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century: The Wheels of Commerce* (London: Collins, 1982), p. 194.

<sup>145</sup> Andrew Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), p. 29.

<sup>146</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p. 225.

<sup>147</sup> S. Kaiser, ‘Zuckergeschichte in Schlesien’, *Schlesischer Kulturspiegel* (Würzburg, April, 1997).

<sup>148</sup> Perkins, ‘The German Agricultural Worker 1815–1914’, p. 15.

followed by others in the district. Most inhabitants did not consider these a significant part of the local economy.<sup>149</sup> A succession of beet refineries failed before the industry finally became established in 1836.<sup>150</sup> At first the industry's direct impact on small local landholder consumers was not great because peasants with small land holdings of their own were not part of the chain of sugar production.<sup>151</sup> Farm workers with a little land were unlikely to grow their own beet crops to sell, and workers for wealthier farmers could not receive payment in sugar beet.<sup>152</sup> Those who owned a little land could, however, obtain cash by selling on the open market their own farm produce and the grain that they earned as payment in kind from their overlords, the *Junkers*.<sup>153</sup> From their sales they had to use some of their earnings to pay the *Hofgänger* or labourers who worked on their farms and on the *Junker* estates on their behalf. These different kinds of farmers and farm workers then had access to meager amounts of cash. Since sugar was available in the neighbouring towns from 1836 onwards, wealthier peasant farming families and estate employees whose offspring later migrated to Australia after 1839 had access to sugar and could use it to make sweet delicacies, at least for special occasions. Of those delicacies, traditional honey biscuits now made with added sugar would most certainly have headed the list. However, the Barossa recipes show that, by the time of the settlers' departure in the middle of the nineteenth century, sugar had not entirely replaced honey in country areas from which they came.

---

<sup>149</sup> Juhnke, *Wohlau*, p. 298.

<sup>150</sup> Kittelberger, *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen*, p. 98.

<sup>151</sup> Perkins, 'The German Agricultural Worker 1815–1914', p. 10.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

## The Flour and the Leavening

If the newly arrived settlers in South Australia brought recipes already containing sugar, the honey biscuits that they took from their Australian ovens were nevertheless different from those that they had made in Europe. Their adoption in Australia of wheaten flour made the difference. Middle and Lower Silesia, Posen and Brandenburg grew mainly rye,<sup>154</sup> and in Eastern European countries in the twentieth century honey biscuits still required rye flour.<sup>155</sup> In 1824, however, William Jacob did observe that people in larger centres used wheaten flour for making what English bakers would call 'fancy bread' or pastry and confectionery. The choice of flour by families to make their honey biscuits before they came to Australia would have depended on how close they lived to large commercial centres, and how wealthy they were. Wilhelmine, wife of master joiner Friedrich Altmann, who lived in the large town of Crossen<sup>156</sup> and who came to settle in Moculta, probably made her confectionery honey biscuits from wheaten flour. Apollonia, wife of the cottager Christian Hentschke, who lived in the village of Kutschlau and who came to live at Keyneton, probably used rye. Such distinctions disappeared in Australia, where wheat became the universal crop for making flour used in baking.

Inevitably honey biscuits baked from this new wheaten flour would have differed from the European rye versions in both flavour and texture and, since

---

<sup>154</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p.36.

<sup>155</sup> Sdružení Oficiálního informačního systému, *History of Gingerbread Makers in Český Krumlov* (Český Krumlov, 1999), [http://www.ckrumlov.cz/uk/mesto/histor/t\\_hicepe.htm](http://www.ckrumlov.cz/uk/mesto/histor/t_hicepe.htm), accessed 2002; Irén Kurek, *Lifting the Lid off the Goulash: Secrets of Traditional Hungarian Cooking: Things My Mother Taught* (Melbourne: Academia Press, 2000), pp. 150–151.

<sup>156</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. 89.

texture is a significant characteristic of this type of spice bread, cooks worked to achieve the right consistency. Honey biscuits are to some extent spongy, and over the years people have used several different methods and ingredients to achieve this effect. The '*Sauerkraut Yankees*' described by William Woys Weaver made the dough for their Christmas honey cakes in October or November and aged it in a cool place for several weeks before Christmas. The waiting process broke down enzymes in the flour and produced the soft texture in the German gingerbreads, which Weaver contrasts with the more compacted English ones in the same community.<sup>157</sup> Similarly Mrs Vic Kappler and other providers of honey biscuit recipes in the Barossa advised cooks to let the dough rest for several days before baking. Modern books of recipes from Saxony give similar instructions.<sup>158</sup> The gas released by this process helps the aerating of the honey-fermented dough as it is baking. The rising process could always move faster with a little help from chemical agents, as nineteenth-century German recipe books show. Some were concentrated alkalis which had existed for many years, namely, potash (potassium carbonate) made from burning wood and plants, and hartshorn salt (ammonium carbonate). These were the forerunners of sodium bicarbonate and baking powders. Potash from the Baltic forests was an ingredient for making glass and soap to clean woollen fleeces. Bicarbonate of soda, a later variant, became an essential ingredient of honey biscuits. To this extent Barossa honey biscuit recipes came under the influence of industrialisation, as the new commercial ingredient sped up the rising

---

<sup>157</sup> Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees*, pp. 134–136.

<sup>158</sup> Rainer Krummenerl, *Küchenrenner für Landschaftskenner* (Leipzig: Verlag für die Frau, 1993), p. 122.



of the flour. Because of this chemical innovation it was no longer necessary to prove the dough for several months before Christmas.

### **Spices and Other Flavourings**

The farming families of Silesia who were able to generate cash in the early nineteenth century to buy sugar to add to their honey biscuits could also use their cash to buy spices. Spice is mandatory in the honey biscuits made by their descendants in the Barossa Valley in the twentieth century. Neither cooks nor consumers in the Barossa seemed aware, however, of the medieval European spiritual significance of spices, especially cinnamon, as symbols of holy virtues and ideals of godliness.<sup>159</sup> Ignorant of the fact that Catholic monks had first baked the biscuits in the shape of saints and other religious motifs for religious festivals,<sup>160</sup> Barossa families ate them because of their taste and smell, and because they associated them with the pleasures of Christmas festivities. The simple Barossa recipes are consistent with Luther's own approaches to food. Among the Smalcald Articles in Luther's *Book of Concord*, in Article XV, 'On Human Traditions', Luther attacked the consecration of cakes and spices as 'sheer mockery and fraud'.<sup>161</sup> His separation of food and ritual had an influence on the food practices of the descendants of his followers, contributing to the simplicity of lives already devoid of embellishment. Recipes in the Barossa vary from family to family.

---

<sup>159</sup> Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (New York: Knopf, 2004), pp. 252–254.

<sup>160</sup> Alice Ross, 'A Gingerbread Tradition', *The Journal of Antiques and Collectibles*, Vol. 1, December, 2000, website at <http://www.journalofantiques.com/hearthdec.htm>, accessed 2005.

<sup>161</sup> Martin Luther (1537), *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau, trans. (St Louis: 1921), pp. 453–529, at <http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/concord/web/smc-03o.html>, accessed 2005.

Consequently Barossa honey biscuits have no prescribed combination of spices and these do not appear in symbolic numbers of particular religious significance.

Some spices appeared in recipes more frequently than others. From the survey of 26 honey biscuit recipes in personal and community books from the Barossa and surrounding districts, the overwhelming impression is that the essential spice is cloves, for it appears in all recipes except one. Second most important, with 17 mentions, is cinnamon (or its substitute, cassia, in one Barossa recipe book). Commercially prepared 'mixed spice', a time-saving commodity introduced by twentieth-century grocers, is treated as a separate spice in 12 recipes, one of which notes that mixed spice can be a substitute for cloves. Less frequently listed spices are allspice (eight mentions), ginger (seven) and nutmeg (four). One brave recipe mentions cardamom.<sup>162</sup> Except for the allspice, a product of the New World, these are almost exactly the spices listed in Sabine Welserin's two sixteenth-century recipes. (Her extra one, mace, is a part of the nutmeg, anyway.) Collectively, the Barossa spice biscuits resemble those of Sabine Welserin, but from recipe to recipe kinds of spices varied and the numbers ranged between two and four. Their inclusion clearly related to personal taste and family preference.

By the nineteenth century Sabine's recipes would have been considered extremely old-fashioned by cooks in Europe, for by then *Lebkuchen* of most sorts contained the other ingredients previously mentioned, altering both flavour and texture. A perusal of *Nürnberger Pfeffer-Kuchen* in the *Kochbuch* of Henriette Ritter (published in Berlin in 1826),<sup>163</sup> *Nürnberger Lebkuchen* in the *Bremisches*

---

<sup>162</sup> Mrs Louisa Schilling, recipe notebook (Angaston: 1920).

<sup>163</sup> Ritter, *Kurzgefastes aber deutliches und vollständiges Kochbuch*, pp. 170–171.

*Kochbuch* (published in 1834)<sup>164</sup> and recipes from Henriette Davidis (1884 edition)<sup>165</sup> shows the widespread introduction of almond meal, candied citrus rinds, and other dried or candied fruits, besides the appearance in the Davidis book of the new leavening agent, potash. Barossa honey biscuits did not undergo the same transformations as their European counterparts possibly because in Europe the country cooks were too isolated to hear about them. The moment of the settlers' first departure for Australia fell on the cusp of change. It was twenty years too early for their tastes to be shaped by goods and new ways brought into Silesia by the railway. They left forty years too soon to know the famous *Liegnitzer Bomben*, a spice biscuit originating in the exact district from which some founding families of the Barossa set forth. This recipe does contain the almond meal and fruits of nineteenth century *Lebkuchen* as well as chocolate, an ingredient that would have reached the town of Liegnitz only in the late nineteenth century. By that time the Schmidts, the Obsts and the Heidrichs had long since departed from Liegnitz and were making their biscuits in Australia still using the ancient recipe.<sup>166</sup>

The spices in Barossa honey biscuits were common European ingredients, but some other very frequently used spices in traditional European cakes had no place in the baking of the emigrant Barossa families. Often the reason for this might have been a simple question of taste, as in the case of pepper. Bruno Laurioux's analysis of spice consumption in late medieval Europe shows that pepper was the spice most accessible to the lowest classes in many parts of Europe. As early as the thirteenth

---

<sup>164</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, p. 398.

<sup>165</sup> Davidis, *Praktisches kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1884, pp. 513–516.

<sup>166</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, p. 106. (These families left Liegnitz in 1845.)

century, field labourers added pepper to their dinner of broad beans and peas.<sup>167</sup> Even people in poorhouses had pepper. This was the spice flooding into Europe, often via Venice from where it followed trade routes through the mountain passes to all parts of Europe.<sup>168</sup> It could well have been because of that spice's ready availability that the original cakes called *Pfefferkuchen*, which did contain pepper, came into being in central Europe. Pepper, however, has never been an ingredient in Barossa honey biscuits, though it has been a common enough commodity in other Barossa cooking. Even in the regional recipe books from Silesia that have appeared in the twentieth century, those recipes misleadingly named *Pfefferkuchen* contain no pepper.<sup>169</sup> Such an ingredient appears to have been outside the taste preferences of Silesian and Brandenburger cooks.

Other spices varied with regions. Cardamom found favour in northern areas of Europe, particularly in Scandinavia.<sup>170</sup> Western Europe developed a preference for ginger. In France in the late Middle Ages ginger was the most popular spice, and that enthusiasm spread to England.<sup>171</sup> By the eighteenth century, ginger flavoured English gingerbread recipes in quantities far greater than in the spice cakes of other areas.<sup>172</sup> As families tend to hand down recipes for festive foods through generations, the single Barossa honey biscuit recipe containing cardamom could have come from a family originally from the north of Germany, near the

---

<sup>167</sup> Bruno Laurioux, 'Spices in the Medieval Diet: A New Approach', *Food & Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, Vol. I, 1985, pp. 57–58.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 58.

<sup>169</sup> Elfrieda Rathmann, *Grafschaft Glatzer Kochbuch* (Münster: published by the author, 1991), pp. 60–61.

<sup>170</sup> Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 136.

<sup>171</sup> Laurioux, 'Spices in the Medieval Diet: A New Approach', pp. 45–47.

<sup>172</sup> See, for example, the gingerbread recipes in Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*, pp. 175, 176, 177, 181, where the quantities of ginger are at least twice those of other spice ingredients.

Scandinavian border, and the inclusion of ginger in other recipes could have come about because people had connections with families living closer to the west or, in Australia, found marriage partners in English families. Barossa honey biscuits nevertheless hardly resemble dark, heating, treacle-flavoured English gingerbreads. The German Barossa honey biscuits are lighter, and the predominant flavours are honey, cinnamon and cloves.

Sometimes flavourings indicate the class of the consumer. Allspice, a relative newcomer to the European spice rack, first came to Europe with Columbus from its home in Central America and appeared in some German recipe books in the early eighteenth century. It was not controlled by the Dutch monopoly and therefore less expensive. Writing in *Geist der Kochkunst* published in 1822, the gastronome Count Karl Friedrich von Rumohr gave the mild flavour of this spice his even milder approbation. Its chief virtue was that it was less sweet than cloves.<sup>173</sup> This remark echoed the aversion to spices that had imbued upper-class German taste for a whole century. (Ginger, according to Rumohr, had fallen completely from favour.) The gentry across Europe wanted to imitate the French; they shunned the overpowering medieval taste for spice and sought food with more natural flavours. A good example is the recipe for *Zucker Pfeffer-Nüße* in the *Nieder Sächsisches Koch Buch* of Marcus Loofft, published in 1755. Despite its name, this recipe contains no spice at all, not even pepper.<sup>174</sup> Until a Romantic revival of interest in old foods and old ingredients in the nineteenth century, the old recipes for spiced gingerbreads remained the province of those who did not aspire to elegance,

---

<sup>173</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p. 167.

<sup>174</sup> Marcus Loofft, *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch*, (Altona: Kortenschen Buchladen, 1755), p. 513.

namely the lower classes.<sup>175</sup> The country-dwelling ancestors of Barossa settlers were among those likely to continue making their spiced honey biscuits. For some, American allspice was a new ingredient.

The inclusion of cloves in the sixteenth-century recipe that resembles recipes in the Barossa poses questions about accessibility. Cloves were an ingredient which originated in the remote and distant spice islands of Ternate and Tidore, east of the larger islands of Indonesia. The islands were difficult to reach, and the high cost of their produce was ruthlessly controlled by European countries monopolising their trade. Because of the expense, cloves would hardly be seasoning food in one of the poorer rural parts of Europe, the region east of the Elbe. And yet cloves were reportedly flavouring the foods served to mere students at the end of the fourteenth century. Even noblemen's clerks working on fishing and commercial projects included cloves in their diet. The use of cloves at that time had begun to extend beyond the precinct of the extremely wealthy.<sup>176</sup> Spices were rapidly falling in price, according to Fernand Braudel, and beginning to appear on all tables. Their use was much heavier in Germany, Poland and eastern European countries than further west. Braudel cites Luther, who complained caustically that in Germany people consumed more spice than grain.<sup>177</sup> It seems that wealthy farming family forebears of the Barossa emigrants who were living east of the Elbe would have made spiced honey biscuits one of their festive traditions as early as the sixteenth century, for agriculture then was profitable and expanding. The plague and

---

<sup>175</sup> Kittelberger, *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen*, p. 95.

<sup>176</sup> Lauriou, 'Spices in the Medieval diet: A New Approach', pp. 59–63.

<sup>177</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, pp. 221–222.

depressed sales of farm goods of the previous century were over.<sup>178</sup> Silesia had been spared the peasant wars.<sup>179</sup> Owners of reasonable farms were prospering and could sell produce, especially if they lived close to growing trade centres like Breslau and Leipzig. According to economic historian Wilhelm Abel some East German peasant farmers were as prosperous as city burghers.<sup>180</sup> Feasting and weddings, which could go on for days, must have included spiced confections on the table.<sup>181</sup>

Even so, one further problem of accessibility remains. The enforced return to serfdom in the end of the sixteenth century for Silesian and other peasants east of the Elbe meant that they were not allowed to leave the districts where they lived, a situation which was to last until the land reforms of the nineteenth century.<sup>182</sup> Their only way to obtain spices was to await the packs of the pedlars who were combing the breadth and depth of the central and eastern European countryside. Laurence Fontaine's history of pedlars in Europe describes the activities of people selling their wares in the sixteenth century. Notable among them in Poland and East Germany were Scots, who took their packs across all northern Europe to Mecklenburg and Poland between 1500 and 1650. At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries pedlars arrived at the south-eastern corner of Poland from Armenia. Also in the sixteenth century members of the Brentano family from the Lake Como region were travelling through the Brenner Pass to cities in both the

---

<sup>178</sup> Rösener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, p. 165.

<sup>179</sup> Abel, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe*, p. 104. These people's descendants were still being described by Iwan as colonists in his lists of people migrating to South Australia before 1850.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109–116.

<sup>181</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p. 222.

<sup>182</sup> Rösener, *The Peasantry of Europe*, pp. 104–112.

west and the east, bringing their stores of citrus fruits and spices, and moving between towns, fairs and weekly markets until they finally opened shops in the places they visited and settled there. Estate owners complained that these travellers 'wormed their way in with servants and with children' and lived off the backs of the poor.<sup>183</sup> Fernand Braudel points out that itinerant Jews handled about 40 to 50 per cent of the trade in eastern Europe and were also well established in Germany, where they already dominated the brilliant Leipzig fairs.<sup>184</sup> Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, in periods when the countryside was not experiencing war and famine, traffic was moving on the little country roads between the villages and towns, bringing spices to people whose freedom of movement had been curtailed, enabling them to make their honey biscuits.

### **Presentation and Decoration**

Those biscuits were not as artistic as the European spice breads moulded into three dimensional shapes and pictures. The longer of Sabine Welserin's two recipes described the art of shaping the dough in a *Lebkuchen* mould, which stamped an intricate pattern into the dough pressed between two wooden boards. Gingerbreads in many places in Europe were often picture breads, an ancient, elaborate form of folk art designed to enchant the eye as much as the palate. The popularity of these rose after a temporary decline as part of the Romantic revival.<sup>185</sup> Commercial bakers and wealthy families used them in many countries in Europe. The favourite

---

<sup>183</sup> Laurence Fontaine, *A History of Pedlars in Europe*, Vicki Whittaker, trans. (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 10–20.

<sup>184</sup> Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, p. 76.

<sup>185</sup> Nika Standen Hazelton, *The Cooking of Germany* (New York, 1971), pp. 173–175.



moulds of some emigrant families went in their luggage to North America, especially to Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York's Hudson Valley<sup>186</sup>. They do not, however, appear in the kitchens of the Barossa. The extensive book on folk art in the Barossa by Noris Ioannou does not mention them,<sup>187</sup> and local antique shop dealers, who are acquainted with the contents of most household cupboards in the district, say that they have never observed any locally owned examples. Their absence is not the result of a culture too austere to enjoy decoration for its own sake, for local people decorated by hand many aspects of their material culture like the wooden moulds that stamped attractive patterns on butter.<sup>188</sup> The absence of the older gingerbread moulds simply indicates a different method of cooking honey biscuits, with a spongy texture unsuited to fine, detailed moulding. Making gingerbread houses was another custom unknown in the Barossa. Alice Ross suggests that this form of decoration (well suited to honey biscuit dough) developed in the late nineteenth century after the publication of Grimms' *Hansel and Gretel*.<sup>189</sup> The custom had not reached the Lutherans before they set out for Australia.

Tin cutters for making shapes in the honey cake dough, however, were in every kitchen by 1939, and many families were using cutters handed on through several generations since the nineteenth century. They were geometric shapes like the sun and the diamond, or birds, animals (horses, sheep, cats, dogs, lions or pigs),

---

<sup>186</sup> Ross, 'A Gingerbread Tradition', <http://www.journalofantiques.com/hearthdec.htm>, accessed 2005; William Woys Weaver, 'Cakeboards', *Early American Life*, Vol. XXXII, 2001, <http://www.cakeboard.com/cakeboards.html> accessed 2005.

<sup>187</sup> Noris Ioannou, *The Barossa Folk: Germanic Furniture and Craft Traditions in Australia* (Roseville East: Craftsman House, 1995).

<sup>188</sup> Ioannou, *The Barossa Folk*, p. 193.

<sup>189</sup> Ross, 'A Gingerbread Tradition', accessed 2005.

hearts, fish, stars or people, and they were often the product of a local tinsmith or the farm forge.<sup>190</sup> Second-hand dealers claim to be able to identify the creators of those made just before the Second World War. These cutters indicate a much simpler approach to life than the elaborate moulds used to make the denser gingerbreads and *Lebkuchen*. The heart, the fish, the bird, the star, the sun and the human shape are all potentially symbols with ancient religious attributes, but for people in the Barossa in 1939 they were simply representations of familiar images.<sup>191</sup> Alice Ross suggests that the shapes of the biscuits in North America diversified in the middle of the nineteenth century when they became decorations on the recently introduced Christmas tree, and that the more specific festive symbols like stars and bells and Father Christmases were a later development.<sup>192</sup> Recipes in the *Barossa Cookery Book* of 1932 seemed scarcely interested in the biscuits' shapes. The instructions often ended with rolling out the dough, giving no indication how to cut images. The most specific required a round biscuit cutter.<sup>193</sup> William Woys Weaver's nineteenth-century '*Sauerkraut Yankees*' were similarly vague about shapes,<sup>194</sup> while the baker of the honey cakes in the Milwaukee *Settlement Cook Book* instructed cooks to cut the cakes into rectangles after baking.<sup>195</sup> Their methods and those of Barossa cooks presumably stem from a common, simple cultural practice, one so familiar that recipe writers saw no need to spell out methods of presentation.

---

<sup>190</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Tanunda: 2005); Mavis Kraft, antique dealer, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

<sup>191</sup> Robert and Phyllis Homburg, interview (Tanunda: 2006);

<sup>192</sup> Ross, 'A Gingerbread Tradition', accessed 2005.

<sup>193</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 63–65.

<sup>194</sup> Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees*, pp. 135–136.

<sup>195</sup> Mrs Simon Kander, *The Settlement Cook Book* (Milwaukee: 'The Settlement', 1901), p. 381.

Lack of concern about presentation also shows in the surface decoration of honey biscuits. By 1939 people commonly used sugar icing, and yet no instructions in any recent community cookery books describe the icing as decoration. The adornment with the tiny coloured balls of sugar called hundreds-and-thousands appears also to have been a later addition. Although versions of hundreds-and-thousands (elsewhere called *nonpareils*) had appeared in English books as early as 1862,<sup>196</sup> local people only took up the undocumented practice of using them on iced honey biscuits around the time of the Second World War.<sup>197</sup> Decades earlier the adornment had been much simpler. Two recipes in the 1932 *Barossa Cookery Book* described the biscuit decoration. They simply called for a glaze of beaten egg or for placing candied peel or an almond on each. People remember the almond as the most frequent adornment, and indeed this was a custom brought from Europe. There in 1884 Henriette Davidis drew a diagram in her book to show how almonds should decorate *Lebkuchen*.<sup>198</sup> Barossa cooks do not appear to have been so particular. They ascribed no cultural significance to the use of the almond, a fruit which some Christian denominations associate with the Virgin Mary. There was not a food culture with such a high degree of prescribed embellishment or with extensive use of such conscious doctrinal symbolism in their food.

---

<sup>196</sup> William Marle, 'Olde Baking Recipes', on the website of *The Worshipful Company of Bakers* (London: n.d.) <http://www.bakers.co.uk/recipes-european.php4#nonpareils> accessed 2005.

<sup>197</sup> Peter Lehmann, interview (Tanunda: June, 2003)

<sup>198</sup> Davidis, *Praktisches kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1884, p. 515.

## Serving Methods and Names

A curious absence in Barossa cooking is the use of spiced honey biscuits in other dishes. As early as the fifteenth century in many countries of Europe grated honey biscuits appeared in recipes for sauces and baked dishes as an agent for thickening, sweetening and adding spice.<sup>199</sup> In subsequent centuries this practice appeared in recipes not only in German books but in, for example, Danish ones as well.<sup>200</sup> No such use of honey biscuits appears in the Barossa, however. Admittedly, the most frequently presented European recipe is a gingerbread sauce to serve with carp, a fish not available to the early Barossa settlers. Twentieth-century German books of regional recipes from Silesia and Brandenburg, however, claim that the sauce also accompanied sausages. What is more, it was considered a traditional Christmas recipe. In one recipe book its name is *Weihnachtssauce zu Bratwürstchen*.<sup>201</sup> In others it appears as a Christmas recipe entitled *Karpfen mit polnischer Sauce*.<sup>202</sup> Surprisingly, given that foods connected with religious festivals can endure, and given that the ingredients were plentiful and popular, people do not recall their grandmothers making gingerbread sauce to go with sausages for Christmas. They remember other Christmas dishes that have not endured past 1939, for example the pudding made of bread and poppyseeds soaked in milk with dried fruit and spices called *Mohnklösse*, and herrings which were

---

<sup>199</sup> Hans Wiswe, ed., 'Ein mittelniederdeutsches Kochbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 37 (Braunschweig, 1956), pp. 19–55. *Bearbeitung der elektronischen Fassung*, Thomas Gloning, 1999 <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/>, accessed 2005. Recipe no. 1 is for grape paste with honey biscuits added as an ingredient.

<sup>200</sup> Salomone Sartorio, *Cook Book: Containing A Hundred Useful Pieces* (Copenhagen: Kiöbenhaffn, 1616), <http://www.notaker.com/onlitxts/kogebog.htm>, accessed June 2005, recipes LII, LXII; Otto Bernhard, ed., *Dreihundertjähriges deutsches Kloster-Kochbuch* (Leipzig: R. Hennings'sche Buchhandlung, 1856), p. 7.

<sup>201</sup> Grandel, *Schlesische Spezialitäten*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>202</sup> Krummenerl, *Küchenrenner für Landschaftskenner*, p. 65.

imported in little wooden barrels to be served on Christmas Eve,<sup>203</sup> but not honey biscuit sauce. The dish may never have reached Australia. Foods connected with religious events do not all endure. The custom of serving fish on Christmas Eve disappeared, in spite of the importance of the fish as a Christian symbol. In the Barossa fish was not readily available in summer for Christmas, and Protestant Lutherans would not have sought it out for its symbolic value. In the changes that took place in people's sensory appreciation during the nineteenth century, gingerbread sauce like the taste of poppyseed pudding must have lost its appeal. Complex reasons underlie the disappearance of foods that once had a religious connection, but one reason must surely be the disappearance of any dominating symbolic importance in the food itself, making it easier to relinquish the food altogether for reasons of taste.

One observance, however, remained steadfast. Still in 1939 the kitchen would fill with the scent of spices as cooks baked mammoth quantities of honey biscuits for Christmas. The cooks made so many biscuits that they lasted for many months, although during the first century of settlement in the Barossa they remained firmly associated with Christmas festivities. The heat of the spices was no longer necessary to keep out the cold of a European winter solstice; no religious significance prescribed the numbers of spices; no recognised symbolism determined the shapes and decoration, but the need for large, practical batches of honey biscuits to reinforce a religious and social observance and to delight the family supported a cooking custom that was widespread and long lasting. With

---

<sup>203</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, pp. 187–190.

pleasure and anticipation, everybody contemplated the annual appearance of the delicious Christmas honey biscuits.

The terms 'honey biscuits' or 'honey cakes' were and would remain their name. Before people spoke English, the term was *Honig Kuchen*.<sup>204</sup> Nobody in the district has referred to them in any of their hand-written notebooks from the start of the twentieth century as *Lebkuchen* or *Pfefferkuchen*. The term *Honig Kuchen* exists in German cookery books as well but produces a result either identical to the exotic almond-meal and candied peel filled *Lebkuchen* or a higher, moister cake. Curiously, the closest approximation to honey biscuits is Hungarian, called *Mézes Pogácsa*. The literal translation is a 'honey round flattish cake', and the recipe calls for honey, sugar, rye and wheaten flour, cloves, cinnamon, bicarbonate of soda, eggs and a single blanched almond on each for decoration.<sup>205</sup> With the exception of the rye flour, this recipe could slip unremarked and unaltered into the pages of *The Barossa Cookery Book*. The similarity indicates kindred cultures which existed in the past between these lands east of the Elbe, unrelated to those coming from further west and attached to none of the many names applied to spice biscuits in central Europe after their Romantic revival and embellishment in the nineteenth century.

## Conclusion

Examining Barossa Christmas honey biscuits and comparing them with similar recipes and traditions in Europe and North America has shown a curious

---

<sup>204</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 63.

<sup>205</sup> Kurek, *Lifting the Lid off the Goulash*, pp. 151–2.

counterbalance between the ancient simple practices using ingredients like honey and new ingredients adopted for leavening and decoration. Even a food that is culturally enduring, being sweet, associated with regularly repeated religious festivals and reinforcing the identity of German-speaking Lutherans in an English-speaking land, can therefore alter over time. The effects of the environment, economic factors and new techniques introduced into an urbanising, industrialising world all made subtle changes to the ingredients, methods and customs of baking when honey biscuits came to the Barossa. Sometimes the reasons for tiny changes were complex, as they were in the universal adoption of wheaten flour, discussed in the previous chapter. Minor variations developed between the individual family recipes largely as a result of individual family tastes and the skill of the cook but then remained enduring as an established Christmas tradition. Understandably, environmental factors alone were not responsible for any changes because this dish was attached to cultural rhythms that did not require the perishable ingredients of natural seasons. In fact, its European provenance was from early global trade and religious associations rather than environmental ones. Sweet spiced cakes had always been expensive, exotic and mysterious rather than the seasonal daily fare.

Commerce had brought spices to Europe, and commercial factors continued to influence the ingredients used in gingerbreads. The introduction of allspice even before the settlers came to Australia and of mixed spice offered by shops as a time-saving commodity subtly altered the original honey biscuit recipe. In northern America and England, where people were commercially connected to sugar production, treacle and molasses soon dominated the traditional recipes from

Europe. Emigrants to the Barossa, on the other hand, were leaving their region just as European sugar mills were appearing. They were going to a place where sugar would not be plentiful for another three decades. Honey remained important because they were not part of the sugar trade. As different kinds of sugar did appear on the market, decorative sugar icing became part of the honey biscuit's festive appearance, topped with another industrial sugar product, hundreds-and-thousands. These last two innovations show how closely linked commercial influences were to technological innovations. When the cook ordered her spices and the sugar and decorations from the grocer, she also bought the new commercial rising agent, bicarbonate of soda, an industrial ingredient which reduced preparation time in the Australian days before Christmas.

More complex were the cultural adjustments and changes in perception of the biscuits' very nature, which must have had an effect on the way people ate and enjoyed honey biscuits as a Christmas treat. The shapes and constituents of honey biscuits suggest a very old mystical association. Honey and spices had holy virtues and Catholic monks had baked spiced honey cakes as religious tokens in symbolic shapes. Lutherans, however, had retreated from the belief that ingredients had spiritual significance. The outlines of the tin cutters around 1939 that had belonged to families for several generations were a mixture of geometric shapes, animals and people. Several of these might have had ancient significance far older than Christianity. If so, local people raised in the Lutheran faith, which deliberately separated food from mysticism, made no such connections. The numerous animal shapes accompanied the popularity of the Christmas tree as a family custom, and



people regarded them simply as amusement for the children. Food as religious ritual had long been replaced by food as religious custom. Christmas was a holy celebration for the family, and children and babies formed a significant part of the celebration. Little family traditions devised for children's pleasure were not consciously associated with profounder meanings, even though these might have been their deep-seated origins.

To return to the ideas of McIntosh and Tanner discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it seems that their observations about changing culture are valid to some degree. Other choices of ingredients, namely the technological innovations appearing on the market, did alter recipes. But if, as Tanner maintains, recipes had changed through a creative process of self-definition, then that change came at the time of the Reformation rather than through transfer to the Barossa. The most lasting impression is that, in spite of divergences and small changes, the recipe that persisted as a popular ritual was a very simple one resembling the gingerbreads of the sixteenth century. The reasons behind this simplicity give cause for speculation. This is a food of country people whose basic cooking shows lack of attention to refined detail, even in their festive dishes. The recipe's endurance is the result of isolation, imposed by centuries of feudal restrictions in Europe and further isolation in country districts of South Australia. Despite crippling financial and political upheavals in the European regions in question and a complete transfer to the other side of the world, honey biscuits for festivals have endured with little change since the sixteenth century.

Is it possible to read a person in a biscuit? Such a person belonged to a group who appeared extremely conservative and content to observe customs and practices that were elsewhere changing in their society. They accepted some change, but slowly. They led simple, even austere lives although skilled at preparing favourite dishes from their culture. They observed religious festivals but eschewed overt symbolism in food. They had an affinity with other eastern European cultures. Barossa honey biscuits, despite later changes, reflect these personal attributes. Examining the way the cooks mixed the ingredients, the ingredients they used, the way they prepared the dough for baking, their method of presenting, decorating and serving the biscuits and people's names for them have all given some indication of a past way of life that immigrants led before and after coming to Australia.

## Chapter 7: Porridge, Fruit and the Dish Called *Rote Grütze*

### Introduction

Spiced honey biscuits, a dish born from the marriage of trade and culture, changed only in small ways in the Australian environment because the ingredients did not belong to a particular season, and the biscuits remained part of a religious festival. They were a food of a culture rather than of a region. Regional dishes, on the other hand, according to Barbara Santich, require ‘certain locally available ingredients ... characteristic of, if not particular to, the region’ as well as a local culinary tradition and reputation. They should ‘respect the seasons as well as local customs and practices’.<sup>1</sup> One such dish in the Barossa Valley is a red fruit dessert called *Rote Grütze*. Its main constituent is juice from dark red grapes preferably of the shiraz or mataro varieties, and its fresh and perfect state is connected with the grape harvest, the busiest time for Barossa farmers and winery workers. A seasonal dish, *Rote Grütze* suits the warm South Australian autumn, and Barossa people have enjoyed it for many years, often without recognising the uniqueness of its attributes. True recognition of a dish as a well-known regional speciality, however, surely comes with the founding of a championship for its production at a local agricultural show. If people are competing to achieve certain culinary standards when making the dish, the assumption is that the food in question has certain accepted qualities based on traditions and community familiarity with the way it should look and taste. Since the 1980s the *Rote Grütze* championship has drawn entries from both men and women and a crowd of onlookers to the judging at the

---

<sup>1</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p. 130–134.

annual Show held in March in the Barossa town of Tanunda. A recipe appears below.

#### ROTE GRÜTZE

Pull berries from washed bunches of black grapes. Traditionally people use Mataro grapes but late-picked Shiraz is better. Boil the grapes for 10 minutes with cinnamon bark, a few slices of lemon and a little water. Let it sit for a while so that the colour comes out of the skins. Strain through a sieve, squeezing out as much of the juice as possible. At this point you can freeze the juice, ready for future batches of Rote Grütze. Or proceed as follows: to each two cups of juice add 1 cup water and sugar to taste (about 1 dessertspoonful.) Measure the warm liquid into a saucepan and for each 500 mls (pint) liquid, sprinkle on 2 tablespoons of sago. Allow to soak overnight. Next morning, simmer until sago is clear, about 15 minutes. Keep cooking time to a minimum to preserve the purple colour. Chill. It will keep for several days in the refrigerator, and the consistency will improve. Serve cold with runny cream.<sup>2</sup>

Some people dispute the addition of cinnamon and lemon juice, but this is merely a good indication that the recipe is well known in the community, treated with proprietorial regard, a dish of the region.

Furthermore, of all the dishes regarded by local people as distinctive Barossa food, *Rote Grütze* illustrates most clearly the effects of transplanting a food culture from one area of the world to another and indicates the forces driving the transformation of a particular recipe. Many of these forces relate to environmental and economic factors but others interplay with social influences and the creative ideas of individual people. The recipe is a good example too of the way a dish can be transformed by outside influences even in its place of origin, for changes began long before it was transferred to the antipodes. The name *Rote Grütze*, meaning 'red porridge', indicates the two components of the dish, as the European red ingredients are mostly red fruits (originally cherries, raspberries and other woodland berries, as

---

<sup>2</sup> Heuzenroeder *Barossa Food*, p. 255.

well as rhubarb stalks), and the porridge is the thickening agent, the cereal that binds the fruits together. This chapter will examine the history and use of both those components, their coming together in the one dish and their development in the kitchens of the Barossa settlements. Since porridge is widely recognised as the great staple peasant food, particularly in eastern European countries, it is with this component, the *Grütze*, that the examination will begin.

### **The Northern European Tradition of *Grütze***

The word *Grütz* is a generic term for grain removed from its husk and coarsely ground. The word, evolving from the Old High German *Gruzzi*, has been applied to peeled grain in Northern Germany since the fifteenth century,<sup>3</sup> but for centuries it has had other names in other parts of Europe, many of which are interrelated. The Lithuanian *grūdzin*, meaning ‘I pound’, gives an indication of the ancient process of removing the husks.<sup>4</sup> The English word for peeled, coarsely crushed grain is *groats*. Mostly groats are made from oats, but they can also be wheat, barley or maize,<sup>5</sup> just as *Grütze* can apply to different grains. The German *Grieß* is semolina, the broken grain kernel without husks, of a particular size. *Grieß* can come from various cereals,<sup>6</sup> can make a finely-textured porridge and played an ancient role in the creation of the red fruit dish, as this chapter will show. The English word *grit*, meaning oats husked but not ground, is from the same root, as is the English noun *grout*, referring to coarse, peeled grain used in making porridge or

---

<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Renschhausen, ‘The Porridge Debate’, pp. 202–203.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>5</sup> *The Shorter Oxford English dictionary*, I: 893.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Grosse Brockhaus in 12 Bänden* (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1954) Vol. 5, p. 68.

brewing beer.<sup>7</sup> *Gruel*, the Old-French word originating from the Gallo-Romanic *grutellum*, known as an historic food in England as well as in France, has a similar etymological connection.<sup>8</sup>

The dictionary meanings of these words, besides indicating the process by which the grains were peeled and ground, are thus linked to the way people used the resulting grain-meal. The soaked, hand-pounded grain, allegedly much sweeter than the heavily milled grains of later centuries,<sup>9</sup> required certain techniques to prepare it for different purposes. Left for some days the cell structure of the grain broke down and ultimately sprouted and fermented. Sprouted barley grains under controlled heat produced malt for brewing.<sup>10</sup> As they fermented, the grains produced yeast for making beer and also for making leavened bread. Left in a moist state, however, but gelatinous after a time, any grains could make a thick porridge or a thinner gruel. Thus, porridge, bread, beer and gruel emanated from a basic starting point: softened grain. The discussion of meat consumption in Chapter 4 explained why cereals and pulses comprised the largest portion of most people's diet right up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Which of the cereal foods was more common, bread or gruel-porridge, has been a matter of debate.<sup>12</sup> Most writers describing pre-industrial European peasant food refer to a diet consisting of black rye bread and porridge made from other grains and pulses but some suggest that porridge and gruel were a

---

<sup>7</sup> *The Shorter Oxford English dictionary*, I, p. 897.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 898.

<sup>9</sup> Meyer-Renschhausen, 'The Porridge Debate', p. 192.

<sup>10</sup> The Maltsters Association of Great Britain *How is Malt Made?* (Newark, Notts: The Maltsters Association of Great Britain, 1994), at <http://www.ukmalt.com/howmaltismade/maltnade.html> accessed 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Saalfeld, 'The Struggle to Survive', p.119; Bernard, 'Peasant diet in Eighteenth -Century Gévaudon', p.23; Teuteberg, 'Zur kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 68; Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p.194.

<sup>12</sup> Teuteberg, 'Zur kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', p. 399.

more frequent staple than bread.<sup>13</sup> The gluten-rich grains wheat and rye required for making leavened bread could be scarce for different reasons. The climate and soil might be unsuitable for growing them.<sup>14</sup> Market and feudal demands might dictate that farmers relinquish these crops to others and make do with less adaptable grains,<sup>15</sup> or the crops might fail.<sup>16</sup> For any of these reasons people at times needed to use other grains better suited to porridge than to bread as a meal, in both senses of the word.

A diet of cooked grain or pulses may seem monotonous to twenty-first-century consumers who encounter a bewildering array of food choices. Yet historians have claimed that it was a *hochgeschätzte Speise*,<sup>17</sup> a well-loved food, and there is no reason for it to be dull, for inventive cooks have always found other ingredients and varied methods to transform basic dishes and to please different tastes. In this instance, they bring to mind the ancient nursery rhyme about pease porridge:

Some like it hot  
Some like it cold;  
Some like it in the pot  
Nine days old<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, pp.136–7; Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe*, p.139; Huggett, *The Land Question and European Society*, p.57.

<sup>14</sup> Camporesi, *The Magic Harvest*, p 7.

<sup>15</sup> Hartmut Harnisch, 'Peasants and Markets: The Background to the Agrarian Reforms in Feudal Prussia East of the Elbe, 1760 – 1807', in Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee, eds, *The German Peasantry : Conflict and Community in Rural Society from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London : Croom Helm, 1986), p.47.

<sup>16</sup> Huggett, *The Land Question and European Society*, p. 57; Bernard, 'Peasant Diet in Eighteenth-Century Gévaudon', p.40.

<sup>17</sup> Rösener, *Bauern im Mittelalter*, p. 107.

<sup>18</sup> I. Opie and P. Opie eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), p.345.

The length of preparation time did make a difference, for after several days the porridge became solid, like polenta, and the basis for yet other dishes. (In fact, polenta is one of the regional variations of this porridge food.<sup>19</sup>) Even in its gelatinous, fluid state it assumed different tastes, depending on the ingredients added and the thickness of the mixture. In Poland, for example, according to a document from 997, it took the form of a fermented barley flour soup called *Kisiel*, now still known and called *dzur*. This flour soup contained beer, milk or water and buttermilk and was flavoured with honey.<sup>20</sup> A thicker variation in Poland, made with millet or a mixture of grains including buckwheat, was *Kasza*, which could be flavoured with meat stock, vegetables and other ingredients.<sup>21</sup> In France and England, one version was known as *frumenty* (from the French word for grain, *froment*).<sup>22</sup> Made from hulled wheat, enriched with cream and egg yolks, it was an accompaniment to venison and other meats, or it could be a sweet dish served as a Christmas treat. A richer variation, plum pottage, filled with fruits, was a forerunner of the English plum pudding.<sup>23</sup> Thick or thin, savoury, sweet or having a mixture of sweet and meaty flavours in characteristic medieval fashion, with extra fruit, eggs, fats, spices or wine added according to the diner's station and the

---

<sup>19</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, pp. 135–139.

<sup>20</sup> Dembińska, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, p. 164.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 147, 195.

<sup>22</sup> Frumenty appears in a poem of François Villon, *The Testament*, lines 249–52, '*Seigneurs ou dames/Souef et tendrement nourris/De cresse, fromentee ou riz*'. Quoted in Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds, *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*. (Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1998), p.42.

<sup>23</sup> Maggie Black, *The Medieval Cookbook* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), pp.22–3; Peter Brears *et al.*, *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain* (London: English Heritage in association with British Museum Press, 1993), pp.41, 46, 105, 140, 244–247.



availability of ingredients, cereal porridge was for centuries a favourite food throughout Northern Europe.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Northern European Tradition of Fruit**

Porridge as a staple thus proved to be an excellent recipient for other ingredients, and now is the moment to examine a group of these, namely preparations made from fruit. The inclusion of fruit as an important part of the diet of impoverished farming people has perhaps failed to receive due recognition, and yet its usefulness and popularity in many parts of Europe are manifest in frequent mentions of the bread ovens being used to dry out the fruit after harvest. Dried fruit, called *Backobst*, could be reconstituted and served as stewed fruit or rendered into pureed conserves, sauces or fruit soups.<sup>25</sup> Fruit preparations must have alleviated an unvarying diet based on bread and porridge. They came to the notice of Fynes Moryson, who in 1617 published an account of his recent travels in Europe, and who spoke enthusiastically and at length about the German people's use of dried and rendered fruits as a food supplement in winter. He enjoyed the way German people cooked their dried apples and pears with cinnamon and butter. He described the method people used to cook cherries and other fruits very slowly to make jellies and conserves. Such reduced preparations could later be reconstituted in sauces for meats and for sweet dishes as well including fruit soup served before the meat course.<sup>26</sup> Rich and poor alike could enjoy fruit fresh, cooked or reduced in this way,

---

<sup>24</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p.136.

<sup>25</sup> Gawlick, *Eigengebackt Brot*, pp. 8,10.

<sup>26</sup> Moryson, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent*, pp. 76–78.

for much of the fruit was available in the woods, and its natural sweetness often required no addition of the costly commodity sugar.

Combining fruit with the cereal in the communal food bowl must also have been an ancient and ubiquitous culinary practice. The 1350s hand-written book from Würzburg-München, *Das Buch von guter Speise*, offers a 'clever' recipe made from plums, 'Ein kluoge Spise von Pflumen'. Here dark fruits, either cherries or plums, are cooked, sieved, sweetened with honey, laced with wine and thickened with pieces of bread.<sup>27</sup> An early sixteenth-century hand-written recipe book found in a monastery in Leipzig contains recipes using wine in cooking, including wine-flavoured semolina porridge, *Weingriesbrei*, which could apparently also be made from fresh grape juice.<sup>28</sup> Dishes bearing similarities to both the above-mentioned German texts appear in the cookbook of Sabina Welserin written in Augsburg in about 1553. Here sieved grapes are mixed with wine and spices, and both grapes and the alternative, plums, thickened with crumbled bread-rolls.<sup>29</sup> Other reports give further evidence that making a purée of cereal and different kinds of fruit was a widespread practice throughout northern and eastern Europe. For example, in a paper for the monograph *Food in Russian History and Culture*, Horace G. Lunt describes the Russian transition from sweetened cereal to a porridge made with cereal thickening and fruit.<sup>30</sup> Lunt's footnotes trace the evolution of the porridge *kisel* into the thickened fruit dessert popular in Russia today, a dish first sweetened

---

<sup>27</sup> *Das Buch von guter Speise*, circa 1350, recipe no. 9, at <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/bvgs.htm>, accessed 2005.

<sup>28</sup> Otto, *Dreihundertjähriges deutsches Kloster-Kochbuch*, p. 131.

<sup>29</sup> Welserin, *Kochbuch* (Augsburg: circa 1553) Recipes 46, 50, 156. At <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/bvgs.htm>, accessed 2005.

<sup>30</sup> Horace G. Lunt, 'Food in the Rus' Primary Chronicle', in Musya Glants and Joyce Toomre, eds, *Food in Russian History and culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 14–30.

with honey and by 1699 mixed with cranberries.<sup>31</sup> The present-day versions of Russian *kisel* use a variety of flavoursome fruits, notably strawberries, cranberries and rhubarb, thickened and cooked with potato flour.<sup>32</sup> These contemporary Russian recipes, linked by name to the ancient Russian preparation of porridge, are very close cousins of the German dessert *Rote Grütze*, found in every recent recipe book on German food and all made with various combinations of rhubarb, strawberries, raspberries, cherries and other berry fruits.

The name, *Rote Grütze*, like *kisel* continues to bear witness to the fact that this was once principally a porridge, in which the fruits were added for flavour, and the grains or *Grütze* were the main ingredient of the dish. The first time that red porridge appeared under the name *Grütze* primarily as a fruit dessert is not known for certain. German food-writers, although acknowledging that the name for the recipe was first used in the area closest to the Danish border, are sometimes reluctant to allow that the term ‘red grits’ or *Rote Grütze* (in German) may actually have been uttered earlier as *Rodegrütt* or *Rødgrød* in Danish. If claims in contemporary printed recipe books are reliable, the earliest reference to *Rote Grütze* in a German book appeared in 1800,<sup>33</sup> while Danish instructions for making *Kiersebær Grød* or ‘cherry grits’ appeared in a hand-written recipe book (now in the Riksarkivet National Archives, Oslo) dated 1785.<sup>34</sup> This argument over semantics, however, overlooks the fact that in other European countries and beyond people

---

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>32</sup> H. Papashvily and G. Papashvily, *The Cooking of Russia* (New York: Time, 1972), pp. 98–9.

<sup>33</sup> Horst Scharfenberg, *The Cuisines of Germany* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1989), p.402.

<sup>34</sup> *Kokebok* 24 unpaginated pages, handwritten recipes from [3] to [21].

Loc.: Riksarkivet (National Archives), Oslo. Taken from Henry Notaker's website <http://www.notaker.com/onlitxts/kogebog.htm> , accessed 2004.

enjoyed similar preparations, like *kisel* made with cranberries, which had evolved in their own cultures over a long time. The rival claims between Denmark and northern Germany over the first printed mention of red porridge also overlook the mention of the semolina porridge mixed with wine or grapes, *Weingriesbrei*, [my own emphasis] recorded a hundred and fifty years earlier in Leipzig in the previously-mentioned *Kloster-Kochbuch* of Leipzig. People in eastern central Europe had long enjoyed their semolina fruit porridge and continued to do so. Silesian cookery books printed as recently as the 1980s still give their versions of *Rote Grütze* made with *Grieß* or grain pounded into semolina.<sup>35</sup>

### **European Changes Affecting Fruit Porridges**

As the first printed recipes naming fruit *Grütze* were appearing in books in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in northern Europe, three other factors were affecting the kind of porridge people ate and at what part of the meal the dish appeared on the table. The first of these was the change in people's breakfast habits. For centuries breakfast (as well as other meals) had for many people included cereal porridge made from various grains and often served in a large shared dish.<sup>36</sup> Now the introduction of new commodities traded from overseas and thrust on the home market brought about the beginnings of a widespread adoption in Europe of coffee or coffee substitutes, sweetened with sugar and eaten with bread, as the common breakfast fare. This, according to Teuteberg and

---

<sup>35</sup> Grandel, *Schlesische Spezialitäten*, p. 32; Ute Voulta, *Schlesien bittet zu Tisch: Rezepte aus Schlesien* (Kreis Rendsburg-Eckernförde: Kreisfrauengruppe der Vereinigten Landsmannschaften, 1987), p. 28.

<sup>36</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p.138.

Lesniczak, was a change that began first in cities but influenced country areas throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

The second factor was that in the second half of the eighteenth century, in the general steps taken towards agricultural reform in many parts of Europe, landlords established extensive fruit orchards to supplement other crops. In Silesia alone fruit production rose 150% at the end of the century.<sup>38</sup> In the same period farms in Mecklenburg, renowned for its orchards, were selling fruit to Russia.<sup>39</sup> It may be that surplus fruit altered the critical mass of ingredients in porridge dishes, so that the emphasis shifted away from the cereal component to the fruit component. At the same time the gradual disappearance of porridge from the breakfast table gave way to its reappearance, prepared with fruit, as dessert in part of a more substantial meal. People who ate porridge on its own for more than one meal in the day must have continued to do so, for as late as 1909 the *Universel Lexikon der Kochkunst* claimed that *Rote Grütze* was a very popular evening meal.<sup>40</sup>

The third factor affecting the nature of the ancient porridge dish was the introduction of new grains alongside the long-recognised porridge cereals of Europe. Rice, considered a lowly food, had grown in Italy since the fifteenth century and been traded in fairs further afield.<sup>41</sup> In the 1785 Danish recipe for *Kiersebær Grød* or 'cherry grits' the cereal thickening agent is rice, and rice appears as the thickening ingredient in other fruit recipes as well. Thus yet another

---

<sup>37</sup> Teuteberg and Lesniczak, 'Alte ländliche Festtagsmahlzeiten', pp. 328–329; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 147–8.

<sup>38</sup> Blum, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* pp. 277–8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171–2.

<sup>40</sup> Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst*, p. 383.

<sup>41</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, p. 110.

market pressure had an effect on the home-grown *Grütze* or *Grieß* that had long been the staple of simple European meals. The reshaping of the dish as a dessert with purchased ingredients now earned 'red porridge' a place in recipe books used by cooks who were essentially middle-class and urbanised consumers. Rice flour continued to be the main cereal used to thicken those desserts that were given the name *Rote Grütze* in recipes books right through the nineteenth century, especially in Henriette Davidis' popular *Praktisches Kochbuch*. In 1890 she gave the recipe with rice flour but in 1891 extended the variations to include semolina and sago.<sup>42</sup>

The new ingredient introduced from trade overseas that caused a mild sensation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which transformed the look, taste and texture of many dishes including German red porridge, was, indeed, sago. Count Friedrich von Rumohr gave it a special mention in his treatise on cookery in 1822.<sup>43</sup> Karl Marx even commented on the simple nature of its production by swydden farming in *Das Kapital*.<sup>44</sup> It appears to have been espoused first by the English, who had brought it back to England from their ventures to the Moluccas, where bitter and fierce battles raged between Spanish, Dutch, French and English traders seeking monopolies on the procurement of nutmeg and cloves. English traders and explorers wrote enthusiastic reports of sago in the accounts of their journeys. One of these was Thomas Forest, who made his voyage around the islands and New Guinea in 1774. Forest observed in some detail the way the local inhabitants extracted pith from the trunk of the sago palm, processed it and baked it

---

<sup>42</sup> Davidis, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1890, p.378 ; *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 394.

<sup>43</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p.122.

<sup>44</sup> Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*, Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling trans., Part V, Chapter 17, paragraph 13, at <http://www.econlib.org/library/YPDBooks/Marx/mrxCpA16.html>, accessed 2005.

into loaves.<sup>45</sup> The English had known granulated sago since at least 1720. That was the year John Gay wrote his 'Ode to a Young Lady, with some Lampreys', claiming that sago desserts had given him erotic dreams.<sup>46</sup> The Moluccans themselves regarded sago as an aphrodisiac,<sup>47</sup> and small English traders, bringing back sago when big monopolies like the East India Company were limiting their access to the spice trade, might have used this traditional belief to sell their imported goods.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps because of its virtue of being easily digestible and because of its jelly-like texture when cooked, sago was readily incorporated into English recipes from the early eighteenth century and became the fashionable new ingredient.<sup>49</sup>

German cookbooks first referred to sago in the *Nieder-Sachsisches Koch-Buch* produced in 1755 in Hannover.<sup>50</sup> At the time the region was ruled by the George II of England who was also the Elector of Hanover. Communication between England and the Protectorate was regular, and cargoes of sago must have arrived at the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, where Englishmen were acting as shipping agents. The recipe in the *Nieder-Sachsisches Koch-Buch* book is for sago soup flavoured with wine and spices, to be eaten as a first course like the soups made of cherries on the book's facing page. It is almost identical to the recipe for sago wine-sauce to pour over puddings published in the English recipe book

---

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Forest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas, 1774–1776* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 39–43.

<sup>46</sup> Allen, ed., *Food: An Oxford Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p.392.

<sup>47</sup> Roy Ellen and Nicola Goward, 'Notes on the Culinary Uses of Palm Sago in the Central Moluccas', *Petits Propos Culinaires* Vol. 16, 1984, p.28.

<sup>48</sup> Great Britain, Parliament House of Commons parliamentary papers: accounts relating to the trade between Great Britain and the East Indies between 1825 and 1835 show sago being carried only by private traders. (Cambridge, Chadwyck-Healey Microform, 1800–1859) pp. 24–36.

<sup>49</sup> Brears *et al.*, *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain* p. 247.

<sup>50</sup> *Nieder-Sachsisches Koch-Buch*, (Altona: Kortenschen Buchladen, 1755) pp. 136–7.

written by Mrs Beeton, which appeared a century later,<sup>51</sup> and to the wine pudding in the *Barossa Cookery Book* printed in 1932.<sup>52</sup> It took a hundred and forty years, however, for sago to be associated by Henriette Davidis with *Rote Grütze* in 1891.<sup>53</sup> By that time red porridge had well and truly become an urbanised, middle-class dessert based on fresh red berry fruits.

### **Fruit Porridge in the Diet of Emigrants to South Australia**

The preceding account of the development of a red fruit porridge into a dish eaten as a dessert gives a backdrop to the profile of the families leaving Silesia, Brandenburg, Posen and Mecklenburg. It suggests the nature of the fruit porridge that they might have consumed at their own tables before they left for Australia at any time between 1839 and 1860. Without doubt they were eating porridge, often of semolina consistency made of grains like millet or oats and also buckwheat in the eastern regions. Some were combining flour gruel with buttermilk and honey. The sweetener might also be syrup or sugar obtained in the manner described in the previous chapter.<sup>54</sup> Millet porridges even formed part of the wedding feast and the Christmas Eve meal.<sup>55</sup> Porridge and bread would have dominated breakfast and probably the evening meal as well. Fruit both fresh and dried and dishes of reduced or thickened fruit also appeared frequently on the table. Comparatively recent regional recipe books from Silesia and Mecklenburg, recalling recipes of the past,

---

<sup>51</sup> Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: Ward, Lock, 1901), p. 880.

<sup>52</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 50.

<sup>53</sup> Davidis *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1890, recipe 1087, p. 378.

<sup>54</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, p. 50. The recipe for buttermilk soup in this book (brought by one of the first settlers) is sweetened with syrup or sugar.

<sup>55</sup> Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, maps 7 and 8.



generally mention sauces and *Mus* (conserve) made from fresh or dried fruits.<sup>56</sup> If the emigrants were mixing the cereal and the fruit, cherries would have made the porridge red, as well as plums, rhubarb and raspberries gathered in the Silesian woods.<sup>57</sup> Quite possibly they were using rice as a thickening agent, as rice, food for the poor in Europe, was on sale at fairs in large market towns. That presumably included, for example, Breslau, the commercial centre in Silesia.

It is possible that the small farming families of Brandenburg, Silesia and Posen encountered sago in Europe. As country farmers a few had money and property, and in the years after the land reforms of 1808 they had the freedom of movement to travel to commercial centres where sago would have been for sale. Country tastes are conservative – Silesian country people appeared reluctant to change from rye bread to wheaten bread, as chapter five has shown – but sago, having been known by that time for nearly eighty years, might have provided a relatively cheap and durable alternative source of carbohydrate for those settlers who came from the towns. Maria Karsten, who brought her hand-written recipe book with her from an urban part of Mecklenburg when she settled with her family just north of Melbourne in Victoria in 1851, did know sago and had noted the following recipe in her book.

---

<sup>56</sup> Marianne Piepenstock *Spezialitäten aus Ost- und MittelDeutschland* (München: Wilhelm Heyne, 1967), p. 72; Renate Schach von Wittenau *Mecklenburg bittet zu Tisch* (Rostock: Historff 1995) p. 47.

<sup>57</sup> Grandel, *Schlesische Spezialitäten*, p. 32.

### *Gemahlener Reis in Johannisbeeren*

*Man nimmt gewaschenen Reis rührt ihn mit Johannisbeerensaft anso gross man die Portion haben will, giesst Wasser darauf, thut Zucker darauf, und kocht ihn under beständigen Rühren recht mürbe, nicht völlig so dick als Formreis, wenn er gut ist, giesst man ihn in eine Kümme und giebt ihn darin kalt zu Tisch und isst ihn mit Milch oder Wein. Auf eben diese Art kocht man auch Sago.*

### **Rice flour with red currants**

Take washed rice and stir it with red currant juice, as much as you like, add water and sugar and cook it over a constant hear until it is very soft. Do not make the mixture as thick as for moulded rice. When it is done, tip it into a bowl, let it cool before serving and eat it with milk or wine. Sago can also be cooked in this manner.

Maria, however, had been a cook in the household of Karl von Oertzen, Royal Prussian Chamberlain in Alt Poorsdorf, where she learned her urbanised cooking skills from other members of the kitchen staff. Because her father was a master butcher in Neubuckow, a small city near Rostock, she would probably have eaten sago at home too.<sup>58</sup>

Some of the emigrants leaving for the Barossa might not have known sago, but most were certainly familiar with it by the time they reached Australia, because ships in which they sailed served sago to the passengers. The following extract describes the menu on the *Herrmann von Beckerath*, which sailed in 1847, bringing Daniel Thiermann to South Australia.

Normally we get coffee at 7 a.m. without milk, by the way, with sugar to our taste, butter as well as cheese; for lunch peas, beans, pearl barley and plums, sago with wine, alternately soup; by way of vegetables, *Sauerkraut*, green beans, grey peas, potatoes, etc.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> Ellen Mitchell, *Maria Karsten's (nee Ziebell) Culinary Calendar 1999* (Melbourne: The Friends of Westgarthtown, 1998), p.1.

<sup>59</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 8.

Sago made an ideal food to take on a long sea-voyage. As long as it was dry, it kept admirably and travelled well. Having been produced by the poorest inhabitants of the Molucca islands, it cost very little and, as recipes cited earlier show, it could be flavoured palatably with fortified wine, another durable ingredient. In some ways its adoption as a food was similar to that of sugar interpreted by Sydney Mintz. Although it never became 'one of the people's opiates',<sup>60</sup> possibly because of the difficulty of farming the swamps of Malaysia and Indonesia, it was a food harvested by the poor on one side of the world to provide cheap sustenance on the other as well as on the ocean-going vessels that linked the two.

### **Porridge in the Barossa**

The ensuing parts of this chapter bring into focus the preparations of porridge, fruit preparations and *Rote Grütze*, this time set on the table in the Barossa Valley in South Australia for families descended from the early German-speaking colonists. The evolution of dishes from first settlement until 1939, how they were presented and how they looked and tasted, will give an indication of some developments in the preceding century that had altered the lives of the descendants of the first settlers. Some pressures for change will be more apparent than others. It may well be that for some of these foods changes are imperceptible. That in itself provides an insight into the way people shape their lives, regardless of where they live or of what has happened to their community in the intervening century. It is important to note that by 1939 these basic foods all still existed among many families whose ancestors had eaten them in Europe a century earlier.

---

<sup>60</sup> Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 174.

Families were still consuming porridge for breakfast, making and eating dried fruit and fruit preparations and looking forward to the season of the year when *Rote Grütze* would be on the table. The concepts of those foods remained firmly part of many local people's food culture, and that culture had a definite European base. An examination of each dish in turn, however, will reveal differences in their preparation and consumption, differences that show the food developing sometimes in a manner at variance with those same dishes in the place where they originated.

The most remarkable observation to make about porridge is that by 1939 it no longer formed a basic component of breakfast, as it had done for peasant families before they left for Australia. The first Prussian settlers in South Australia had been weaned of dependence on this customary food as soon as they arrived in the colony. The account given by Christian Schubert of his experience as one of the very first settlers says, 'There was no bread, no flour, and nothing at all ... We were in trouble!' Most cereals were unprocurable, and people lived on bread baked from rice and rusks.<sup>61</sup> The Lutheran pastor in charge of the first congregation, August Ludwig Kavel, mentioned that flour had to be imported from Van Diemen's Land, and that earlier colonists had shamefully neglected agriculture.<sup>62</sup> No evidence has come to light, to my knowledge, of the settlers experimenting with indigenous grass seeds for porridge or other purposes. Meat, on the other hand, in the form of game was abundant, although kangaroos near Adelaide itself appear to have been hunted excessively.<sup>63</sup> Very rapidly, it seems, the emphasis in the first Prussian settlers' diet had altered. Reduced numbers of cereal dishes gave way to an

---

<sup>61</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 11.

<sup>62</sup> August Ludwig Kavel in *Kavel's People*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

increased amount of free meat supplemented as soon as possible by the products from the gardens that the settlers established. Not until the first cereal crops were sown and harvested – and those were primarily wheat crops – could the earliest settlers resume their previous cereal-rich diet. If they made any porridge before then, it would have been from ground rice and maize, as these were imported to feed the colony.<sup>64</sup> Those who wanted their former porridges of home-grown millet and buckwheat were never going to be satisfied, for when they tried to grow these crops the results were a failure.<sup>65</sup> The climate, soil and state of farming in the colony prevented a smooth transition of the German settlers' former porridge-eating habits in their new home. Circumstances were returning them to the eating patterns of their ancestors of earlier centuries when meat had formed a large part of their diet, before grain had become their staple.

Early records reveal what they ate for breakfast instead. In 1847 Daniel Thiermann, formerly Mayor and merchant of Uchte, came to South Australia. He settled in the Barossa, where he was content to lead a simple life in semi-retirement, employed as a casual labourer in a shop at Tanunda. A man who wrote at length and enjoyed his food, he was expansive about breakfasts that he had eaten since his arrival in the Barossa. The first was given to him by the English family, William, John and Ann Jacob, when he had become lost as he was making his way on foot to Tanunda. 'Quickly fried meat was brought and placed in front of me, together with sugar, butter and bread.' A little further in his account Thiermann said that he was worried about his drooping paunch, which had caused the buttons

---

<sup>64</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p.119.

<sup>65</sup> Juers, *The Story of Old Hoffnungsthal*, p.2.

to burst off his jacket, and he had limited his eating. 'In the mornings I hardly ever have meat with my coffee, either, but I do eat some egg.' Thiermann mentioned the English landlord of the public house in Tanunda, who wanted to have his grain threshed. As well as paying his workers a wage he fed them three meals a day, and for breakfast they all ate coffee and eggs, meat, sugar, butter and bread. Bemoaning the price of eggs in the town, three dozen of which cost as much as a sack of wheat, Thiermann maintained nevertheless that the normal first meal of the day was 'meat, even warm bacon, topped with fried eggs for breakfast, served with coffee.'<sup>66</sup>

Thiermann was not a member of the organised congregations of peasant Lutherans who formed the bulk of the German-speaking settlers in the Barossa. It is not clear whether all of these settlers reverted to their former porridge breakfasts after crops of wheat and barley were harvested and threshed once more. Certainly some, like the Leditschke family, still enjoyed flour-thickened buttermilk gruel during their years in Nuriootpa in the Barossa and when they moved further north in South Australia.<sup>67</sup> Even in 1880, however, oats for porridge were not a major crop in the Barossa.<sup>68</sup> Yet settlers in another German-speaking congregation who left eastern European homes to settle at the isolated village of Hoffnungsthal in the southern part of the Barossa reportedly ate evening meals of bread and milk and flour gruel in contrast to their breakfasts of bacon and eggs, honey, lard, butter and old cheese.<sup>69</sup> Thiermann's own descriptions indicate too that the hearty English-

---

<sup>66</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, pp. 12–18.

<sup>67</sup> Tracger, ed., *The Family Wurst 1860 – 1980*, p. 228. I am assuming that this dish had a farinaceous base like the Polish *dzur*. Poles and Silesians often prepared similar foods.

<sup>68</sup> Wendlandt *Germans in a Strange Land: Tanunda in the 1800s*, p. 19; Sanders and McInerney, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region From 1844 to 1900', in Young, Harmstorf and Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Vol 3*, pp. 270, 279.

<sup>69</sup> Juers, *The Story of Old Hoffnungsthal*, p.3..

style cooked eggs-and-meat breakfast was consumed by many people in the predominantly German-speaking town of Tanunda. His own employer was not the only person who provided three meals a day for the workers; the Seppelt family did the same thing. Surrounded by plentiful supplies of meat and exposed to different eating choices, many German-speaking people in the Barossa assumed from early white settlement that breakfast did not necessarily mean porridge.

By 1939 porridge was one of a variety of breakfast menus in the Barossa. Other dishes included smoked sausages, fried leftover potato and other vegetables.<sup>70</sup> Nor was it common in 1939 for South Australian descendants of the Prussian émigrés to eat porridge for other meals of the day, as country people had done for centuries in Europe; it was definitely a breakfast food. Made of oats, which most people still set to soak overnight in a dish by the side of the stove to soften the grains and create the gelatinous texture that porridge had had for centuries, it provided a warm and filling meal to start the day. For many it was a Sunday meal, cooked with water or milk.<sup>71</sup> The family members ate their porridge from separate dishes for, even if some peasant families departing Europe in 1839 were still eating their porridge from a communal bowl,<sup>72</sup> their descendants had abandoned the custom. These changes reflected an increase in living standards over the preceding century. Accumulated household belongings and a greater sense of space as people built larger dwellings meant that sharing a large bowl was no longer a family practice.

---

<sup>70</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p.50.

<sup>71</sup> Erns Auricht, interview (Tanunda: 2001).

<sup>72</sup> Wiegelmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, map 1.

The extreme heat of the Australian summer discouraged porridge in summer, but apart from the dictates of the climate porridge must surely have withdrawn from prominence as a staple food simply because people could indulge their desire for variety. People recall their distaste for porridge's monotony.<sup>73</sup> Curiously, one family ate a summer version of porridge baked with eggs, cream and sugar, a dish reminiscent of English Christmas frumenty.<sup>74</sup> Most families ate porridge with milk or cream and sugar or honey poured over the top. They gave their sprinkled spoonfuls of sugar no second thought, unlike their predecessors a century earlier, for sugar production had meanwhile increased astoundingly in the world, especially in countries connected with England, creator of the empire that had been built with sugar production and distribution as one of its foundations.<sup>75</sup>

### **Fruit in the Barossa**

By 1939 plentiful sugar had also caused changes in fruit preparations. The descendants of Prussian settlers still considered fruit to be an important part of their diet, and their families had done so from early settlement. Since it takes time for fruit trees to grow, vegetables were mentioned most frequently in the accounts of very early gardens. The following description of the first Prussian settlement at Klemzig (a few kilometres north-east of Adelaide) in 1839 shows that the first arrivals also planted fruit trees as one of their priorities.

The buildings consisted of earthen walls, newly whitewashed, and straw-thatched roofs. Gardens with rich black mould, small but in excellent order,

---

<sup>73</sup> Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1995); Erna Auricht, interview (Tanunda: 2001).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 157.



lay between the cottages and the river, and healthy vines and fruit-trees already gave promise for the future, while enormous melons and vegetables in abundance testified to the industry of the residents.<sup>76</sup>

Fruit trees and melon plants had been an important part too of the garden of August Fiedler when he moved from Klemzig near Adelaide to Tanunda in the Barossa Valley. A visitor to his property in the summer of 1850–51 described the trees in Fiedler's orchard:

There is ... a garden here which bids fair to rival many of the best market gardens near Adelaide. It belongs to the elder Fiedler ... who, with great readiness and alacrity, though quite an elderly gentleman, shewed us through every part of it and expatiated thereupon, as well as upon the merits of a thriving vineyard. These are about four years old, and very productive. Peaches, nectarines, plums and pears abounded, and there had been an abundance of apricots.<sup>77</sup>

Settlers moving on to farms further north were sad to leave the fruit trees that they had planted. Emilie Leditschke recalls her regret at leaving the peach tree at the family home in Nuriootpa in the Barossa when she was eight years old in 1867:

We moved to Peters Hill when I was 8 years of age. For me it was a delight to travel on a German waggon laden with our goods. The peaches in our garden, which I did not wish to leave behind, were just ripe, so I picked a big basket full, which we greatly enjoyed on the way. At first I missed the fruit garden at Peters Hill, the land being virgin country, there was no garden established.<sup>78</sup>

Clearly, the European love of fruit happily transferred to the Barossa climate, and the harvest from flourishing trees appeased the appetites of the German-speaking settlers.

Fruit trees and grapevines continued to produce fruit throughout the nineteenth century. The 1857–1861 ledgers of the Evandale nursery on the eastern

---

<sup>76</sup> Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, pp. 89, 90.

<sup>77</sup> Old Colonist, *Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia* [1851], E. M. Yelland, ed., (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1970), p. 105.

<sup>78</sup> Leditschke, 'A Short Autobiography', p. 1.

perimeter of the Barossa record sales of many varieties: apples, apricots, quinces, strawberries, figs, oranges, currants, plums, mulberries and pears.<sup>79</sup> An almost identical list of fruits grew in private gardens at Tanunda according to the account of Wilhelm Wendlandt, returning to the town as a visitor in 1883.<sup>80</sup> Of the fruits mentioned in all these accounts, figs, oranges, peaches and apricots would have seemed exotic to arrivals from Europe, who had difficulty growing them in their native country, where they needed to be nurtured in warm places or hothouses. Cherries, on the other hand, which had been so much part of life in Northern Europe, could be coaxed to grow further south in the Adelaide Hills and also in the cooler foothills in the Barossa Ranges<sup>81</sup> but were not mentioned in the Evandale ledgers. They were not as prolific as they had been in Europe, and their brief appearance at Christmas time made them a customary Christmas treat, to be eaten fresh rather than cooked into desserts or porridges. As for wild woodland berries like raspberries and blackberries, since none grew indigenously in the new land, settlers planted them with disastrous results in the case of blackberries, which became a rampant pest clogging the waterways in the Adelaide Hills. The resulting environmental problem was directly connected to the strong desire of early settlers to transfer their food culture without adaptation to their new place of abode.

This desire did not prevent the German and English-speaking settlers from experimenting with indigenous fruits, but as I have described in Chapter 2 these delicate plants barely survived European intervention. Orchards of fruit trees, which had grown and expanded since the first pioneer plantings, however, became

---

<sup>79</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 233.

<sup>80</sup> Wendlandt *Germans in a Strange Land: Tanunda in the 1800s*, p. 15.

<sup>81</sup> Walter Stiller, 'My Childhood and Youth Experiences 1924–1955', p. 8.

a strong feature of the Barossa landscape. Settlers had brought with them to Australia a love of the dried fruit called *Backobst* which they used in many ways in their cooking. They all loved *Schlesisches Himmelreich*, a festive dish combining dried fruit with smoked meat. (So great was their liking for this taste combination that when dried stone fruits were not available they combined the smoked meat with a puree of sweetened, lemon-flavoured pie melon commonly known as *Pompenbrei*. Long before the concept of regional cuisine, this was a local treat until it fell from favour in the early twentieth century.)<sup>82</sup> Several people had commercial orchards in 1939 and were still drying fruit, often in the centuries-old way of spreading the cut fruit, pears, apples, apricots, sultana and muscatel grapes, on trays in the sun, and finishing the raisins off in the warm oven after the weekly baking to kill any moth eggs.<sup>83</sup> From around 1900 people adopted other methods of curing fruits. They could dip stone fruits in preservatives like a sodium metabisulphite solution or for prune plums and muscatel grapes in a solution of caustic soda and hot water before putting them out to dry. Apricots they learned kept their colour better if immersed in the fumes of a sulphur-smoke box. The dark brown sun- and oven-dried fruits that were the familiar *Backobst* were giving way to a product more appealing to the eye and with softer texture but with flavours hinting chemical undertones, betraying the intervention of modern technology.

The aim of drying was to make the fruit durable. It was not, of course, the only way. For centuries people had made fruit conserves, reducing the fruit to a condensed pulp by long, slow cooking until it reached a consistency of jam so

---

<sup>82</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 2005); Mona Doering and Rhoda Noack, interview (Dutton: 1995); Anna Geier and Gwenda Geier, interview (Greenock: 1994).

<sup>83</sup> Walter Stiller, interview (Tanunda:2005).

loved by Fynes Moryson.<sup>84</sup> Germans had called this preparation *Mus*. Some made it simply from very ripe fruit.<sup>85</sup> Other recipes introduced sugar and spices to alter the flavour but also to increase its durability. The preservative qualities of sugar must surely have had as much to do with its popularity as its sweet flavour and digestive properties when introduced to European and Australian tables. Sugar was not used in vast quantities in the early nineteenth century by German-speaking people. In 1847 Daniel Thiermann, newly-arrived in the Barossa, commented on his breakfast ration of sugar, which he presumably stirred into his coffee. He found it remarkable that nobody was buying less than a quarter of a pound (125 grams) of sugar or tea at a time.<sup>86</sup> He seemed to imply that such quantities were an extravagance. By 1939, however, sugar occupied a large shelf in the Barossa pantry. Many households bought it by the sack, confident that it would not deteriorate and that it would help to preserve bottled fruit in the Australian climate. As one person commented, fruit trees provided a great deal of food for large families who could not risk losing supplies, and who therefore used sugar to make their preserves and jam endure.<sup>87</sup>

Here is a situation fundamentally similar to that observed back in Europe by Fynes Moryson in 1617, when his German-speaking hosts in northern and eastern parts of the region went to great lengths to preserve fruit in different ways to supplement their winter diet. The addition of sugar in increasing amounts to the fruit preparations was the major difference. Sugar was already becoming available

---

<sup>84</sup> Moryson, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent*, p. 78.

<sup>85</sup> Rathmann *Grafschaft Glatzer Kochbuch*, p. 98.

<sup>86</sup> Thiermann, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, p. 31.

<sup>87</sup> Erna Auricht, interview (Tanunda: 2001).

in regions around Silesia forty years before the congregations left these regions for Australia. Sugar seemed to be available in the earliest Barossa settlements too, although some German settlers preferred to purchase only small quantities, and most German food was not extremely sweet.<sup>88</sup> During the course of the nineteenth century sugar consumption grew, especially after 1884 when the world price of sugar fell by about a third.<sup>89</sup> By the 1930s Barossa people of German origin were using sugar for preserving fruit and for other cooking in quantities far greater than those used by their forebears a hundred years earlier. Peter Griggs in his paper on colonial sugar consumption offers reasons for Australian colonists' excessive use of sugar.<sup>90</sup> He mentions sugar as a condiment, as a medicine, as currency, as a preferred flavouring and also as a preservative. Thinking of the vast coppers full of jam that had sacks of sugar stirred into the boiling fruit in the 1930s, however, I would suggest that in a climate where bacterial action in food was more rapid than in east central Europe the need to preserve fruit was, indeed, the major reason for using so much sugar, at least in the Barossa.

### ***Rote Grütze in the Barossa***

Having examined the grain ingredients of porridge and the place of this food in the meals of Europeans and Barossa people since colonial days, and having looked at the way Barossa people processed fruit in the old country and the new, this paper reaches the point where the two ingredients, fruit and cereal, join as a popular dessert in the Barossa: the dish called *Rote Grütze*. Although no recipe for

---

<sup>88</sup> Griggs, 'Sugar demand and consumption in colonial Australia, 1788–1900', p. 78.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82–84.

*Rote Grütze* appears to have been printed in local community recipe books in the Barossa before 1982,<sup>91</sup> oral tradition claims that the dish had existed with that name in families within personal memory from the 1920s, and that it had been handed down from at least the previous generation.<sup>92</sup> (Significantly, the Barossa wine industry achieved a reputation for its wine made with dark grape varieties like shiraz and mataro in the 1890s.)<sup>93</sup> In Germany, as this chapter has previously shown, the red porridge called *Rote Grütze* had become an urbanised dish by 1839, when the first German-speaking settlers were embarking for Australia, and, although it was still often thickened with semolina (a centuries-old form of ground cereal), introduced ingredients like rice and sago had already altered the appearance and texture of the dish. By the second decade of the twentieth century sago and rice were strongly established in local dishes in *The Barossa Cookery Book*.<sup>94</sup> Kitchen canisters commonly bore the labels 'Rice', 'Sugar' and 'Sago', and the cook's hand frequently reached up to use the contents. Sago thickened many different dishes for both English and German-speaking families: soup, dessert, pigeon pies,<sup>95</sup> as well as any baked or stewed fruits. And sago thickened *Rote Grütze*.

This last fact is unremarkable until one compares the dish called *Rote Grütze* in Germany with its Australian counterpart in 1939. While the dish in Germany continued to be a red fruit dessert purée made of sago- or cornstarch-thickened red fruits and berries (especially raspberries), the fruit in the Barossa version was now

---

<sup>91</sup> *Gnadenberg Recipes* (Moculta, South Australia: Gnadenberg Lutheran Ladies Guild, 1982), p.130.

<sup>92</sup> Peter Lehmann, interview (Tanunda: 2002). Peter recounted his memories of discussions among grape-growers at the winery weighbridge during vintage. His impression was that the recipe had existed for several generations in different families.

<sup>93</sup> Geoffrey Bishop, 'Viticulture and Wine-making, 1842–1905', in Aeuckens, ed., *Vineyard of the Empire*, p. 75.

<sup>94</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Tanunda: Institute Committee, 1921) pp. 16, 23, 24.

<sup>95</sup> Dulcie and Frank Tscharke, interview (Nuriootpa: 2002).

solely red-wine grape juice, preferably of the shiraz variety, and the thickening was always sago. The divergence of the two food cultures was so great that Germans in the late twentieth century had never heard of the dish being made with red grapes, and Barossa families expressed surprise to learn that it was ever made with any other fruit or with any thickening other than sago. Common practices develop formulated rules. Oral tradition has fuelled the debate about which grapes are best to use – shiraz or mataro – and whether the dish should contain added sugar. Many local cooks staunchly maintain that sugar is not part of the recipe. True *Rote Grütze*, some argue, is made solely from grapes without added wine or other flavourings. Wine sago and wine soup, centuries-old recipes and both popular in the Barossa in the 1930s,<sup>96</sup> are not the same as *Rote Grütze*. All local cooks, however, assume that sago will thicken the dish.<sup>97</sup>

The reasons for the differences between Australian *Rote Grütze* and the German version deserve some thought. The first is obvious: the dish follows the vine, and, not surprisingly, the people who made the dessert were those who had vineyards or who worked in a winery. But that is not the whole story, for the Gramp family, who perhaps had more vineyards than anyone as well as owning the Orlando winery, simply did not know or make the dish. It was not part of their Bavarian culture.<sup>98</sup> By a stroke of fortune the Barossa people who did prepare this sago dessert, a dish that relied entirely on excellent fruit for flavour but imported sago for texture, were mostly descended from farming people from northern Europe. They settled in the Barossa and cultivated and promoted the vine. Using

---

<sup>96</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 262.

<sup>97</sup> Olga Nitschke, interview (Kronndorf: 2002).

<sup>98</sup> Colin Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

methods popular in northern Europe for thickening cooked fruit and making a porridge, they took advantage of a resource that the climate and the marketplace had made abundant just outside their kitchen window. Thus a marriage of cultural practices, the environment and market forces all shaped a dish so simple that it scarcely came to people's notice, a dish, however, that was the tiny beginning of a genuine, naturally developing regional cuisine.

## Conclusion

Looking back at the development of foods described in this chapter, one can make certain observations about people's behaviour from tracing what they ate. It is striking that the very simple foods consisting of porridge prepared in different ways were similar in countries right across northern Europe, and that *Kasja* and *Kiesel* so much resembled *Griess-brei*, German flour gruel and *Grütze*.<sup>99</sup> Another striking impression is how soon trade in far-off countries introduced exotic goods like sago to European kitchens, where they assumed an essential role in the presentation of some dishes. Much of the use of sago resulted from strong bonds with England, a dominant player in international trade and colonial expansion. (Indeed, the English connection helped the congregation elders decide to migrate to an English colony rather than to Russia or the United States.) Perhaps the strongest impression of all is that the foods mentioned here are essentially humble foods. So basic is *Rote Grütze* that it failed to be acknowledged in any local community recipe books until the Gnadenberg Lutheran recipe book of 1982. A widely known dish, it would still have been made but unremarked upon if it had not been singled out for notice by

---

<sup>99</sup> Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: T. Smith, 1978), pp. 52–56.



individuals in the community, whose flair for providing publicity made much of the dish and brought it into a prominence, thus ensuring its survival for many years.<sup>100</sup> This kind of promotion happened only in the 1980s, however. In 1939 the red porridge dish was still a pleasant and widely enjoyed meal, a truly regional, seasonal but unremarkable and unremarked-upon dish.

Numerous forces combined to shape the foods discussed in this chapter and the eating habits of those who consumed them. As might be expected, since the production of these foods relied on climate and soil conditions to produce the basic ingredients, these conditions determined first of all the raw ingredients with which the settlers had to work. Consequently, some cereal foods like buckwheat and millet no longer appeared in the diets of the people who came to the Barossa and by 1939 were scarcely known, but grapes assumed a prominence that they had not had before. Technology altered the nature of some foods to the point where they might have appeared very different from the same foods eaten by previous generations. Technology particularly affected the chemical techniques introduced in the drying process. The force for change which most influenced Barossa people's eating habits, however, was economic. Trade had long accustomed the Lutherans to ingredients like sugar and sago which were not within their own power to produce but which became an essential part of fruit dishes they ate. Moreover, the improved financial situation of the consumers determined their power of choice and their enjoyment of variety so that they no longer faced the monotony of having the same bread and porridge day after day for their staple meals.

---

<sup>100</sup> Dulcie Tscharke, interview (Nuriootpa: 2002).

The extent to which choice was possible, however, depended on financial betterment, and it was steered by habit, attitudes to certain foods, the desire for novelty and the influence of other people. Thus, porridge played a lesser role because other foods introduced by people with different ideas about breakfast became available and gave a greater choice. Without doubt, however, social interaction spread the popularity of *Rote Grütze*. As one woman said in an interview, ‘Well, I got to hear about this *Rote Grütze* and I decided to make it for myself. I didn’t have a recipe, so I adapted the old wine sago recipe and it worked like a charm.’<sup>101</sup> This woman later became well known for selling delicious *Rote Grütze* at public functions, and it was a profitable venture because the simple farming family dessert had become fashionable and popular. Her enterprise represents a culmination of forces through time which had their origins back in food customs in another country centuries earlier, forces which ultimately led to the recognition of the dish as a regional food, worthy of a championship in a local agricultural show.

---

<sup>101</sup> Linda Kroschel, interview (Angaston: 2002).

## Chapter 8: Taste Predilection; Sour and Salt in Ferment

### Introduction

The previous four chapters have shown that complex pressures govern behaviour, the structures of daily life and, indeed, the food people eat. Consciously or subconsciously people's choices may depend on environmental, economic or political dictates. They may come from inherited custom and be simply the way people always do things, or they may have a deeper meaning symbolic of identity and principles. Very rarely, though, does one single factor account for people's deeds, and the history of material culture is a web of influences which is difficult to unravel. Examining food adds one more thread to the web, and that is a preference for certain tastes, occasioning the pleasure or otherwise of the food in the body, especially in the mouth. The organoleptic properties of food and drink are a considerable factor in gastronomy; in studies of the history and sociology of food they attract less attention. Nevertheless, they have always been an important determinant in food preferences. They contribute to food cultures, although whether a certain taste predilection shapes a food culture or whether the food culture creates preference or disdain for a certain taste is open to question.<sup>1</sup>

As the word 'organoleptic' implies, taste awareness is related to the body's sense organs, particularly the taste buds, the sense of touch in the tongue and the olfactory senses in the nasal passages. Brillat-Savarin analysed the interplay between these organs and the stomach in producing a scale of agreeable or disagreeable sensations when he wrote *Physiologie du Goût*, translated as *The*

---

<sup>1</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p. 17. Santich discusses preferences for olive oil in the cuisine of southern France.

*Physiology of Taste*, published in 1825.<sup>2</sup> His description of the way the ‘laboratory’ of the mouth with its ‘nervous tubes, feelers, or tendrils’ responds to sensations and flavours, enhanced by aromas in the ‘chimney’ of the nose, has been a reference point for later explorations of taste. Following his description of primary tastes such as sweet, acid and bitter, subsequent analysts have classified taste into five perceptions on different parts of the tongue and palate, namely, sweet, salty, sour, bitter and, more recently, umami (the flavour enhanced by the addition of monosodium glutamate to food).<sup>3</sup> From basic tastes on the tongue, according to Brillat-Savarin and subsequent writers, myriad flavours issue forth when they are combined with aromas as the food reaches the back palate with its access to the nasal passages.<sup>4</sup> A sense of timing is important here, for after anticipatory external perception through aroma the first reaction to food or drink inside the body comes from the tongue, and the richness of flavour that fills out the taste experience evoking a cultural response comes a split second afterwards. Connoisseurs of wine explore the taste journey across the tongue. Wine writer Kevin Sweeney, for example, maintains that wine tasters perceive cognitive nuances of flavour on the tongue and palate before other cultural connotations exert their influence. Critical commentary for wine tasters can inform even the first sensations on the tongue and provide the ability to search for balance as the wine passes over the receptors for sweetness on the tip of the tongue, the sour and salty tastes on the sides of the

---

<sup>2</sup> Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste*, Fayette Robinson, trans. (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide, 2004), Meditation II, <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/b/brillat/savarin/b85p/index.html> , accessed 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7. Santich refers to the theories of Max Lake about taste and smell.

tongue and sensations of bitterness towards the middle and the back.<sup>5</sup> Following the anticipatory aromas before ingestion, the response of the tongue is the first actual register of taste.

Appreciation of the stimulus of the different taste areas on the tongue can vary, and whole groups of people can develop a particular taste preference. Sweet flavours generally signal foods safe to eat, and possibly for this reason sweet flavours are predominantly those that children first enjoy. Some nations develop a decided preference for sugar, and even in the eighteenth century people remarked that the English had a sweet tooth. During the nineteenth century annual English sugar consumption *per capita* reached 88 pounds, compared to 33 pounds in France and 31 pounds in Germany.<sup>6</sup> (Whether this increased consumption resulted from naturally developing taste preferences among the people or whether it was an economically and politically engineered predilection is an issue discussed by Sidney Mintz in *Sweetness and Power*.)<sup>7</sup> In his essay on the psychosociology of food consumption published first in 1979 Roland Barthes observes that people in the United States of America preferred their food to taste much saltier and sweeter than the French. Barthes assumes that this inclination came from Dutch and German immigrants.<sup>8</sup> His association of German people with salty tastes has historical precedents. Fynes Moryson, writing of his travels in Germany in 1617, recounted a conversation with an inn-keeper who explained that Germans loved

---

<sup>5</sup> Kevin W. Sweeney, 'Alice's Discriminating Palate', *Philosophy and Literature*, Vol. 23, No.1, 1999, pp. 20–26.

<sup>6</sup> Alain Huetz de Lempis, 'Colonial Beverages and the Consumption of Sugar', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, pp. 391–392.

<sup>7</sup> Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 14–18, 183–184.

<sup>8</sup> Roland Barthes, 'Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption', in Counihan and van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader*, p. 20.

salty meat because it gave them a thirst for alcohol.<sup>9</sup> Travelling through Prussia in 1825, William Jacob was struck by people's copious use of salt in their vegetable foods in particular.<sup>10</sup> The French travellers Montaigne in 1580 and Laboureur in 1648 made similar observations, leading Jean-Louis Flandrin to conclude that cooks in central and eastern Europe, including the Germans, used more salt than the French.<sup>11</sup> Appreciation of bitterness and irritants, tastes that can be a warning of toxins,<sup>12</sup> is generally a learned attitude according to other food writers, who have pointed to many people's enjoyment of coffee and chillies even though these are an acquired taste.<sup>13</sup> Of all the basic tastes on the tongue, sourness has received the least analysis, a factor that may reflect food writers' own preferences since intense sourness does not currently seem to have the popular allure of other tastes in western cultures.<sup>14</sup>

Most writings on food associate certain groups of people with specific flavour combinations rather than with individual taste perceptions on the tongue. For example, Jean-Louis Flandrin explores people's taste preferences and aversions for food prepared in butter or oil, and concludes that even in the face of religious dietary restrictions and difficulty of access people in the seventeenth and eighteenth

---

<sup>9</sup> Moryson, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent*, p. 83; A. Lynn Martin, 'National Reputations for Drinking in Traditional Europe', *Paragon*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1999, p. 169.

<sup>10</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Jean Louis Flandrin, 'Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500–1800', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 411.

<sup>12</sup> Marc P. Lalonde, 'Deciphering a Meal Again', pp. 76, 83; Rebecca Huss-Ashmore and Susan L. Johnston, 'Wild Plants as Famine Foods: Food Choice Under Conditions of Scarcity', in Helen Macbeth, ed., *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp. 86–88; Rozin and Rozin, 'Some Surprisingly Unique Characteristics of Human Food Preferences', p. 244.

<sup>13</sup> Huss-Ashmore and Johnston, 'Wild Plants as Famine Foods', p. 87; Lalonde, 'Deciphering a Meal Again', p. 76. Rozin and Rozin, 'Some Surprisingly Unique Characteristics of Human Food Preferences', p. 244.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Best, 'Fermentation Opportunities Ripen', *Prepared Foods*, Vol. 159, No. 7 p. 86.

centuries seemed to seek out the taste of one or the other in food combinations.<sup>15</sup> The Hungarians, according to Elizabeth and Paul Rozin, are known for their liking of the combined flavour of onion, lard and paprika.<sup>16</sup> The Rozins also note the tendency for people in warm climates to compensate the bland carbohydrate staples of their diets with highly-spiced accompaniments; cold climate foods are less likely to have predominant flavours and combinations.<sup>17</sup> This view is not shared by writers familiar with northern and eastern European food cultures, however, and they have documented foods from these areas which are fermented and enjoyed for their sour taste.<sup>18</sup> These supply a group of flavours characteristic of eastern European winter peasant meals: tart, salty foods, which have an affinity with the smoked foods stored along with them in the cellar. This chapter describes the sour fermented vegetable foods familiar to the Europeans living in the regions east of the River Elbe, especially those made most frequently by people in Silesia, Brandenburg and Posen. It examines what happened to the preparation and consumption of these foods when settlers from these regions came to live in the Barossa in South Australia and links the enduring popularity of some of these sour foods to factors of taste.

---

<sup>15</sup> Jean-Louis Flandrin, 'Le Goût et la Nécessité: Sur l'Usage des Graisses dans les Cuisines d'Europe Occidentale, XIV – XVIII Siècle', *Annales E. S. C.*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1983, p. 391; Jean-Louis Flandrin, 'Introduction: the Early Modern Period', in Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, p. 372.

<sup>16</sup> Rozin and Rozin, 'Some Surprisingly Unique Characteristics of Human Food Preferences', p. 244.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Eszter Kisbán, 'Dishes as Samples and Symbols: National and Ethnic Markers in Hungary', in Teuteberg, Neumann und Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven*, p. 204; Adamson, 'Medieval Germany', p. 185; Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America*, p. 163.

### **Sour Tastes - Pickled Vegetables From East of the Elbe**

A common cultural practice of fermenting vegetables in salt brine existed throughout Eastern Europe, and people treated certain vegetables this way in every country of the region. The practice is often carried out by marginal and economically vulnerable groups.<sup>19</sup> The process is milder than preservation by the heavy salting that destroys bacterial action. During fermentation brine from the vegetable juices or from solution in water, being less dense than that produced by heavy salting, enables the microbial and enzyme actions to create a biochemical change through the anaerobic or partially anaerobic oxidation of carbohydrates in the vegetable. The acid produced by lactic fermentation prevents further deterioration by food poisoning microorganisms, thus preserving the food for safe consumption.<sup>20</sup> The acid also creates the sour taste. Ambient surroundings determining temperature, moisture content and chemical balance play a part in the final product. Alan Davidson points out in his article on fermenting olives that the finesse of the techniques can produce palatable foods even without the producer's complete understanding of the microbial process taking place, and many people in the world make fermented pickles without knowing that they are dealing with living organisms.<sup>21</sup>

One other observation by the Rozins about taste preferences concerns their enduring nature, especially among peasant communities.<sup>22</sup> Once peasant taste

---

<sup>19</sup> Mike Battcock and Sue Azam Ali, *Fermented Fruits and Vegetables: A Global Perspective* (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1998), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Davidson, 'Olives', in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 552.

<sup>22</sup> Rozin and Rozin, 'Some Surprisingly Unique Characteristics of Human Food Preferences', p. 247.



preferences have stabilised, claim the Rozins, they may remain intact for hundreds of years and, even when preferred flavours are removed from regular access, people seeking those tastes will go to great lengths to procure or create them.<sup>23</sup> When central and eastern European peasants began their great waves of migration during the nineteenth century, the foods with sour tastes which had become their cultural markers went with them, particularly to the United States, New Zealand, Canada and Australia. An example is Rita Izbicka's description of Polish food in *Tucker in Australia*, published by the Australian Association of Dieticians in 1977. Sour cream and cottage cheese still added sourness to many Polish Australian dishes, and pickled cabbage, cucumber and beetroot continued to form part of many meals.<sup>24</sup> Similarly the Russian Germans in North Dakota in the United States a generation ago kept their barrels of pickled *Sauerkraut*, melons and cucumbers in the root cellar along with jugs of sour milk and buttermilk and crocks of home-made wine.<sup>25</sup>

Although making fermented vegetables was a common practice in Eastern European countries, regional variations have long existed, as ethnologists indicated when they came together to deliver papers on traditional forms of preservation at a conference in Norway in 1987. Their work showed that the chief vegetables fermented in Moravia were cabbages for *Sauerkraut* and cucumbers pickled in brine and dill, traditionally eaten with quark cottage cheese, smoked sausage and

---

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246–247.

<sup>24</sup> Beverley Wood, ed., *Tucker in Australia* (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1977), p. 143.

<sup>25</sup> *Food 'N Customs - Recipes of the Black Sea Germans* (Bismarck, North Dakota: Germans from Russia Heritage Society, n.d.), pp. 125–127.

the local distilled alcoholic drink.<sup>26</sup> Slovakia's vegetable preservation concentrated on cabbage shredded for *Sauerkraut* or fermented as whole heads along with black mustard leaves and horseradish leaves.<sup>27</sup> Polish people (who in Silesia mingled and intermarried with the German arrivals in the area) fermented many wild and cultivated plants, including white cabbage, red beetroot, cucumbers, apples, pears, turnips, rape leaves and carrots. *Sauerkraut* was a significant part of the production, and people made it not only from shredded cabbage but also from whole cabbage heads interspersed in the layers as well.<sup>28</sup> The pickle tradition was so important in Lithuania, a country politically united with Poland for two centuries, that pagan Lithuanians in the late sixteenth century had a god of pickles called Rugučis, mentioned in the Lithuanian Chronicles of 1582.<sup>29</sup> In Bulgaria people fermented whole cabbage heads for *Sauerkraut*, but they also pickled turnips, kohlrabi, Jerusalem artichokes, vine leaves, carrots, cucumbers, watermelons, capsicum and green tomatoes.<sup>30</sup> One of the most extensive ranges of fermented plant foods mentioned at the conference came from Assyria, where for centuries cooks have pickled unripe tomatoes, radishes, young carrots, cucumbers, capsicum peppers, cauliflowers, cabbages, eggplants, string beans, beets and other plant foods.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Miroslava Ludvíková, 'A Contemporary Look at Old Food Preserving Methods Practised in Moravia', in Ridderfold and Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation*, pp. 140–141.

<sup>27</sup> Rastislava Stoličňá, 'The Ways of Food Preservation in Slovakia', in Ridderfold and Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation*, p. 221.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Kowalska-Lewicka, 'The Pickling of Vegetables in Traditional Polish Peasant Culture' in Ridderfold and Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation*, p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>30</sup> Lilian Radeva, 'Traditional Methods of Food Preserving Among the Bulgarians', in Ridderfold and Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation*, p. 40.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Abdalla, 'Food preservation among Modern Assyrians', in Ridderfold and Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation*, p. 188.

The ethnologists presenting papers at the conference in Norway may not have enumerated all the vegetables fermented in their countries of origin, and many of their descriptions were of practices carried out within living memory without reference to previous centuries. However, the lists give rise to some obvious comparisons. The Assyrians and Bulgarians, who were part of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were the ones who fermented green tomato and capsicum when these vegetables were newly introduced from the Americas to the Mediterranean. The climate of these two countries made it easier to grow tomatoes and the profusion of other vegetables mentioned in the surveys, so that fermenting many varieties became established practice. The Poles were the other people listing a large number of fermented vegetables. Theirs were of a poorer kind, including wild foods as well as garden varieties. The Polish practice suggests concerted efforts to preserve every possible edible plant by a people whose workers were notoriously impoverished, and whose staples of rye, buckwheat and millet, without some strongly flavoured additions, might be monotonous in the extreme.<sup>32</sup> In both the Mediterranean and Northern European countries people pickled vegetables out of necessity, but by selecting numerous different kinds they seemed intent on creating variety in their food as well.

Culinary histories and recipe books from European countries east of the River Elbe reveal further practice of making sour fermented vegetables. They mention the ancient Hungarian tradition of pickling, especially *Sauerkraut* and cucumbers,<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Battcock and Ali, *Fermented Fruits and Vegetables: A Global Perspective*, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Lang, *The Cuisine of Hungary*, pp. 281–283, 337.

and show that Austrians made *Sauerkraut* and pickled turnips the same way.<sup>34</sup> From very early times Russians, like people in other Slavic countries, relied on their fermented cabbages, melons and cucumbers to nourish them through the long, harsh winters.<sup>35</sup> Further west the first Silesian *bürgerliches* recipe book of 1835, published just before the departure of the first emigrants to South Australia, described ways to ferment beans, cucumbers and *Sauerkraut* cabbage.<sup>36</sup> A book written for cooks of the nobility over a century earlier in neighbouring Brandenburg in 1723 listed recipes for fermenting similar vegetables, with stalks of succulent portulacca plants, endives and cress layered between the cucumbers.<sup>37</sup> The art of pickling by fermentation seems not to have known class boundaries; a peasants' way of making food last in time of need over winter was being used by the middle classes and explored in the kitchens of wealthy families as well.<sup>38</sup>

As Elisabeth and Paul Rozin point out, the influence of culinary practices moving across generations can be extremely strong. Vegetable fermentation remained a custom even in 1939 among people in the Barossa whose ancestors had come from eastern central Europe, from Silesia, Brandenburg and Posen. The repertoire brought to South Australia consisted of cabbage pickled as *Sauerkraut*, pickled turnips, beans and sour cucumbers, called *Sauregurken*. Skills for making these transferred through generations of families, even though their English neighbours preserved vegetables and fruit in sweetened vinegar (a practice that they

---

<sup>34</sup> Edith Hörandner, 'Kostformen in Wandel', *Ernährungs-Umschau* Vol. 37, 1990, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild Coneè Ornelas, eds, *The Cambridge World History of Food* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 1240.

<sup>36</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, pp. 174–175.

<sup>37</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, pp. 564–577.

<sup>38</sup> Dembińska, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, p. 10. According to Dembińska peasant dishes frequently appeared on the table of Queen Jadwiga of Poland.

themselves also carried out and had done so before departure from Europe). Each of the fermented pickles, however, attracted a different degree of appreciation and popularity so that by 1939 some were made only occasionally but one in particular, sour cucumbers, had become a ritual family production, generating rivalry among pickle-makers as well as a small income for roadside vendors of home-made *Sauregurken*. Why people persisted in making fermented pickles in a climate where fresh vegetables were available in winter, and why each of the pickled vegetables gained or lost popularity are questions that now warrant consideration.

### **Sour Tastes and Body Needs**

The first reasons for maintaining the tradition of fermenting vegetables in Europe had been biological. Not only did the method supply preserved food to fill hungry bellies in winter when sources were scarce, but people were also aware of the nutritive benefits of vegetables altered by lactic fermentation. The Lutheran pastor who arranged the first migrating groups and accompanied them to Australia wrote to advise other German-speaking groups intending to follow suit in the following manner:

I would strongly advise you to take ...preserved green beans – they are obtainable in Hamburg – *Sauerkraut*, dried green cabbages in jars; the latter will also be procurable in Hamburg if you have not dried any yourself. [They] .... will have ... the beneficial effects of fresh vegetables, which are usually not to be had on a longer sea voyage, and the lack of which results, often only four to six months later, in scurvy.<sup>39</sup>

The process of fermenting vegetables in brine, as well as encouraging the development of lactobacillus and other preservative organisms, could also develop

---

<sup>39</sup> August Kavel and August Fiedler, 'A letter home, 1839,' in Schubert, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 112.

augmented amounts of vitamins. Lactic fermentation is a complex process, involving no fewer than five different bacilli activated at different stages of the ferment. If these develop in the right order, the vegetables can retain their vitamin C and double their vitamin A content.<sup>40</sup> Fermented vegetables thus provided nourishment to prevent disease when food choices were limited. This biological need had been the basis of pickling vegetables for the winter in the settlers' European places of origin and had made *Sauerkraut*, in particular, a valued staple of northern and eastern European diet.<sup>41</sup>

In the milder South Australian winter the fresh turnips, cabbages, potatoes and Brussels sprouts grown in Barossa gardens provided enough vitamin C to prevent scurvy without the need for pickling cabbage for the winter months, and yet that custom continued, for fermentation of pickled vegetables has other biological advantages not fulfilling an immediate survival need yet contributing to a general feeling of wellbeing. As the micro-organisms break down the cell structure of the foods, they make them physically more digestible and they add the enzymes and nourish the intestinal bacteria that carry out digestion. Facilitating digestion can provide a pleasant feeling soon enough after ingestion to make an association in the consumer's mind between the taste of fermented vegetables and the agreeable sensation. Moreover, vegetables pickled by a process of lactic

---

<sup>40</sup> Guillermo Oliver, Martha Nuñez and Sylvia Gonzalez, 'Fermented Vegetable Products', in Richard K. Ronson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Food Microbiology* (London/San Diego: Academic Press, 2000), pp. 739–740; Geoffrey Campbell-Platt, 'Fermented Foods', in Ronson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Food Microbiology*, pp. 737–738; M. Jägerstad, J. Jastrebova and U. Svensson, 'Folates in Fermented Vegetables – A Pilot Study', *Lebensmittel Wissenschaft und Technologie*, Vol. 37, No. 6, 2004, pp. 603–611; Cherl-Ho Lee, 'Lactic Acid Fermented Foods and their Benefits in Asia', *Food Control*, Vol. 8, No. 5/6, 1997, p. 267.

<sup>41</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Die Frischgemüseversorgung städtischer Haushalte unter Einfluß der Rationalisierung und Urbanisierung 1850–1913', *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und der Deutschen Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft*, Vol 49, No. 1, 2001, p. 37.

fermentation possibly inhibit certain diseases, including bowel cancer.<sup>42</sup> Local Barossa families with a tradition of making these pickles brought with them to Australia a general understanding that their beloved fermented products were beneficial to their health in any season, and so the practice was worth preserving.<sup>43</sup>

Knowing that a certain food has long-term benefits, however, does not always equate with enjoying its taste. The persistent enjoyment of the taste of sour fermented foods when these were no longer an imperative part of survival had other reasons. For example, habitual family routines might have developed over a long period of time. Long-standing habit might become reinforced by economic structures set into place to satisfy supply and demand, and foods consumed through generations might accrue social or religious significance and become an important part of certain festivals or special observances. All of these cultural underpinnings could hold fast or weaken at different points of history for different reasons which ultimately have a bearing on the perceptions, attitudes and taste sensitivity of the person eating the food. These factors now merit some attention.

### **Sour Tastes and Long-standing Habit – Four Fermented Vegetables**

Taste appreciation can be trained, according to Marc Lalonde, and is therefore an intellectual perception as well as a response to stimulus of the senses. The shaping of this intellectual response comes from age-old customs exerted through family generations. Lalonde claims that the flavours imprint themselves on young children who are surrounded by the smells of foods consumed in the family, and

---

<sup>42</sup> Cherl-Ho, 'Lactic Acid Fermented Foods and their Benefits in Asia', p. 4; Jägerstad., Jastrebova, Svensson, 'Folates in fermented vegetables — a pilot study', pp. 3–4.

<sup>43</sup> Steve Zimmerman, interview (Tanunda: 2004); Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2005).

who sense them on their mother's breath and in their mother's milk. Thus early tastes are formed and carried across generations in a process that provides continuity and reassurance to counteract the undercurrent of anxiety that inherently accompanies eating.<sup>44</sup> Taste preferences driving food practices can continue for a very long time, and the practice of fermenting vegetables in brine is indeed ancient.<sup>45</sup> Conflicting opinions attribute its origins to the Romans and the Chinese, but the true skill of inducing fermentation and production of lactic acid through mild salting in vegetables seems to have come first from China. Writings in the Han dynasty, 256-295 BCE, described *Tsu*, a dish of vegetables pickled in salt and fermented cooked rice. The *Chi Min Yao Shu* of the sixth century CE listed cabbages and turnips fermented with salt and a starter culture, as well as melons, ginger and pears.<sup>46</sup>

Cabbage prepared on its own in this way was the forerunner of later *Sauerkraut*. The Chinese method of pickling cabbage seems to have differed from the Roman, which relied on the addition of sour wine and verjuice to the heavily salted vegetable. Mention of fermented and naturally acidified *Sauerkraut* finally appeared in the *Kuchenmeysterey* (c.1485), where it was attributed to the Germans,<sup>47</sup> and a similar claim supported with a recipe appeared in *Le Tresor de santi* (1607).<sup>48</sup> Long-held tradition claims that the skill reached the Germans through Eastern Europe from China via the Tartars (who invaded from the east in

---

<sup>44</sup> Lalonde, 'Deciphering a Meal Again', pp. 76–81.

<sup>45</sup> Sue Shephard, *Pickled, Potted and Canned: How the Art and Science of Food Preserving Changed the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 12; Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, pp. 463–465.

<sup>46</sup> H. T. Huang, 'Fermentations and Food Science', in Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* [1954], Vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 406.

<sup>47</sup> Adamson, 'Medieval Germany', pp. 153–196.

<sup>48</sup> Davidson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 696.



the 13th century and attacked from Turkey in the 16th century, when they conquered Hungary).<sup>49</sup> The trail of *Sauerkraut* right across Eastern Europe certainly implies connection with people coming from an easterly direction. Whatever the provenance, once the skill of dry-salt fermenting of cabbage had been established in Europe by the seventeenth century, regional versions seemed to develop their own identity. The Brandenburg cookbook of 1723 and the Silesian one of 1835 included a very simple procedure similar to the one followed in the Barossa by descendants of the first settlers. The recipes gave instructions for slicing the cabbage on a flat, fixed blade or *Hobel*, layering it with salt with the possible addition of caraway seeds in a clean jar, pounding it to release the juices and then covering it with whole cabbage leaves, a clean cloth, a plate and a stone weight to rest for several weeks.<sup>50</sup> Neither recipe gave measured quantities or the ratio of salt to cabbage; cooks in Brandenburg and Silesia in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seemed to rely very much on their instincts.

Emigrants from those regions arriving in the Barossa district from 1842 onwards took to heart their pastors' advice about bringing salt cabbages on the voyage, and they continued to make these preserves in Australia during the rest of that century. The museum of the Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust in Tanunda displays several of the bladed instruments needed for slicing the cabbage. In 1939 those cooks who were still making *Sauerkraut* were using much the same recipe. For many judgement of quantities was still instinctive, but in general cooks used about 250 grams of salt for every five kilograms of sliced cabbage and

---

<sup>49</sup> Kiple and Ornelas, eds, *The Cambridge World History of Food*, p. 1741; Lang, *The Cuisine of Hungary*, pp. 18, 30.

<sup>50</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, p. 566; *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. 175.

perhaps a slicer with a rotary blade instead of the old mandolin frame. They shredded and salted the cabbage, working it in their fingers until the juices started to run, and then packed it tightly into stone jars, pounding it as they went.<sup>51</sup> The whole process had changed very little since the eighteenth century. Ways to serve the *Sauerkraut*, in combination with sausages or other smoked meats or cooked in a certain way, also persisted over time. A recipe for *Sauerkraut* simmered with honey, bacon and caraway seeds still prepared by at least one Barossa family in 1939 bears similarities to one in the oldest East Prussian German cookbook, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>52</sup>

*Wilthu machenn eyngemacht Crautt:so seudt weysse Heuptt und ein zweythell Sennffs und das dritthell Hoengs und die selbing mach undereinander mitt Wein und thu darein Koemel und einß des genug und leg dan des gesotten Kraut dareinund gibe es kalt. also magst auch priesen die Seudt mitt Würcezenn und gyb sy hin.*<sup>53</sup> To prepare preserved cabbage: simmer a white cabbage head with secondly mustard and thirdly honey and mix through with wine. Add caraway to taste and pour it over the cooked *Sauerkraut*. Serve it cold. Also you could simmer it with the spices and serve.

Thus, half a world and five centuries away from these old European methods in another climate and in other circumstances, cooks in 1939 were making approximations of this recipe with very little understanding that it was older by far than memories of their own grandmothers. Such is the conservative nature of inherited food patterns and taste preferences. By 1939, however, making *Sauerkraut* was certainly not a general practice. Related recipes did not appear in

<sup>51</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, p. 58.

<sup>52</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2004).

<sup>53</sup> Recipe 31, in Thomas Gloning and Gollub, eds, *Ein Kochbuch aus dem Archiv des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg: Marburg University, n.d.) at <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/gollub.htm> accessed 2005.

women's hand-written notebooks even at the beginning of the twentieth century, and I shall explore possible reasons for the decline in a later section of this chapter.

Some households in the 1930s in the Barossa were also brining shredded turnips from a big crop and fermenting them like *Sauerkraut*.<sup>54</sup> Bertha Hahn recalls this way of feeding a very large family where nothing was wasted. Turnips or their close relatives beets are descended from an indigenous European plant with a swollen stem known to the Romans and fermented by the Chinese.<sup>55</sup> Monks and peasants grew them in medieval Europe, where they were a food for fast days before and (for Catholics and Orthodox Christians) after the Reformation.<sup>56</sup> Turnips were a staple crop in Northern Russia,<sup>57</sup> and pickled, fermented turnips were a common food in medieval Poland.<sup>58</sup> They survived the transfer of food practices to Australia but, unless large families needed to preserve every available food, they did not seem to be as common as other preserved vegetables. They were not, for example, as commonly made in the Barossa as salted beans in jars. The legumes were heavily salted rather than fermented. Six recipes for salted beans appear in the fifteen women's hand-written recipe notebooks in my possession, whereas turnip recipes are absent.<sup>59</sup> So heavily salted were these beans to prevent fermentation that

---

<sup>54</sup> Maria Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 1982); Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 1994).

<sup>55</sup> Davidson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 813; Huang, 'Fermentations and Food Science', p. 406.

<sup>56</sup> Teuteberg, '*Die Frischgemüseversorgung städtischer Haushalte unter Einfluß der Rationalisierung und Urbanisierung 1850–1913*', p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> Smith and Christian, *Bread and salt*, p. 200.

<sup>58</sup> Dembińska, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, p. 131.

<sup>59</sup> Anna Geier, recipe notebook (Greenock: 1915); Wanda Grosser, recipe notebook (Tanunda: 1920); Martha Saegenschnitter and her mother, recipe notebook (Greenock: 1925, 1900); Louisa Schilling, recipe notebook (Truro: 1910); Gertie Sporn and her mother, recipe notebook (Light Pass: 1925, 1900). (Gertie had two recipes.)

they had to be soaked in several changes of water before consumption.<sup>60</sup> The interesting point is, however, that the recipes for salting beans in the Brandenburg and Silesian cookbooks from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did seem to incorporate fermentation. One book spoke of brine solution rather than dry salting, and the other required the use of vine leaves and gave instructions for skimming the scum from the surface.<sup>61</sup> As it happens, the action of the toxic bacterium *Clostridium botulinum* was not identified until 1895.<sup>62</sup> Associated with the fermentation of proteinaceous materials of low acid content, lethal botulism could afflict people who had eaten poorly prepared beans.<sup>63</sup> Questions arise about the incidence of botulism among people who had followed the instructions in the European cookery books for fermenting beans, and about how many people fell prey to the disease from food prepared in the warmer, bacteria-friendly Australian climate. European settlement in South Australia was fifty years old before expanded scientific knowledge made people aware that some garden produce was more suited to fermentation than others.

Few people disputed, however, that the vegetable most suited to fermentation was the cucumber, and the eastern European fondness for this vegetable also has a very long history. Related to melons and grown on the slopes of the Himalayas since prehistoric times, cucumbers appeared in the records of the ancient Egyptians,

---

<sup>60</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2005).

<sup>61</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, p. 572; *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. 174.

<sup>62</sup> F. J. Erbguth, 'Historical notes on botulism, *Clostridium botulinum*, botulinum toxin, and the idea of the therapeutic use of the toxin', abstract, *Movement Disorders*, Vol. 19, No. 8, 2004, at <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/abstract/107633241/ABSTRACT>, accessed September 2005.

<sup>63</sup> *Botulism: Fact Sheet 270* (New York: World Health Organization, 2002), at <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/who270/en/>, accessed September 2005.

Greeks and Romans.<sup>64</sup> The oldest archaeological evidence of their consumption is a single cucumber seed found in deposits in Assyria dated 760 BCE.<sup>65</sup> Cucumbers came to Silesia and Brandenburg in the Middle Ages, for seeds dating from the eleventh century have been excavated in Breslau, one of the region's major centres.<sup>66</sup> Many of the words for cucumber in Eastern European languages, including old Polish and Sorbian words dating from the sixteenth century, have a Greek origin rather than a Latin one, a fact which suggests its way of entry into Europe from the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>67</sup>

The fermented version defined a path of consumers overlapping the *Sauerkraut* trail across Eastern Europe and Russia, but records of the fermentation method for cucumbers occurred only in the sixteenth century. This late appearance caused some puzzlement to Polish writer Maria Dembińska, for the Polish fermented cucumbers, *Polski ogorki*, have a fine reputation of long standing.<sup>68</sup> Dembińska's *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland* documents food practices very closely related to those of Silesians living in the same region, and her findings therefore have a connection with the Barossa. Her conclusion is that the sixteenth century saw the introduction of the particular variety of cucumber suitable for pickling.<sup>69</sup> Ursula Heinzelmann asserts that this cucumber was brought in from the west by Dutch weavers who settled in the Spreewald in Brandenburg south of

---

<sup>64</sup> Kiple and Ornelas, eds, *The Cambridge World History of Food*, p. 1765; Davidson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Körber-Grohne, *Nutzpflanzen in Deutschland*, p. 304.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Ursula Heinzelmann, 'Spreewälder Gurken: Pickled Cucumbers from the Spreewald', *Gastronomica – the Journal of Food and Culture*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2004, pp. 13–17.

<sup>68</sup> Dembińska, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, p. 131

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

Berlin and who grew cucumbers for pickling there in the same era.<sup>70</sup> George Lang's history of Hungarian food leads me to a different view. Region by region, Lang describes the culinary and political fortunes of Hungary, including the Turkish invasion in 1526 and the subsequent occupation of the central plains. In the plains near the Dnieper live the Kuns, a people also of Turkish origin, who had settled there in the thirteenth century to escape the Mongol armies. Lang singles out the present-day Kuns as the most skilled Hungarian makers of *Sauerkraut* and also of fermented cucumbers.<sup>71</sup> Possibly cucumbers have a connection with incursions from the eastern Mediterranean and the Hungarians may have spread them further west through their frequent interaction with the Germans.<sup>72</sup> The Slavic connection with sour cucumbers is underlined by their description in the *Domostroi*, the Russian household manual of the mid-sixteenth century,<sup>73</sup> and by the fact that the principal traditional sour cucumber-makers of the Spreewald in Brandenburg, among whom the Dutch came to settle, were a Slavic group, the Sorbs, also known as Wends.<sup>74</sup> Significantly, Wendish people from Silesia and Brandenburg formed a considerable proportion of the Lutheran migrants to South Australia in the nineteenth century.

People in modern-day Barossa who might read the cucumber recipes in the 1723 book from Brandenburg and the 1835 book from Silesia would immediately

---

<sup>70</sup> Heinzelmann, 'Spreewälder Gurken: Pickled Cucumbers from the Spreewald', p. 14.

<sup>71</sup> Lang, *The Cuisine of Hungary*, p. 125.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>73</sup> Carolyn Johnston, ed., *The Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible*, Carolyn Pouncy, trans. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 175.

<sup>74</sup> Heinzelmann, 'Spreewälder Gurken: Pickled Cucumbers from the Spreewald', p. 14.

identify them with their own.<sup>75</sup> Recipes in both books require the cucumbers to be laid in a tub between layers of dill and vine leaves. The Silesian version requires sour cherry leaves as well.<sup>76</sup> Both recipes direct that brine be poured over the layers and that the cucumbers be covered and set to ferment for a number of days. The following recipe from the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* serves as a useful comparison:

#### CUCUMBERS PICKLED WITH VINE LEAVES

One cup salt, scalded with boiling water and cooled; 2 cups vinegar and a little dill, enough water to fill the tin. Use a benzine tin. Cover bottom of tin with vine leaves, then a layer of cucumbers and dill, another layer of leaves, and so on to the top. Last layer, vine leaves. Use young cucumbers. Cover with a plate and weight for two weeks. Leave another week before using. Add more water if some should evaporate.

Mrs C. Kraft, *Vine Vale*<sup>77</sup>

Makers of sour cucumbers or *Sauregurken* in 1939 would have felt even more at home with the Silesian recipe than people in the twenty-first century, for the custom of adding sour cherry leaves to the ferment was still widely practised at that date. Both sorts of leaves supplied flavour as well as acidity to ensure satisfactory fermentation. The tannic flavour of the cherry leaves no longer appeals to most palates in the twenty-first century, but to conservative tastes in the nineteenth century its combination with sourness was so desired that local people imported and planted sour cherry trees to replicate those growing in their old homelands, and many people persisted in using the leaves through the first half of the twentieth century.

---

<sup>75</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass:2005); Colin Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 2005), Ian Rothe, interview (Tanunda: 2004), Lois Jenke, interview (Rowland Flat: 2004)..

<sup>76</sup> *Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch*, p. 573; *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. 175.

<sup>77</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 125.

### **Sour Tastes, Transit and Cultural Significance**

The remarkable similarity between vegetable fermentation methods in the Barossa in 1939 and those described in centuries-old European documents indicates that, even when they no longer had a physical need for these foods for survival, people pursued a sour taste by itself or in combination with other familiar flavours. Their senses had developed through enduring custom. Human behaviour repeated many times can also gather to itself other meanings and other structures. Anzac Day services, for example, have helped to define Australians as a group; the ritual and sense of occasion surrounding Christmas dinner can give a special quality to the taste of turkey and be a stimulus to the poultry industry at the same time. Similarly, sour food might become imbued with religious meaning; it might identify a group of people and be part of a political or social statement for or against that group; its procurement or distribution might assume such importance in the economy (as sugar did in nineteenth-century England) that people expect its familiar taste in their diet. Do taste predilections need to rely on such cultural links? If the links still exist after migration to another land, they may possibly be necessary supports for the taste preferences that the migrating people have carried with them.

Sour food can have religious connotations. In many religious communities in eastern European countries pickled foods held Christian significance as fast-day foods. Rabinowitsch has described how soured cucumbers and pickled mushrooms were staple foods during religious fasting periods in Russian households between



the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.<sup>78</sup> *Sauerkraut* served without meat was also a fasting food and for this reason in many countries east of the River Elbe the meal on Christmas Eve included *Sauerkraut* served in different ways, for the Christmas meal was the last of an Advent fast.<sup>79</sup> I have found no records of Silesian food incorporating *Sauerkraut* into a meal for Christmas Eve nor indeed of Silesian Lutheran Christmas Eve fasts. Not surprisingly, then, descendants of early German families in the Barossa recall no ritual meals where sour fermented vegetables were a mandatory component. My assumption is that this food in the Barossa was again strongly influenced by the thinking of the Protestant leaders of the Reformation, especially Martin Luther, and that dishes were deliberately lacking in symbolism or religious content. Even though some other foods like biscuits and pudding might be part of customary celebrations for Christmas, none had intrinsic connection to religious doctrine because of their actual food components, and consequently sour fermented vegetables were not an obligatory meat replacement for doctrinal reasons.

The association of sour vegetables with local German people as an ethnic group was a different matter, however, and in times of confrontation the dishes themselves formed part of the group's identity in the eyes of the rest of the world. This phenomenon has existed in many places with regard to people of different nationalities. Just as the Italians who went to work in Switzerland on tunnelling

---

<sup>78</sup> Mihail Rabinowitsch, 'Eating Habits in Russian Towns in the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries: the Main Phases of Development', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), p. 108.

<sup>79</sup> See, for example, Jonitis, *The Acculturation of the Lithuanians of Chester, Pennsylvania*, p. 294. They were, of course, an important Jewish food as well. Cucumbers and mushrooms pickled together in Russia are also mentioned in Diner, *Hungering for America*, p. 152.

projects in the late nineteenth century were called ‘macaroni-eaters’ by their new neighbours and identified as different because of their consumption of pasta,<sup>80</sup> so people in South Australia who were not of German descent might express degrees of xenophobia towards those who were German through a certain distancing from their food. In the following passage, an Englishwoman described a picnic with a local German family in Gumeracha, just south of the Barossa, in the early twentieth century. Two sorts of sour vegetables were among the German fare, which she contrasted to English dishes on the table.

Schweineurst, Leberurst and other delicacies of the sausage kind, pickled fish, pickled cucumbers, cream cheese, and a noble Australian turkey stuffed with apples and raisins and served with preserved strawberries brought in a glass jar, and other German delicacies, supplemented by English roast beef, white-bread, and cakes for those who did not care for German cookery, were our fare; but I must mention the limburger cheese and *Sauerkraut*, which were placed under a far-distant tree until required, and those of the party – only two, by the way – who regaled themselves on it paid special visits to the tree to bring their own supplies.<sup>81</sup>

Even in the happy, friendly circumstances of this meal shared years before any political confrontation with Germany had occurred, elements of reserve and separation are apparent in the distinctions made between the foods of two different cultures and therefore between the people for whom they were intended. The sense of culinary separation lay not only in the Englishwoman’s slightly superior and amused observations but also in the catering, for the ‘dear little German hostess’ had supplied separate provisions for people with differing identities and differing perceptions of taste. The implicit understanding that not all of those beyond the cultural milieu will enjoy the food of that people’s culture draws a line, however

---

<sup>80</sup> Tanner, ‘Italienische “Makkaroni-Esser” in der Schweiz: Migration von Arbeitskräften und kulinarische Traditionen’, pp. 481–482.

<sup>81</sup> May Vivienne, *Sunny South Australia* (Adelaide: Hussey and Gillingham, 1908), p. 202.

faint, between the self and the other. The line is discernible especially when two emigrant groups encounter each other in a new land unless people start to adopt each other's practices.

On occasions a group of people make a self-conscious effort to perpetuate their identity by eating a ritual meal together, appreciating the taste of the dishes of their ancestors. For example, French people in South Australia have a banquet of traditional French dishes on July 14 to celebrate Bastille Day. Such an occasion makes a social statement and is often linked to a past political event as well. In the United States a meal based on a fermented vegetable proclaims the ethnic origins and political pride of another group. For the Pennsylvania Germans New Year's Day is *Sauerkraut* Day. *Sauerkraut*, pork and dumplings are the obligatory meal.<sup>82</sup> Don Yoder, emeritus professor of religion at the University of Pennsylvania, identifies the ritual dish as a political tradition not a religious one. This is to be expected in a region settled largely by Europeans whose non-conformist religious denominations had moved away from outward forms of ceremony and symbolism.<sup>83</sup> Yoder surmises that the traditional *Sauerkraut* meal had links to the public image of the German Pennsylvania Dutch in the American Civil War, an image derided at the time but which later caused the group to be proud of their European identity. The traditional meal incorporating much-loved sour tastes reinforced this identity. To Barossa people the term *Kraut*, in general use by 1918

---

<sup>82</sup> Don Yoder, 'Sauerkraut for New Years', *The World and I Online*, Vol. 1, 1989, at <http://www.worldandi.com/specialreport/1989/january/Sa15804.htm> accessed 2005; Weaver, *Sauerkraut Yankees*, p. 171–172.

<sup>83</sup> Don Yoder papers inventory abstract, Library of the University of North Carolina, Southern Historical Collection, at <http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/y/Yoder,Don> , accessed 2005. Yoder describes his own religious background as a member of the Evangelical United Brethren Church.

to describe people of German origin,<sup>84</sup> had more hostility than the same word in the earlier American context.<sup>85</sup> Local people were, after all, facing social confrontation as potential enemies of the land in which they lived. In the twentieth century Barossa people therefore created no such ritual meal of sour foods to celebrate identity. In fact, some went to lengths to hide their consumption of such dishes, along with any other connection to the local culture.<sup>86</sup>

Finally, producing a particular food can become a contributing force in the economy of a region, requiring the widespread purchase, manufacture and sale of certain ingredients or pieces of equipment needed to produce the dish and reinforcing the presence of characteristic tastes. In Europe making sour vegetables was first of all a domestic activity using garden produce and the leaves from the cherries or grapes growing in the area. (Even in the twenty-first century vineyards exist in Zielona Góra, a town which was once Grünberg in the northern region of Silesia.) The other important ingredient, salt, did need to be purchased. Fernand Braudel has pointed out that salt was essential for preserving food, and it became an important trading commodity for governments across Europe. The trade remained untouched by wars between countries of differing religious views, because everybody needed salt to process their food.<sup>87</sup> Much of the salt required in Silesia between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries came from the deepening mines near Cracow in Poland, which had to provide a constant supply for the home

---

<sup>84</sup> Entry for 'kraut' in the Oxford English Dictionary.

<sup>85</sup> The New Year dinner custom persisted even though during the First World War *Sauerkraut* was renamed 'Liberty Cabbage', according to *The American Prospect*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2003, p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Rhonda Steinborner, interview (Tanunda: 1993). Rhonda, who had lived as a child in another district of South Australia, was surprised to find how much her mother loved pickled cucumbers, and ultimately to learn that her mother came from a German family in the Barossa.

<sup>87</sup> Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life*, pp. 209–210.

market as well as for other countries.<sup>88</sup> To purchase salt from this and other sources people had to pay a salt tax (which remained on the statute books in Germany until 1993).<sup>89</sup> Immense revenue must have come from the tax, for the trade to Silesia was so voluminous that it affected the architecture of cities; in the Hanseatic trading town of Breslau (Wrocław) the central town square or *Ring* was linked to another square accommodating the salt trade. Such 'salt squares' also existed in other rural cities, as school inspector Johann Schummel observed on his travels through Silesia in 1792.<sup>90</sup> Another purchase for pickling was containers, and pottery works in Silesia and Brandenburg, including several at Bobersberg and a famous one at Bunzlau not far from Breslau, fired many a pickle pot in their kilns.<sup>91</sup> Commercial production of *Sauerkraut*, one of the earliest food industries, expanded rapidly with the coming of railways and the growth of cities in the nineteenth century. Improved preservation techniques led also to the industrial production of pickled cucumbers around 1900.<sup>92</sup> A lucrative economy surrounding pickled vegetable production was bubbling along.

Links with the broader economy were not as strong in the Barossa district, but cooks pickling cucumbers from their own gardens also had to buy salt. Colonial salt in South Australia cost 1d per pound, one-third of the price of a pound of

---

<sup>88</sup> Andrzej Wyrobisz, 'Economic Landscapes: Poland from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke, eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 42.

<sup>89</sup> Bernard Moinier, 'The Role of Salt in Civilisation', *Science Tribune*, October 1996, at <http://www.tribunes.com/tribune/sel/mon1.htm>, accessed September 2005.

<sup>90</sup> Johann Gottlieb Schummel, *Reise durch Schlesien im Julius und August, 1791*, Włocławek: Kunicki, ed. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995), p. 127.

<sup>91</sup> Ioannou, *The Barossa Folk*, p. 222.

<sup>92</sup> Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, 'Die Begründung der Ernährungsindustrie', in Teuteberg and Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost*, p. 298.

bread.<sup>93</sup> By contrast, salt today is about half the price of an equivalent weight of bread. Salt did not attract a colonial duty by being imported, for it was plentiful in South Australia, which supplied 80% of Australia's needs until 1966. Since lakes on Kangaroo Island supplied salt to Sydney as early as 1814, early settlers no doubt obtained the salt for their pickling from this source.<sup>94</sup> Many families arrived from Europe with the family pickle pot in their luggage and some of these are still in use one hundred and fifty years later.<sup>95</sup> Only one artisan in the Barossa, Samuel Hoffmann, made replacement pots for those that broke. An account of Hoffmann's arrival in 1845, of his forays into the Barossa Range to obtain his secret supply of clay and of his visits to farmhouses to sell his kitchen earthenware appears in Noris Ioannou's history of local artisans, *The Barossa Folk*. But Hoffmann did not expand his business beyond the local community, and the commercial invasion of mass-produced pots from Adelaide and England forced him to stop by 1885.<sup>96</sup>

As subsequent generations established their households, they extemporised at pickling time and used clean kerosene tins instead. The recipe for pickled cucumbers in the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* described above recommended this practice.<sup>97</sup> The tins say much about the people's lateral thinking and disregard of social pretence, but their sale on small roadside stalls with chalk-written signs offering the new season's batch of pickles hardly represented high finance. Sale from the stalls did, however, generate a need for increasing volumes

---

<sup>93</sup> Francis Dutton, *South Australia and its Mines* (London: Boone, 1846), pp. 358–9.

<sup>94</sup> C. A. Thomas, comp., *Birth of American River 1802* (Kingscote: Island Newspapers, 1978), p. 3; N. H. Ludbrook, *A Guide to the Geology and Mineral Resources of South Australia* (Adelaide: Department of Mines and Energy South Australia, ?1987), p. 203.

<sup>95</sup> Colin Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 1999).

<sup>96</sup> Ioannou, *The Barossa Folk*, pp. 216–245.

<sup>97</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 125.

of seed, for which the farmers turned to commercial suppliers like Yates instead of relying on seeds reserved from the previous year's crop.<sup>98</sup> At this point seeds for the short, smooth dark green cucumber brought from Europe, a variety of the genus *cucumis sativus*, gave way to 'Calypso', a West Indian gherkin, *cucumis anguria* with its warty skin.<sup>99</sup> The weight of the broader economy was beginning to exert its muscle on the local community, but unlike H. J. Heinz in the United States nobody in the Barossa responded by making an expanded business from growing and pickling cucumbers on a large scale.<sup>100</sup> The market mass with a liking for these foods was too small, and the larger buying public in the city was simply too far away. Furthermore, unlike Heinz who had the example of his family of wealthy businessmen and vigneron in Bavaria,<sup>101</sup> few German-speaking Barossa families had the entrepreneurial skills to become active capitalists. They clung to attitudes harking back to their German and Polish peasant origins, which affected their lives for generations.<sup>102</sup> Economic enterprise did not contribute to people's inclination for fermented foods and to their reliance on sour tastes.

Sour vegetables then were devoid of religious or cultural significance and even of economic structures supporting production and consumption. Nevertheless people continued to pursue the sour taste that satisfied them, and every year they went through the seasonal ritual of planting, pickling and eating, especially for

---

<sup>98</sup> Lois Jenke, interview (Rowland Flat: 2004).

<sup>99</sup> Anna Geier, interview (Greenock: 1994). Nevertheless old custom persisted, and Anna Geier recalled that family members and neighbours came often to her door to ask for her collected cucumber seed of the ancient variety.

<sup>100</sup> Robert C. Alberts, *The Good Provider: H. J. Heinz and his 57 Varieties* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), pp. 12–13, 122–123.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas, William I. and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Dover, 1958), pp. 164–169.

*Sauregurken*. Although detached from religious and political events, the vegetables were strongly connected to the seasons, for fermented pickles did not last indefinitely, and their successful supply depended on the weather vagaries affecting the harvest. Ancient customs endured the transfer to a different part of the world even in matters of planting, which involved observances far older than Christianity. Many people planted according to the waxing or waning of the moon and put the seed in the ground by moonlight so that the vegetables would grow successfully.<sup>103</sup> As with other ancient food practices like making bread and sausages, planting vegetables and pickling them bound people's lives to rhythms of the earth that had nothing to do with their rational beliefs and activities. Whether people practised superstitious behaviour fully believing in it or not, they were carrying out ancient customs in pursuit of the taste of their beloved sour vegetables.

### **Sour Tastes – An Organoleptic Pleasure?**

Nevertheless, some of the vegetables retained more popularity than others. Why was this? By 1939 people still salted green beans but no longer fermented them because sour beans could be poisonous. Families seem not to have had the same reservations about pickling turnips, but very few people did so, and the method was not sufficiently important for recording in people's recipe notebooks or *The Barossa Cookery Book*. Making and eating *Sauerkraut* continued but was on the decline.<sup>104</sup> The sour taste of fermented cucumbers, however, persisted from the time of early settlement to the twenty-first century. Pickled cucumbers endured

---

<sup>103</sup> Vera Bockmann, interview (Tanunda: 1993); Mona Doering, interview (Dutton: 1995).

<sup>104</sup> This was the perception of Colin Gramp, Lois Jenke and Bertha Hahn.



beyond 1939 to develop later as a cultural image, becoming part of the ritual championships at the local agricultural show and later generating several small but expanding businesses.

To a large extent the reasons for the varying fates of the three fermented vegetables relate to their organoleptic qualities. Even before the European emigrants departed, pickled turnips were not their favourite vegetable. Unlike Middle Eastern diners, who still enjoy them as an accompaniment to many dishes like falafel and pita bread, the gastronome Friedrich von Rumohr expressed his distaste:

In some parts of Germany and the Slavonic countries, people use these larger turnip varieties to make a sort of turnip *Sauerkraut*. The turnips are mashed up, salted and left to ferment like cabbage for *Sauerkraut*. This turnip *kraut* provides a useful and beneficial winter preserve when there are no other soured vegetable products available. The flavour resembles that of radishes and I personally have never been able to get used to it.<sup>105</sup>

Writing these words in 1822, von Rumohr was reflecting the new kind of cooking of his times. ‘It is the height of achievement to cook with grace,’ he wrote in the introduction to his book, *The Essence of Cookery*,<sup>106</sup> and ‘grace’ included fewer spices and a greater appreciation of milder, natural tastes. French recipes emphasising the intrinsic flavours of the principal ingredients were the new fashion,<sup>107</sup> and strong pickled turnips did not conform to the new European appreciation of restraint. Taste perceptions in Europe were undergoing a substantial change, which reached to the other side of the world, even to families where sharp, sour turnips had been a common dish. Those people in my interviews who

---

<sup>105</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p. 147.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>107</sup> Wiegmann, *Alltags- und Festspeisen*, p. 191; Jean-Louis Flandrin, ‘Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500–1800’, pp. 403–417.

remembered pickled turnips had little time for them.<sup>108</sup> The early nineteenth century was the age when Europeans experienced the taste of many new imported foods, like the potato, chocolate and coffee. Possibly the broadening of the range of tastes gave European people a more discriminating palate. Whatever the cause, pickled turnips were a casualty of the new movement.

The fate of *Sauerkraut* was made more complicated not only by its political connotations but by the difficulty that many cooks seemed to have in creating the proper fermentation for the desired mild taste. The best *Sauerkraut* undergoes a long, cool fermentation, which can last for up to a year in an ambient temperature of 7°C to ensure the most desirable bacterial control.<sup>109</sup> This environment is not always easy to achieve in Australian conditions. The temperature of the cellar in one well-preserved farmhouse in the Barossa remains a constant 14°C. At such a temperature or even higher *Sauerkraut* ferments more quickly. Its taste is still pleasing although not as mild, but in certain conditions the by-product may be pungent gas released from bacilli. It is perhaps no coincidence that the few cooks who still make *Sauerkraut* have not had this happen to their ferment.<sup>110</sup> Others, however, remember the unpleasant smell of the family cellar.<sup>111</sup> It could be tolerated out on a farm, but people living in the town could not accept the social embarrassment. It was bad enough being labelled a *Kraut* by outsiders, especially if a person's wife or friends of English extraction were feeling sensitive about their

---

<sup>108</sup> Olga Nitschke, interview (Tanunda: 2004); Stella Eckermann, interview (Tanunda: 1995); Winifred Schulz, interview (Tanunda: 1998); Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2005).

<sup>109</sup> Davidson, 'Sauerkraut', in *The Oxford Companion to Food*, p. 696.

<sup>110</sup> Bertha Hahn, interview (Light Pass: 2005); Don Ross, interview (Tanunda: 2004).

<sup>111</sup> Vera Bockmann, interview (Tanunda: 1993); Colin Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 2005). Colin said it smelled like 'old socks in summer'.

situation during the war.<sup>112</sup> Making *Sauerkraut* was no longer desirable. Besides, a very good substitute was to simmer cabbage with bacon, caraway and vinegar, obviating the need for the fermentation and for the terrible odour. As society became urbanised and modernised, the smell of cabbage fermentation offended people's noses. Whether it was more offensive because people's awareness was heightened by the mental conditioning of modernisation is hard to prove, although families from earlier generations may have been more tolerant of the *Sauerkraut* in their cellars.<sup>113</sup>

The very different fate of pickled cucumbers, *Sauregurken*, was less dependent on social reasons and more on matters of taste. No term like 'cucumber-eater' matched the derogatory word *Kraut*, and people felt relaxed about making and eating them. They appeared at many different occasions, at parties, on picnics or at simple family meals. Cool and succulent, they were an ideal food for warm weather, as indeed they had been in the Wendish areas of Brandenburg and in nearby Berlin.<sup>114</sup> Even more important was the fact that mild fermented cucumbers seemed easier to achieve than *Sauerkraut* and did not emit such an offensive gas in the process. Their structure made them ideal pickle material, as von Rumohr had pointed out:

Their glasslike, spongiform cell structure renders them exceptionally receptive to the introduction of outside flavours, and to the development of flavours inherent in them ... Quantities of excellent preserves are made with these fermented cucumbers in Bohemia, Lausitz [ie around Dresden] and all over the Slavonic North.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Colin Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 2005)

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*; Haden, *Technologies of Taste*, p. 88.

<sup>114</sup> Körber-Grohne, *Nutzpflanzen in Deutschland*, p. 304.

<sup>115</sup> Von Rumohr, *The Essence of Cookery*, p. 149.

The words of this gastronome place the emphasis exactly where it should lie in an examination of people's preferences for one sour food over another, for they recognise that the food itself offers certain characteristics and flavours inherently pleasing to the senses. Already socially and mentally conditioned to have a predilection for sourness, the person eating them derives degrees of pleasure in taste from superimposed layers of flavour and texture. These are the elements of discernment. They arise from often quite small differences in ingredients and handling, differences which people's sensitivities can be trained to identify.

Critical commentary helps wine tasters to make these identifications in wine, and one of Australia's prominent winemakers, Colin Gramp, can apply the same sensitivities to assessing sour cucumbers. Knowing that some local commercial producers of *Sauregurken* currently ferment them without vine leaves in imitation of a widespread practice in Europe and the United States (a practice which did not exist however in 1939), I asked Colin's opinion. Here is his reply:

There is a big difference in cucumbers made with or without vine leaves. The ones with vine leaves smell better. They have a fresher, slightly cleaner aroma. The cucumber fermented with bread has a rapid fermentation, three to four days faster than vine leaves. The acid in the vine leaves and tendrils and dill slows down the fermentation and the resultant flavour has a crisp, clean finish. You get the same smell when you crush the leaves of a cabernet-sauvignon grapevine. And when you nose a cabernet-sauvignon wine, you can pick out that same leaf smell. The same is happening with dill cucumbers: you get that blend of leaf in the smell.<sup>116</sup>

Not all who appreciate sour cucumbers can identify the overlays of flavour, the 'crisp, clean finish' on the back palate resulting from the leaves of the traditional recipe and the slow fermentation. But those with a good palate avoid cucumbers made by the small producers who speed the fermentation using bread instead of

---

<sup>116</sup> Colin Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

vine leaves, or who store their pickles in the back shed rather than in the cool cellar.<sup>117</sup> Those with a good palate who make their own go to great lengths to achieve the best results in the fermentation by timing procedures, measuring temperatures and gradually moving the jars into the cellar step by step.<sup>118</sup> Naturally they seek out Grenache vine leaves and the best salt before starting.<sup>119</sup> The nose and the tongue are the tyrants governing their behaviour.

## Conclusion

Colin Gramp's analysis of cucumbers fermented in vine leaves leads back to the chapter's opening comments. People's food choices differ from other aspects of human behaviour in that they have an extra motivation: the immediate pleasure of the senses. Organoleptic motivation provides one more factor to be taken into account in the study of a food culture transplanted from one part of the world to another. This chapter, like the preceding ones, has shown that some aspects of a particular food changed as a result of the food transfer while others remained the same. The practice of fermenting and souring vegetables was still strong in 1939 one hundred years after the arrival of the first settlers, and recipes resembled those which had appeared in European books centuries earlier. Apart from minor changes in some equipment used, methods of souring vegetables stayed the same. The changes lay in the degree to which these recipes continued to be made. Fermented beans perished (possibly along with their consumers), turnips for most people

---

<sup>117</sup> Lois Jenke, interview (Rowland Flat: 2004).

<sup>118</sup> Ian Rothe, interview for 'In the Black Kitchen: A Culinary History of the Barossa', on Nicole Steincke, ed., *Hindsight* (Sydney: ABC, April 23, 2000).

<sup>119</sup> Colin Gramp's family has always used Grenache for cucumbers because its acid content creates a superior fermentation.

became a disagreeable memory and *Sauerkraut*, the central and eastern European staple, lost considerable popularity. Pickled cucumbers, on the other hand, appeared at the meals of most families, nestling on party plates with devilled eggs and cold boiled fowl or sitting next to the cheese and wursts on the kitchen table. Late summer lacked zest without a plate of pickled *Sauregurken*!

Reasons behind the constancy or changeability of people's behaviour are never straightforward, but in this transfer of food practices from one place in the world to another some individual causes can be identified. Families in the Barossa had no religious reason for maintaining a tradition of soured vegetables, nor were the foods an integral part of the economic structure as they had been in Europe. Although fermented vegetables were obviously an important food in Barossa families' cultural identity, they fulfilled no symbolic function as part of any ritual meal proclaiming this identity in the way that they did for the Pennsylvania Dutch on New Year's Eve. Immediate political pressures might have stopped people from openly making and consuming *Sauerkraut*, but they did not cause the practice to disappear altogether. Besides, even though people no longer fermented the cabbage, they still made a dish that recreated the flavours as closely as possible; they still sought the sour taste.

Preference for a certain taste on the tongue comes from habit and conditioning. In the life of an individual it may begin with the early perceptions of an infant, transmitted through physical contact with the mother. For whole families, whole communities and whole ethnic groups of people, this transfer is perpetuated across generations, so that habits first begun can endure across centuries and may

even leave trails of evidence of people's migratory movements in the past. In time a set of taste preferences was forged from the foods that people made and that were habitually available. It would seem that, since peasants in northern and eastern central Europe processed and preserved their food for centuries by controlling its stages of decay, their taste buds became sensitive through habit and conditioning to the sour taste of lactic fermentation, a flavour that they came to enjoy. Their enjoyment caused them to seek out those flavours even in a new country. They made foods with those sour tastes, and the next generation, having ready access to them, enjoyed them as well. In the words of Pierre Bourdieu, 'an agent has what he likes because he likes what he has', and these tastes remain regardless of other cultural tags that may become attached to them.<sup>120</sup>

Adjustments to the basic continuum of sour-tasting fermented foods came principally from forces of nature, from biology and from the climate. Even though cold winters no longer required food preservation for survival, correctly soured foods gave a most agreeable physical feeling to accompany the sour taste. The climate could interfere with correct fermentation, having unwanted effects on people's health and on their sensations of taste and smell. Sensitivities to taste and smell, I concede, can alter over time for no apparent climatic or biological reason. Through transformations that began in the late eighteenth century and continued with the processes of modernisation and urbanisation in the ensuing centuries, some very strongly flavoured foods lost their appeal to the mouths and the noses of people whose ancestors' diet once relied on them. And yet some factors of taste

---

<sup>120</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 175.

persisted, independent of general social developments. Those who pursued them sought subtle nuances of flavour and texture that minutely determined the character of the food, in this case the fermented vegetable. Perceptions of these nuances, although they can be educated by critical commentary, rely on the response of the individual. Once awakened, they are a strong motivating force in a person's choice of food. For certain individuals among Barossa families they drove the food culture.



## **Chapter 9: *The Barossa Cookery Book*; Local Food in the 1930s**

### **Introduction**

The last decade before the Second World War (and the final decade of this study) saw the publication of the revised edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book*. For culinary history in the Barossa this was a significant event. Not only was the book presenting the concept of the Barossa as a region, as it had done ever since its first edition in 1917, but it was also revealing to the outside world culinary practices of people in the local community drawing on the produce and culture of the region in a far more comprehensive way than the previous editions had done. Arguably it was therefore an early regional cookery book in Australia. It was, in any event, a confident statement about food practices established in the region at that time and shows extraordinary changes in the repertoire of dishes made by cooks descended, many of them, from the nineteenth-century German-speaking settlers. Time needs to pass before a group of colonists settling in a region can establish themselves. Gradually they discover an affinity with the place where they live and with fellow inhabitants and adjust their food accordingly, as the previous chapters have shown. New dishes appear and traditional dishes change in subtle ways for different reasons. Such changes, reflected in the 1917 and (more comprehensively) 1932 editions of *The Barossa Cookery Book*, reveal much about the people who make the dishes, for food, as Mary Douglas maintains, can be a code. To Douglas the coded message lay in the social relationships expressed in the order of a meal, where the hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion of dishes expressed

the values of the diners.<sup>1</sup> A recipe book, too, is a code, where the message lies in the inclusion and exclusion of the recipes, their wording, their ingredients and the amendments made in subsequent editions. These factors can all make the book a social, economic and even political document, and in this way a recipe book can tell something of the values of the society that produced it.

Conversely, the context of its production explains why people chose the recipes and why they published the book in the first place. *The Barossa Cookery Book* in its two major editions of 1917 and 1932 shows a South Australian country community at two critical moments in its history, when a hybrid population of German and English people were coping with the external pressures of the First World War and later the economically depressed period of the 1930s. These events brought about the production of the book and largely determined the nature of its contents, as an examination of the recipes shows. Moreover, the recipes in *The Barossa Cookery Book* (particularly in the 1932 edition, to which the general public contributed following a request in the local newspaper) were bound to be a reasonable interpretation of several influences on the culinary practices of people living in the Barossa at the time of its publication. This chapter will examine the context and contents in separate editions and consider to what extent they reflected the food practices of Barossa families of the times, nearly one hundred years after the arrival of their ancestors. It will seek out and interpret elements that had endured as well as elements of influence and change.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', in Counihan and van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader*, p. 231.

### **How *The Barossa Cookery Book* Came Into Being**

The *Barossa Cookery Book* first appeared at a town gala event in 1917 to raise money for the South Australian Soldiers' Fund.<sup>2</sup> Such events, called Australia Days, were held annually in South Australian districts as in other parts of Australia from 1915 throughout the First World War and beyond. Towns in the Barossa held processions, queen competitions, gala stalls and twilight concerts, and their plans were published in *The Barossa News* in the months before the events. In 1917 Tanunda's planning began on 4 July for the 8 September event, largely at the instigation of Dr Jüttner, who had presided over the earlier Australia Day committees. Among the sub-committees was a women's committee, and among ideas tentatively put forward at the general meeting was the compiling of a cookery book.<sup>3</sup> With the event scheduled for 8 September, the recipe book seemed an ambitious project. Belatedly on 17 August an advertisement in *The Barossa News* announced that a 'cookery book containing 400 tried recipes' and priced 6d (but valued at £1) would be on sale on the appointed day. The time taken, starting in July, to canvass for recipes, to compile and edit the contributions, to prepare the book for printing and then to fold and collate the pages cannot have been more than eight weeks.<sup>4</sup> As no request for contributions had appeared in the local press, the committee must have acquired the recipes by approaching people personally.<sup>5</sup> In fewer than five weeks they had managed to gather 400 recipes from 226 donors.

---

<sup>2</sup> *Barossa Cookery Book*, 1917, unpagged.

<sup>3</sup> *Barossa News*, 6 July, 1917.

<sup>4</sup> A note of appreciation on one of the pages of the 1917 edition thanks the ladies of the Cheer-Up Society for folding and collating. This chapter refers to 'ladies' because it was the contemporary local term for women.

<sup>5</sup> *Barossa News*, 4 August, 1917.

Most of these were from the local district, but some were from further afield, and 32 were from Adelaide.

The newspaper report in the week following Tanunda's Australia Day said that the event organisers were pleased with the sales of the book and hoped to make £50/0/0 for the soldiers from its publication.<sup>6</sup> Sales of the book continued long after the war was over. Hundreds of copies sold each year from reprints and a slightly revised edition, and the profits went to the maintenance of the Tanunda Institute hall, which was later dedicated as a memorial to the soldiers. The Institute building was an important place of entertainment in the town, providing a library and a venue to hold concerts, balls, children's frolics and, most important of all, moving pictures. But in 1930 cookery book sales fell dramatically, just at a time when the Institute funds needed a boost. In the depressed financial climate of 1931 the state government withdrew its funds for Institutes, and yet the committee needed to buy equipment for showing the new sound movies from England and Hollywood to attract continuing patronage and income, for they still had to pay off their overdraft. They planned some concentrated fund-raising, and on 2 May 1932 they resolved to revise and enlarge the recipe book.<sup>7</sup> This time the process involved public consultation, for all ladies were invited by an advertisement in the local paper to attend a meeting on 16 May 'to discuss and arrange for the revision of the very popular Barossa Cookery Book.'<sup>8</sup> The public appeal brought a widespread response and two weeks later nearly 600 more recipes had reached the committee. Finally on 1 September 1932 the Institute Committee announced that copies of the new

---

<sup>6</sup> *Barossa News*, 24 August, 1917.

<sup>7</sup> State Records of South Australia, Minutes of the Tanunda Institute, 2 May (Tanunda, 1932).

<sup>8</sup> *Barossa News*, 12 May, 1932.

edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* had arrived from the printers with a ‘very attractive... new cover design... of considerable artistic merit’. That same artistic design is still on the cover today, and even after 32 reissues the basic contents, illustrations and layout remain the same as they were in 1932.<sup>9</sup>

### **The Cookery Book and the Barossa’s German Background**

The contents of the first edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* make clear the kind of Barossa image Dr Jüttner and the rest of the committee wanted to communicate to the outside world. That edition was an exercise in patriotism. In a time of war the Barossa region and other German-speaking settlements across Australia, accused of disloyalty, were suffering discrimination. In 1917 a xenophobic state government announced that the Lutheran schools would close, and a year earlier unknown persons had tried to burn down the Lutheran church in Angaston.<sup>10</sup> Understandably, the book contained very few recipes taken from the Germanic heritage of many local people. Essentially it was a book of English recipes like drop scones, meat roll and ginger nuts. They included a wholesome recipe for scalloped fish from Sister Ronaque (a nurse at the Keswick army barracks) and a recipe purportedly sent from the trenches by Private Offe for porridge made from soaked army biscuits, reminding readers of the discomfort suffered by local lads in the war. Many recipes had flag-waving names like Prince of Wales cake, Victoria pudding and Exeter stew. All of this, prominently supported by the names of Adelaide’s contributing society ladies, was saying ‘Look

---

<sup>9</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932.

<sup>10</sup> *Barossa News*, 15 June 1917; *Ibid.*, 4 August, 1916.

at us! We in the Barossa are all loyal citizens, too, and we even eat the same foods as you do!’ And in part they were correct, as the recipes in the informal handwritten women’s notebooks dating from the first decades of the twentieth century show.<sup>11</sup>

But in culinary matters they were only partly correct, for a certain amount of concealment was taking place. For some of the Tanunda ladies in the book these English recipes were merely a supplement to an accustomed fare that included *Sauerkraut* and fermented pickled cucumbers. They knew that German food was a sensitive subject. ‘Better not to talk about these things in public,’ the daughter of one explained later in her autobiography.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, in spite of public concealment, a few traditional recipes printed under innocuous names did slip into the published book. One was a traditional German recipe for Christmas biscuits commonly called *Weihnachtskuchen* or ‘ammonia biscuits’ because of their unusual ingredient. Margie Homburg of Tanunda called them ‘Kilbourne biscuits’, and seventy years later people in the district still knew that to make their ammonia biscuits they could look in *The Barossa Cookery Book* and find the Kilbourne biscuit recipe of Margie Homburg.<sup>13</sup> Social cohesion at the time of the book’s first publication was based on a certain pragmatic complicity in creating an image for the outside world.

The enlarged 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* was, like the first edition, a political barometer. By the time of its appearance pressure from the

---

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>12</sup> Vera Bockmann, *Full Circle* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1987), p. 10. Vera’s mother, a recipe contributor, was Mrs. Chris. Hoffmann, a well-known owner of a winery.

<sup>13</sup> Margie Homburg, ‘Kilbourne Biscuits’, in the *Barossa Cookery Book*, 1917, unpagged.

First World War had long since subsided. Women in households that had maintained their traditional family food were still cooking to German recipes and were no longer careful to conceal the fact. Now they felt inclined to contribute some of these when the organising committee asked publicly for recipes. The new wave of contributions included about 50 German recipes, a few with overtly German names like *Armer Ritter* and *Blitzkuchen*. These recipes seemed to sit self-consciously among the others, almost as if they were an exotic offering even to local women. Indeed, *Armer Ritter*, a dessert made of stale bread dipped in egg, fried and sprinkled with sugar and cinnamon, appeared in German cookbooks only in the 1890s, a relatively recent time (although it was no doubt consumed without being published under its poetic name before then).<sup>14</sup> *Blitzkuchen* existed in 1834 but became more widely known in Germany and in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> Other traditional recipes in *The Barossa Cookery Book*, however, were very old recipes handed down through many centuries, like Christmas honey biscuits. Historic recipes based on cultured yeasts included the instructions for making mettwurst sausage and sour salted cucumbers fermented in vine leaves. Most appeared under English titles. Of the nine recipes for honey biscuits only two retained the German *Honig Kuchen*, and nobody wrote the German title for the yeast cake that by then was known in the region as ‘German cake’. Language and identity were in a state of transition, especially in the public forum.

---

<sup>14</sup> Weber, *Bürgerliches Kochbuch*, p.220.

<sup>15</sup> Gleim, *Bremisches Kochbuch*, p. 374. In the United States, Mrs Simon Kander *The Settlement Cook Book*, pp. 340–341, had three versions. The recipe appeared in 1909 in Richard Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst*, p. 102.

And yet the method of making German cake remained true to old recipes. The original name for this traditional cake was *Streuselkuchen*, and possibly the earliest printed recipe for the cake appeared in the *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, first published in Berlin in the early 1830s.<sup>16</sup> Even at that date the cake was culturally important, occupying the first position in the list of *Hefenbackwerk* in this Silesian cookbook. The recipe book was for *bürgerliche* cooks, but the cake probably appeared on tables for country feasting in Silesia as well. Far less sweet than the rich *Tortes* of the gentry, it was nevertheless a treat needing extra money for the sugar and wheaten flour.<sup>17</sup> Among the early Lutheran settlers in South Australia the cake had significant cultural meaning, for the first arrivals advised intending emigrants from their home districts to bring as an essential part of their luggage dried yeast for making *Kuchen*.<sup>18</sup> In the 1850s Adelaide settlers brought freshly baked *Streuselkuchen* to welcome new arrivals at Outer Harbour.<sup>19</sup> Generations of descendants called it *Kuchen* as though they had never known any other kind of cake, and its presence at weddings, funerals, christenings and birthdays was universal. The traditional recipes for this yeast cake in *The Barossa Cookery Book* in 1932 bear a close resemblance to the 1835 recipe as the following comparison will show.

---

<sup>16</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. 161.

<sup>17</sup> Jacob, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe*, p.36; Teuteberg and Lesniczak, 'Alte ländliche Festtagsmahlzeiten', p. 324; Günter Wiegelmann, 'Zucker und Süßwaren im Zivilisationsprozeß der Neuzeit', in Teuteberg and Wiegelmann, eds, *Unsere tägliche Kost*, pp. 143–144.

<sup>18</sup> August Fiedler, letter quoted in David Schuber, ed., *Kavel's People*, p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> Anna Ey, *Early Lutheran Congregations of South Australia*, p. 25.



*Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen... von einer Schlesischen Hausfrau* (Berlin, 1835), p. 161.

#### **Streuselkuchen**

Put 5 pounds flour in a baking dish, make a well in the middle and pour in  $\frac{3}{4}$  quart of yeast,  $\frac{3}{4}$  quart of milk, fifteen well beaten eggs, a little salt,  $\frac{3}{4}$  pound sugar, half quart of (clarified) butter,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb almonds, (half sweet, half bitter,) some nutmeg and the grated rind of one lemon. Now beat the mixture with a big wooden spoon until it is smooth and shiny. If the dough is too stiff, add a little warm milk and work it well. Now place the dough in a warm place to rise until it is ready to use. Then roll it out, on a greased slide, having previously mixed flour with a little sugar, and kneaded into it melted butter to make a crumbly topping. Spread this over the cake and bake it until it is done.

*Thue 5 Pfund Mehl in eine Backschüssel, mache in der Mitte eine Höhlung, gieße drei viertel Quart Hefen, drei viertel Quart Milch, eide Mandel gut zerquielte Eier, etwas salz, drei Viertel Pfund Zucker, ein halb Quart Butter, ein Viertelpfund Mandeln, Halb suß halb bitter, etwas Muskat und die abgeriebene Schale einer Zitrone darein, nun schlage den Teig mit einem großen Kochlöffel so lange nach einer Seite, bis er Blasen schlägt; quillt das Mehl sehr stark, so gieße noch etwas laue Milch daran und verarbeite sie wohl, stele nun den Teig an einen warmen Ort zum Aufgehen imd verwemde ihn darauf zum weiteren Gebrauch. Rolle von dem Hefenteige auf ein, mit Butter bestrichenes Blech; mische vorher Mehl mit etwas Zucker, knete dies Gemisch mit abgeklärter Butter zu Streusel, belege den Kuchen damit und backe ihn gar.*

Mrs A. A. Kuchel, 'German Cake' in *The Barossa Cookery Book* (Tanunda, 1932), p. 101.

#### **German Cake**

Eight cups plain flour,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cups sugar, 1 cup butter, 4 eggs,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cups milk, 1 teaspoon essence of vanilla, 2 teaspoons ground mace, 1 dessertspoon salt, 1 cup sultanas,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cups yeast.

Melt butter in milk, mix all dry ingredients together with a wooden spoon. Beat eggs well, add to warm milk, mix; add yeast, and keep stirring the dough for 20 minutes or  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour. Leave in a warm place to rise. Spread on greased slides and leave to rise again, and, when well risen, brush the top of cake with sweetened milk. Mix together 1 cup sugar, 1 cup plain flour,  $\frac{1}{4}$  lb butter, essence of vanilla, pinch salt; put on top, scatter chopped almonds over, bake for 20 minutes in fairly hot oven on bottom shelf.

Comparing the two recipes shows that this traditional cake with cultural connotations for festive occasions did not change significantly, and bakers and many domestic cooks still made the same version right up to the Second World War and beyond.

Although the anglicised titles of the recipes showed a general decline in people's use of the German language, their festive cake, traditional sausage and sour pickle recipes in the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* required an understanding of fermentation and had the characteristic yeasty flavours of fermented food. Even the honey biscuit dough required curing for several days, as the recipe on page 63 of the book shows. The mettwurst, moreover, required smoking (although directions for this procedure did not appear in the recipe). These techniques provided the characteristic flavours and textures of local people's traditional European food. Occasionally in the instructions a German word replaced the English. For example, in her recipe for fowl soup Miss Eichele instructed cooks to add 'spaghetti, commonly called *nudeln*.'<sup>20</sup> These German insertions gave the revised *Barossa Cookery Book* a distinct character when it appeared in September 1932. Announcing the reissue of the book in *The Barossa News* and in the minutes of the Institute meetings, the sub-committee expressed pride in the recipes representing their district, and they also thanked the local printing firm, Auricht's, for the hard work of its editor and compositor, J. F. W. Schulz.<sup>21</sup>

The production of this revised cookery book was merely one of a growing number of overt expressions of people's German ancestry. The worsening world economic situation might have contributed to this renewed emphasis on cultural identity; anthropologist Jonathan Friedman has observed that people's cultural and religious associations become important to them in periods of

---

<sup>20</sup> Miss E. Eichele of Tanunda, 'Fowl Soup' in *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> *Barossa News*, 1 February 1934; Minutes of the Tanunda Institute, 1 May, 1933.

economic decline.<sup>22</sup> Many Australians of German descent throughout the country were renewing contact with extended family members in Germany. Occasionally Barossa people hosted visitors from Germany who happened to be passengers on ships berthed at Outer Harbour. One such visitor, Count von Lückner, received a warm welcome in Tanunda partly because of his well-publicised maritime voyages and partly because authorities in Adelaide had requested that he be given local hospitality.<sup>23</sup> How other people read these developments depended on their own backgrounds. Journalist Duncan Holmes, who was a boy living in Angaston at the time, claims that people of English descent began to feel unnerved because more people were speaking German, and they could not understand them. Holmes' perception was that even food was used as a political statement, and that English people in Angaston supported butcher Turner who sold innocent lamb chops, distinguishing themselves from the so-called Germans who went to butcher Schulz to buy the garlic-filled wursts hanging in his window.<sup>24</sup> Whether in the years before the Second World War this paranoia was widespread or not, the truth is that many people of German descent were also eating lamb or mutton chops, often via recipes in *The Barossa Cookery Book*, and most simply regarded themselves as Australian, even if their names happened to be Schiller or Obst.

For many like the Tanunda land agent and community leader Friedrich (Fritz) Homburg (half brother of the state's Attorney General) German songs, music and food simply belonged to a mixed range of normal activities. Homburg would spend

---

<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity & Global Process* (London: Sage, 1994), p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth M. Schulz, *Guilty Till Proven Innocent* (Adelaide: unpublished thesis, University of South Australia, 1987), p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> Duncan Holmes, 'This is War' (Toronto: unpublished article, 1996).

the afternoon playing cricket or bowls and go out to conduct the local *Liedertafel* men's choir singing German songs in the evening, having consumed a typical meal of cold meat, potato salad and sour cucumbers.<sup>25</sup> This was not a declaration of German sympathies; it was just the way life was. As this thesis has illustrated, the food in the Homburg house was a synthesis of influences. Fritz Homburg as chairman of the Institute committee presided over the production of the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book*.<sup>26</sup> Possibly it included German family recipes because of his influence. (He was very interested in food and convened food competitions at the local agricultural show for many years.<sup>27</sup>) Certainly, the committee members seem to have obtained some recipes by personal request, for the local newspaper of 30 June 1932 said that they were still looking to certain well-known cooks to deliver their recipes, suggesting some sort of deliberate editorial direction.<sup>28</sup>

Deliberate or not, the book introduced German recipes at a time when the whole country was regarding Germany with positive interest. In 1933 *The Advertiser* newspaper in Adelaide was affirming that Hitler was good for Germany. As late as 1938 Australia's Prime Minister Robert Menzies said about Germany in Federal Parliament: 'There is a good deal of really spiritual quality in the willingness of young Germans to devote themselves to the service and well-being of the state.'<sup>29</sup> The recipes in the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book*

---

<sup>25</sup> Robert Homburg, son of Fritz Homburg, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

<sup>26</sup> Minutes of the Tanunda Institute, 2 May, 1932.

<sup>27</sup> Colin and Josie Gramp, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

<sup>28</sup> *Barossa News*, 30 June, 1932.

<sup>29</sup> Ian Harmstorf, 'South Australia's Germans in World War II' (Adelaide: South Australian German Association, 1987), <http://www.sagermanassociation.asn.au/images/WW11.doc> accessed in May, 2005. The parliamentary reference is CPD, 1 September 1938.

indicated the climate of the times. They were a barometer but not a political statement, either on the part of the organisers or on the part of the contributors, who were likely to contribute a recipe for mettwurst and follow it up with another for good old English steak and kidney pudding.<sup>30</sup> They reflected a society where two strong cultures were stirred together. At the subsequent outbreak of war the rest of the world could not see this. The rest of the world saw only one side of the culture. It is unfortunate that as a result two prominent community members who contributed to many aspects of local life found themselves interned for un-Australian activities; they were Fritz Homburg and J. F. W. Schulz. Their internment was not, of course, the result of their connection with *The Barossa Cookery Book*, but their diligent work on the book and its combination of German recipes in a principally English collection are a good summary of where their values lay. Other townspeople had similar values and espoused both British and German customs. Their position was encoded in the recipes included and excluded in different editions of *The Barossa Cookery Book*.

### **Australia's First Regional Recipe Book?**

The first edition of the *Barossa Cookery Book* might have had a more political message than the 1932 edition, but in another way both had a single purpose. They aimed to promote the Barossa as a region of note within the district and to the world at large. The *verso* of the front cover in 1917 addressed the reading audience of cooks beyond the boundaries of the Barossa region. The editors

---

<sup>30</sup> Mrs G. Stelzer, recipes for Metwurst and Beef Steak and Kidney Pudding, *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 14, 21.

invited people to send *The Barossa News* a postcard if they wanted information about local industries. They called the Barossa 'The Canaan of Australia' and gave a brief summary of the income brought to the region from its wine, apples, cereal crops, marble and other minerals. Advertisements and photographs scattered through the pages offered mail-order facilities and gave names and views of local hotels and their dining rooms. This was an active promotion for potential visitors and investors. The Barossa was on display as a region in its first published collection of recipes. The notion of a Barossa region that extended beyond the immediate vicinity of the Barossa Range was sustained by the broad area from which people sent in their recipes. Apart from the Adelaide recipes and fifteen from country contacts, contributions for the first edition came from a wide expanse of the local district. Most of the recipes were from women in Tanunda, but the rest ranged as far as Kapunda in the west and Sedan in the east, from Koonunga in the north to Lyndoch in the south. This catchment area of contributors, extending beyond the Barossa's geographical boundaries as a valley but still within the locally recognised cultural boundaries, suggests an extraordinary social network of the women in Tanunda. Although extensive, the area corresponds closely to the present-day Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation's Table of Geographical Indications set down in 1993 for identifying wines as being from the Barossa.<sup>31</sup>

The producers of the 1932 book, like the 1917 committee, aimed to extend the Barossa's reputation much further than the boundaries of the region.

---

<sup>31</sup> 'Wine Regions – Geographical Indications' (Australian Wine & Brandy Corporation, 2003), <http://www.awbc.com.au>, accessed June 2005 under 'Wine Regions'.

Advance publicity in the local newspaper had expansive ideas about the book's future:

If this appeal by the committee meets with the response it deserves, there is no doubt that the new issue of the Cookery Book will be regarded throughout Australia as the one cookery book of outstanding excellence, bring added fame to the district, distinction to those who contribute to its contents and pleasure to thousands around the dinner tables of the commonwealth.

As in the past, every recipe printed will carry beneath it the name of the person by whom it was donated, thus carrying the names of our most capable cooks to every corner of the Commonwealth, from Queensland to Western Australia. The new edition will, as past editions have done, find its way into every district.<sup>32</sup>

These bombastic claims proved to have some substance, for the Institute Committee continued to receive orders for *The Barossa Cookery Book* from other states for many years, helping them to pay for the maintenance of the Institute hall.

Because of the widespread use of its successful offerings over at least three generations, *The Barossa Cookery Book* became an essential tool in a great many local households on farms and in towns, and cooks affectionately called it *The Barossa*. An informal survey that I conducted among local Barossa cooks in 2005 showed that they still referred to the book in this way. Its recipes had their own identity because they were signed. Barossa people loved to share food at social events, and when people asked for the recipe it was easy to identify it by the contributor's name. They might say, 'That's Mrs Nettelbeck's recipe for Henley cake. It's in *The Barossa*.'<sup>33</sup> Quite possibly through this connection the book

---

<sup>32</sup> *Barossa News*, 16 June, 1932.

<sup>33</sup> Di (Koch) Litterini (Vine Vale); Jenny Kolovs (Tanunda); Yvonne Burgemeister (Light Pass); Dianne Sonntag (Tanunda); Olga Lehmann (Tanunda); Linda Kroschel (Angaston); Esma Hein (Tanunda); Melva Schmidt (Light Pass); Gloria Rosenzweig (Moculta); Malcolm Seppelt (Marananga); Colin Gramp (Tanunda); Leonie Tschärke (Bethany), interviews, 2005. Countless conversations with local people over five decades reinforce this statement.

helped to create a regional identity and social cohesion among women.<sup>34</sup> But even if this claim is unsubstantiated, *The Barossa Cookery Book* certainly reinforced already existing networks in the region, networks created by linked church congregations, sporting and cultural liaisons and marriage patterns across the community.<sup>35</sup> People from all groups could read and try each other's recipes regardless of the outside world. One recipe for native currant jam recorded a use of the local indigenous berries *acrotricha depressa* described in Chapter 2, berries so popular that local people had very quickly formed traditions of gathering and preserving them in spring.<sup>36</sup> Numerous too were the recipes making use of local produce, including apples, dried fruits, oranges, plums, nuts, tomatoes, potatoes and other vegetables, local game (pigeons and hares), poultry, butter, cream and eggs. People would not find it difficult to obtain these ingredients produced in the region. To the extent that the publication represented the cooks of a region and their local ingredients, it was a local cookery book. To the extent that it circulated signed recipes, it articulated regional practices and created psychological links. Those factors, together with the title created in 1917 and the deliberate promotion of the Barossa to the rest of the world, made it a regional community cookbook, possibly the first in Australia.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, pp. 64–67. Mennell discusses the effect of increased literacy and the printed word on cooking practices.

<sup>35</sup> Di (Koch) Litterini, interview (Vine Vale: 2005); Jenny Kolovs, interview (Gomersal: 2005).

<sup>36</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 121; Angela Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, pp. 148–150.

<sup>37</sup> Another possible contender is *The Hawkesbury and Shoalhaven Calendar, Cultural and Cookery Guide and Useful Household Compendium* (Sydney : Woodhill Printing Works, 1905), but the recipes in this book have not been contributed under names of members of the community.



### **A Comprehensive Account of the Region's Cuisine?**

A regional cookbook is a reasonable place to look for a general profile of the culinary practices of a region. In this regard the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* presumably gave a more reliable account than the 1917 edition, because the recipes in 1932 came initially from a public request. A close examination of this edition shows that, whereas in 1917 the number of local women with German names contributing recipes was twice the number of English, in 1932 it was approximately six times the number. The local women with German names numbered 145 compared with 23 English. This preponderance of local German cooks in 1932, however, delivered only 47 recipes from their German ancestry and 490 recipes identified as English. Unavoidably, these figures cannot give a completely accurate picture, for they cannot show which people with German names were English women married into German families and *vice versa*, and they portray only the people who were literate enough to read the newspaper request and write out the recipes, with the leisure to do so. Notwithstanding these limitations, the numerical evidence shows an overwhelming adoption of dishes that appeared in English recipe books of the day, including scones, tomato sauce and sponge cakes, all contributed by women with German names. The pattern is close to the one apparent in the hand-written recipe notebooks of the era belonging to women of German-speaking backgrounds. The picture does not include those in debt-ridden families who were so poor, for example, that they were thankful to receive a life-saving gift of a bowl of dripping from their neighbours, or who had to sell any produce of their own like eggs and butter to meet the family's financial

commitments, but it does show that many people's diets were accommodating new dishes and were relying less on food practices from the past.<sup>38</sup>

The fifty German recipes in the third edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* gave the book a character that prompted people in later years to regard its combination of German and English recipes as a true summation of the food culture of the Barossa. But the assumption that *The Barossa Cookery Book* faithfully recorded what is termed 'regional cuisine' requires further examination. To have a regional cuisine, writes Barbara Santich, a geographical area needs cultural cohesion and a distinguishing regional identity.<sup>39</sup> Regional cuisine is usually epitomised, according to Santich, by 'a collection of recognised dishes that depend on certain locally available ingredients and illustrate certain flavour combinations and cooking preparation methods characteristic of, if not particular to, the region.'<sup>40</sup> The Barossa region and its food had those elements. Cultural cohesion existed when the cookery book was published and later revised, as far as any community can remain cohesive and still have contact with the changing world. The characteristic flavour combinations and cooking preparation methods of the traditional dishes constituted a definite cuisine with cultural and at times local regional foundations. How completely the 1932 version of *The Barossa Cookery Book* represented this cultural and local regional cuisine now requires consideration.

---

<sup>38</sup> Ivy Zwar, interview (Nuriootpa: 1997); Olga Lehmann, interview (Tanunda: 2005); Beverly Pech, interview (Vine Vale: 1994). These people all described family struggles at times of extreme poverty. Ivy Zwar said that her neighbour claimed to have been saved from starvation because people had given her a bowl of dripping.

<sup>39</sup> Santich, *Looking for Flavour*, p. 130.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

In the first place the book's influence on local cooking practice was not comprehensive because cooks derived their recipes from other sources as well. My informal survey showed that, when it came to the really old recipes, many people preferred to use their mother's notebooks, although they still looked to the published book for a good many cakes, biscuits and puddings and particularly for jams, sauces and relishes which would use up home-grown produce. Some households also used the *Green and Gold Cookery Book* as a supplementary source.<sup>41</sup> *The Chronicle* newspaper with Mary Broughton's column for women readers was another popular source of recipes. Even the *Lutheran Almanac*, which found its way into many family kitchens, contained recipes, often of indeterminate origin; the two in 1918 were for lentil rissoles and banana custard.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, all people interviewed said that they adapted recipes from *The Barossa Cookery Book* to suit their own tastes. Referring to their tattered, greasy copies, they read out notes which had been made in the margin not only by themselves but by their mothers and even grandmothers: 'not so much pepper; use less salt; add an extra egg'. Cooking of this kind was for many a creative process not bound by prescriptive recipes, and the comments formed a link between generations in a family, producing family characteristics in food as well as regional ones. Thus, family versions developed beyond *The Barossa Cookery Book* (which however did capture these nuances when several versions appeared for the same recipe, for example, honey biscuits).

---

<sup>41</sup> Annie L. Sharman, ed., *Green and Gold Cookery Book* (Adelaide, published by the author? 1923).

<sup>42</sup> *Luther Almanac for the 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Beginning of the Great Reformation*, 1917, p. 118–119.

Most significantly, some important recipes made by a great many people across the district did not reach the pages of the 1932 edition. Familiar farm recipes for smallgoods (fermented, cooked or smoked) from pig-killing day, such as blood sausage and liver sausage, were excluded, perhaps because they were unlikely to attract town cooks. Missing too was the traditional dish of smoked meat, stewed pie melon and dumplings, commonly called *Pompenbrei*, made from the meat smoked at the pigkilling.<sup>43</sup> This, like the sweet poppyseed pudding *Mohnklöße* served on Christmas Eve, was the fare of Lutheran families whose Silesian German traditions were deeply entrenched, families for whom nevertheless *The Barossa Cookery Book* might be a common reference for cooking.<sup>44</sup> Local cheeses like *Quark* (a fresh curd) and *Kochkäse* (an aged curd denatured by gentle heating) did not appear, and yet even townspeople made these. Fermented *Sauerkraut* escaped the list (for reasons explored in the previous chapter), although its preparation is similar to that of sour cucumbers, which were included. More surprising was the omission of the liquid yeast preparation necessary to make German cake. Two recipes in the book required it and expected that cooks would know the procedure.<sup>45</sup> And most remarkable was the absence of a recipe for the salad of finely sliced cucumbers with cream and vinegar that accompanied Christmas dinner in nearly every Barossa household.

These recipes were all unsophisticated German fare, part of the repertoire of country women with traditions from eastern central Europe. Their

---

<sup>43</sup> It did, however, contain a similar recipe with pickled pork, dumplings and quinces, without naming the dish.

<sup>44</sup> Wally Stiller, interview (Tanunda: 2005).

<sup>45</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 101, 112.

absence from the book regrettably misrepresented Barossa regional cuisine although not as much as the omission of some other dishes that had adapted to the environment and resources in Australia and were therefore unique. For example, the book completely ignored several delicious and well-loved variations of yeast German cake. It gave no instructions for the version that had layers of fresh sultana grapes under the *Streusel*. The version with grapes is unknown in Germany. It appears to have originated in the Barossa and although widely made for several generations did not appear in a printed cookbook until 1994.<sup>46</sup> When people began to adopt chemical raising agents instead of fermented yeast for leavening, two other versions of German cake topped with *Streusel* circulated in the community. They had beer or cooked mashed potatoes mixed into the dough to create the yeasty flavours and springy texture of baked yeast dough without yeast leavening, taking advantage instead of chemical technology. Beer cake and potato cake became popular local cakes. Covered with *Streusel*, they were significantly different from the *Bierkuchen* and *Kartoffelkuchen* in German recipe books, and yet they received no mention in *The Barossa Cookery Book*.<sup>47</sup> Such an oversight excluded unique recipes, which should join the list of dishes for South Australian regional cuisine. Most surprising of all was the omission of *Rote Grütze*, the dish described in a previous chapter. It may be that the simplicity of *Rote Grütze* caused it to be overlooked. And yet this and the yeast cake variations were important Barossa

---

<sup>46</sup> Renate Schach von Wittenau, German food writer, interview (Hanover: 1996); *Riches from the Vine* (Nuriootpa: Soroptimist International Barossa Valley, 1994), pp. 73–74.

<sup>47</sup> Krummenerl, *Küchenrenner für Landschaftskenner*, pp. 122, 125; Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst*, pp. 558–559; Renate Schach von Wittenau, *Sachsen bittet zu Tisch* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1999), p. 80. None of these cakes is topped in the Barossa-style *Streusel*, and most contain yeast, unlike the Barossa versions.

dishes. They are the local cuisine's founding elements. A self-proclaimed regional production *The Barossa Cookery Book* might have been, but like numbers of regional cookery books published in Germany and other places from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, it was not a complete representation of the region's cuisine.<sup>48</sup>

### ***The Barossa Cookery Book : Portrait of an Urbanising Society***

What *The Barossa Cookery Book* did depict was a society increasingly based in townships, adopting industrialised cooking methods and ingredients and foods brought into the district as a result of global trade. In this respect the Barossa region was no different from many other places in the western world, including the areas of Prussia from which the Barossa settlers had departed. Urbanisation received a boost in Prussia between 1811 and 1848 when many serfs, obliged to sell their plots of land to their overlords to fulfill conditions of their emancipation, moved to the cities.<sup>49</sup> (Alternatively, motivated partly by religious beliefs, they departed for lands overseas, including Australia.) Suffering, poverty, overcrowding and disease accompanied the growth of cities but so did the gradual rise of a middle class of people with increased standards of living and new opportunities and experiences.<sup>50</sup> These were the reading audience for many nineteenth-century cookbooks. Even in the 1830s recipe books written in Germany promoted *bürgerliche Küche*, giving the most convenient, easiest and cheapest preparation methods for young city

---

<sup>48</sup> Schlegel-Matthies, '*Regionale speisen in deutschen Kochbüchern des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*', p. 215.

<sup>49</sup> Davies, *Europe: A History*, pp. 767, 774.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 781.

housewives and their staff.<sup>51</sup> By the time the late Isabella Beeton's publishers had issued her substantially revised *Book of Household Management* in 1888 and Elise Weber's *Bürgerliches Kochbuch's* 25<sup>te</sup> edition appeared in the 1890s, recipe books were addressing busy town cooks who had limited kitchen space with little scope for processing meat. The books catered for this situation in their recipes and cooking instructions.<sup>52</sup> Unlike earlier German urban cookbooks, Elise Weber's instructions to urban householders assumed that meat would come from the butcher ready to prepare without the preliminary mess (although it still assumed that the kitchen would have a smokehouse).<sup>53</sup> Henriette Davidis' book from the same era included a section on afternoon teas and *thés dansants*.<sup>54</sup> These books reflected a way of life shaped by growing European urbanisation.<sup>55</sup> On the other side of the world in the Barossa, cooking was adapting to town life as well although with a slightly different emphasis.

In the Barossa, as the populations of the towns grew, structures reflecting a middle-class way of life like afternoon teas, regular At Home days, calling cards, tennis, bridge and croquet parties began to provide part of the framework underlying the need to serve town-style foods. The society that would support such activities was developing well before the First World War.<sup>56</sup> It came with a growth

---

<sup>51</sup> *Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch*, p. iv; Beeton, *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London, Ward, Lock & Co., 1888), p. v.

<sup>52</sup> Weber, *Bürgerliches Kochbuch, 25<sup>th</sup> Edition*, Vorwort. The books addressed the mistress of the house as well as her household day or live-in staff.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

<sup>54</sup> Henrietta Davidis-Holle, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die bewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, 1890, p. 587.

<sup>55</sup> Teuteberg, 'The Escape from the Malthusian Trap and the Beginning of the "Nutritional Revolution"', pp. 12–15.

<sup>56</sup> *Barossa News*, 8 January, 1910, announced that for the present Mrs Angas was discontinuing her 'At Home' days on account of the weather.

in the population of towns from an influx of government officers, winemakers, bank managers, school teachers and postal officials. These people, as well as clerks and labourers, brought families with mostly English surnames to the towns and created a new urban climate. They established secular groups like sporting clubs; women were playing town tennis matches by 1908.<sup>57</sup> The correlation between sporting clubs and recipes sent to *The Barossa Cookery Book* shows clearly in the early minute books of the Tanunda Croquet Club, which held its inaugural meeting in 1924. Afternoon tea was an important part of the agenda, and each member resolved to bring two teacups and two teaspoons to equip the clubhouse.<sup>58</sup> Food and recipes must have occupied the women's conversation because sixteen members of the twenty-three listed in the 1932 minutes book of this socially stable club donated between them 70 recipes to the 1932 edition of the cookery book.<sup>59</sup> Their backgrounds were both English and German and, apart from a few members attending from other towns, their networks extended mainly to the Church of England and to Tabor and St John's Lutheran congregations, which provided the nucleus of Tanunda town society.

Contributions showed that the tastes of local people moving in town society circles were becoming sophisticated. For the revised version of *The Barossa Cookery Book* the committee's public request in the local newspaper asked for recipes suitable for hors d'oeuvres, entrées, savouries, punches and cocktails. Two recipes for soufflés appeared in the 1932 edition, and the noted winemaker Mr. R. Buring supplied fifteen cocktail recipes for summer and winter. The whole

---

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, sports results for tennis, 11 November, 1908.

<sup>58</sup> Tanunda Croquet Club minutes of the first meeting, 3 December, 1924.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, minutes of Annual General Meeting, 15 September, 1932.



rearrangement of the book to include new categories suggested a life in which townspeople entertained at dinner with soup and fish before the main course and elegant or at least 'dainty' sweets to follow, like hock pudding and *Blitz Kuchen*.<sup>60</sup> People attended afternoon teas, where the trolley offered plates of scones, sandwiches and biscuits of many kinds. They threw parties, and with alcoholic drinks they served platters of savoury morsels like cheese straws, sour cucumbers, cold fowl and devilled eggs. They danced at balls where at supper afterwards they treated themselves to 'trifles, fruit salads, cream puffs and cakes of endless variety and tastiness.'<sup>61</sup> Some chapters in *The Barossa Cookery Book* give the impression that life was carefree indeed in 1932. Readers might have difficulty believing that the recipes reflected people's eating habits during the Great Depression, considering that an apple cake, for example, required half a pound of butter and four eggs.<sup>62</sup> But even in town most people had their own fowls providing eggs for home consumption. Farms on the outskirts had supplies of butter and cream. Paradoxically, if fewer merchants or customers had money to buy these commodities, the butter and eggs were available for farm cooks to use. The crash on Wall Street did not stop the hens from laying or the cows from lactating. The diets of many people living on established farms remained unchanged in spite of the Depression.<sup>63</sup>

Other people on farms and in towns were not so fortunate. For families who were still servicing debts incurred before 1931, butter, eggs and almonds

---

<sup>60</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 45, 55; Symons, *One Continuous Picnic*, pp. 138–141.

Symons comments on the frequent use of the word 'dainty' in recipes of this era.

<sup>61</sup> *Barossa News*, report of local ball, 10 June, 1931.

<sup>62</sup> Mrs H. Spaeth, 'Apple Cake', in *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 89.

<sup>63</sup> Rhonda Steinberner, interview (Tanunda: 1994).

represented a little income. Those families sold as much as they could and sent their children to school with a scraping of lard on their sandwiches, never butter.<sup>64</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book* of 1932, reflecting these hard realities, offered a strange mixture of recipes both extravagant and frugal. Women contributed recipes with sparing ingredients, including eggless biscuits and economical pudding. The book shows that they bought cheap rabbits from the local trappers to feed their families rabbit pie.<sup>65</sup> They preserved and pickled fruit and vegetables to use up every crop in the garden.<sup>66</sup> People on farms made their own soap with the fat from a slaughtered sheep to spare a few more pennies.<sup>67</sup> For some people frugal eating habits were an ingrained part of the peasant mentality of wasting nothing and profiting where possible from excess produce. Even when their financial circumstances later improved they did not change an attitude and practices that had endured for many generations.<sup>68</sup> (Pierre Bourdieu's assertion that the *habitus* continuously generates systematic products as metaphors in lifestyles receives confirmation from the actions of many Barossa people.<sup>69</sup>)

But whether they exercised culinary restraint because they had no money or from inherited peasant caution, people still had occasions for feasting. Urbanisation brought opportunities for middle-class people to enjoy elaborate social events, and this reflected in their contributions to the cookery book. Despite low incomes, farmers' wives made cakes for special occasions and were not sparing with the

---

<sup>64</sup> Colin Thiele, letter to A. Heuzenroeder, (Dayboro, Queensland: 1995); Harry and Melva Schmidt, interview (Light Pass: 1993).

<sup>65</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 58, 61, 36, 24, 25.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117–137.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 157–158.

<sup>68</sup> Peter Heuzenroeder, solicitor, interview (Tanunda: 2005). Peter Heuzenroeder said that even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century many local clients lived a humble life-style that belied their true financial situation.

<sup>69</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*, pp. 172–173.

butter.<sup>70</sup> Feasting has for centuries been as much a part of peasant tradition as frugality.<sup>71</sup> Even modernised versions of feasting in a world transformed by education and by the Protestant ethic laid emphasis on food and drink as the focus of celebration.<sup>72</sup> Sunday dinners might not habitually be lavish, but it was a different matter when the pastor was making his regular visit, and family feasts associated with liturgical ceremonies, for example weddings and funerals, were for some people the only chance in the year to eat German cake.<sup>73</sup>

### **Modernising the Peasant: The Arrival of Global Commodities**

Urbanisation might not have made much difference to the everyday diet of some people, but the intrusion of ingredients brought from other parts of the world was impossible to avoid. Although reflecting economic restraint in many Barossa households, *The Barossa Cookery Book* also revealed that the pantry shelves of a comprehensive 1930s user held a range of groceries coming from many different parts of Australia and from other countries. From northern Europe came tinned sardines and salmon, Worcester sauce and essences; from the tropics, via intermediaries in the western world, came spice, curry powders, chocolate, coffee, tinned pineapple, cochineal, sago, rice, dates and tapioca. Such ingredients arrived as a result of globalised trade, a practice which (starting with the spice trade) had continued in the world and influenced European cooking for thousands of years,

---

<sup>70</sup> Rita Bartsch, interview (Light Pass: 1992); Peter Lehmann, interview (Tanunda: 1996); Barry Falland, interview (Tanunda: 1993). Peter Lehmann, describing the hospitality shown by parishioners to his father, the visiting pastor, said that his father, who died at an early age, had 'dug his grave with his teeth'.

<sup>71</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 67; Bernard, 'Peasant Diet in Eighteenth-Century Gévaudan', p. 41.

<sup>72</sup> Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen*, pp. 306–398.

<sup>73</sup> Barry Falland, interview (Tanunda: 1993).

greatly expanding through the production and trade practices of the nineteenth century. To that extent they conveyed no new culinary concept to European cooking in this small part of Australia.<sup>74</sup> Two ingredients brought to Barossa kitchens, however, merit closer examination, and they are olive oil and coconut.

Since English cooks have mistrusted oil in cooking since the Middle Ages,<sup>75</sup> the call for this ingredient in potato salad and horseradish sauce comes as a surprise in a book where the fat required was usually butter, cream, lard, dripping or suet.<sup>76</sup> The horseradish recipes were for classic emulsified lucca oil mayonnaise combined with grated horseradish.<sup>77</sup> The area from which the German-speaking settlers first came used linseed and rapeseed oils over their potatoes, and the same area was noted for its horseradish production. Whether vestiges of food from those times persisted in some Australian Barossa families in the 1930s is an interesting conjecture. As for coconut, one pudding, fourteen biscuits, seven cakes and two cake fillings had coconut (or cocoanut) in the title, and dozens more called for it as an ingredient. Some of these were variations of the same recipe, requiring a shortcake or biscuit base covered with jam and then baked with a topping mixture of sugar, egg and coconut. One recipe called the dish 'Bakewell tarts'. Other recipes were for coconut macaroons.<sup>78</sup> The originals of both these recipes require almond meal, not coconut. For many people in the Barossa almond crops were cash crops, sold straight to city merchants. For others, to buy almonds was a luxury.

---

<sup>74</sup> Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 314–317.

<sup>75</sup> Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*, p. 209.

<sup>76</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 51, 134, 139.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 66.

Tropical coconut might have been popular partly as a cheap substitute for expensive almonds. In this way Pacific trade for inexpensive commodities fed western consumers and enabled them to imitate a former style of eating at a time of economic crisis. Such varied ingredients reached country kitchens with relative ease because of improvements to transport in the decades before and after the beginning of the twentieth century. Exotic foods arrived in the Barossa after 1917 with the new railway. Along with the rest of the world the Barossa, no longer isolated, was on the threshold of a social revolution which Eugen Weber has called becoming 'modern'.<sup>79</sup>

### **Modernising the Peasant: The Arrival of Industrialisation**

Regardless of people's social and economic status, certain industrialised methods and ingredients affected everybody's cooking. The universal industrial contribution was the iron wood stove. Equipped with iron stoves, cooks entered the era of refined baking. The cooks in the large kitchen of the Angas household at Collingrove had an Andrews *Nonpareil* stove made in Geelong, Victoria, with two ovens and the firebox in the middle, enabling them to cook two dishes at different temperatures (meringues as well sponge cakes) simultaneously.<sup>80</sup> Most other remaining iron wood-fired stoves in the district seem to have come from Metters or Simpson. The Metters family established their factory in Melbourne in the 1870s, but they had one in Adelaide in the 1890s and even named one of their models *The*

---

<sup>79</sup> Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, p. 493.

<sup>80</sup> Angela Heuzenroeder, 'All Fired Up: Wood Ovens in the Barossa', *Divine Food and Wine*, July–September, 2004, p. 17.

*Barossa*.<sup>81</sup> Simpsons established their foundry in Adelaide in the 1850s. Both had showrooms in the city, both advertised in an earlier edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* in 1923 and both were still supplying metal ovens for local houses beyond the 1930s.<sup>82</sup> The age of baking would not have been so overwhelming and produced such a variety of new recipes without the functional iron wood stove to bake dishes made with the refined flour from roller mills of relatively recent invention. Elderly people cannot remember a time when their grandmothers baked biscuits, even traditional honey biscuits from their ancient recipe, in anything but the iron wood stove.<sup>83</sup> The puddings, cakes and baked delicacies that came from the oven so dominated the cooks' repertoire that, in appealing for recipes for the revised edition in 1932, the Institute committee requested people not to send recipes for these dishes but instead to concentrate on soups, fish, entrees, stews, pies, jams, jellies, preserves, salads, sauces, pickles and summer drinks.<sup>84</sup> Clearly they sensed a flood of recipes for cakes that would create a gross imbalance.



---

<sup>81</sup> *The Chronicle*, 5 June, 1897, p. 31.

<sup>82</sup> Peter Cuffley, author of *The Federation Catalogue*, letter, May 10 (Melbourne: 2005); *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1923, pp. 58, 66.

<sup>83</sup> Olga Nitschke, Olga Lehmann, interviews (Tanunda: 2004).

<sup>84</sup> *Barossa News*, 16 June (Tanunda: 1932).

Surprisingly few other inventions influenced culinary practices. Mr Buring's cocktails required (commercially obtained) ice, but since none of the directions for cold desserts prescribed freezing or even refrigeration and merely instructed cooks to stand foods 'in a cool place', domestic kitchens in the Barossa did not generally appear to have had refrigerators.<sup>85</sup> The industrial inventions that did have a transforming effect on cooking, however, were refined ingredients like flour, white sugar, chemicals (particularly raising agents for flour) and artificial flavouring essences. These pervaded a great many recipes in the book. Recipes for lemon syrup and raspberry cordial required citric and tartaric acids, sugar and essence of lemon or raspberry; fresh fruits were an alien concept for these drinks.<sup>86</sup> The use of essences like vanilla in cakes and puddings passed without comment, and no recipe required a real vanilla bean instead. On the other hand, no recipe for tomato sauce advocated red lead for colouring, as recipes in the 1850s had done.<sup>87</sup> Industrial intervention in food production had retreated from at least some practices that had been acceptable before the introduction of food legislation in South Australia in 1908, but food acids and essences remained permissible, as they do to this day.<sup>88</sup>

Combined with controllable metal ovens, cheaper sugar and refined white flour, the use of chemical leavenings expanded the women's culinary repertoire into baking, just at the time when urbanisation was providing opportunities to serve baked cakes, scones and biscuits. Chemical additives to flour, although they

---

<sup>85</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 146–148, 45; Symons, *One Continuous Picnic*, p. 178. Symons confirms that domestic refrigerators had a major impact on kitchens only after the Second World War.

<sup>86</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, pp. 150–151.

<sup>87</sup> *Farm and Garden*, 21 February, 10 March, 1859.

<sup>88</sup> Rosemary Polya, *Food Regulation in Australia: A Chronology* (Parliamentary Library, Federal Parliament of Australia, 2001), <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/chron/2001-02/02chr01.htm#>, accessed May, 2005.

required some skill in mixing and cooking, speeded up the whole process of making cakes which had hitherto required yeast. The earliest chemical leavening agent, bicarbonate of soda, had existed in primitive form for centuries, originating from the use of wood ash in North America and from salts derived from ground-up antlers in northern Europe.<sup>89</sup> Cooks in the antipodes, like their counterparts in North America, England and Europe, mixed soda and an acidic ingredient (like sour milk) into the flour to create bubbles of carbon dioxide from the chemical reaction. From the 1850s many used commercial acid, mostly tartaric, and the combination of that acid and soda with a drying agent like cornflour became the first form of baking powder in the middle of the nineteenth century. Self-raising flour followed, although some cooks preferred to use plain flour and rely on their skills at sifting ingredients and lightening the mixture with deft beating.<sup>90</sup> All three combinations of chemical agents, namely, self-raising flour, baking powder and the separate addition to plain flour of bicarbonate of soda and tartaric acid, appeared in the recipes for cakes, biscuits, scones and puddings in *The Barossa Cookery Book*. Of the 128 cake recipes in the 1917 edition, twelve used soda plus a natural acid like lemon juice, 22 called for baking powder and the rest were fairly evenly divided between their preference for self-raising flour and the soda-tartaric acid combination. In the 1932 edition the number of cakes had risen to 283, keeping roughly in proportion to the overall increase of recipes in the book. Self-raising flour had gained in popularity with 142 recipes, 50% more than the manual mixing

---

<sup>89</sup> Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst Band I*, p. 66. European cooks had used them for making ammonia biscuits and honey biscuits for Christmas.

<sup>90</sup> Richard Daunton-Fear and Penelope Vigar, *Australian Colonial Cookery* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1977), p. 47. The 1917 version of the *Barossa Cookery Book* still contained some cake recipes without leavening agents.



of tartaric acid and bicarbonate of soda separately into the flour. Baking powder remained less popular, appearing only 88 times, possibly because it tended to deteriorate in the packet.<sup>91</sup> Since production of tartaric acid from grape skins started in the Barossa at Tarac Industries, Nuriootpa, in 1929 and expanded rapidly into other regions by 1932, 'cream of tartar' for baking was in plentiful supply.<sup>92</sup>

One recipe in *The Barossa Cookery Book* reveals how the chemical leavening agents affected Barossa yeast baking<sup>93</sup> The *Streuselkuchen* recipe described earlier in this chapter required the skill to cultivate yeast leavening, a skill handed down through generations of cooks in the Barossa. The pull of convenient modern chemical ingredients, however, was so strong that people were bound to experiment with simpler versions of the cake as well. Thus in *The Barossa Cookery Book* another version of the cake by the same cook substituted yeast with soda and cream of tartar to make a simpler mixture under the crumbled topping. This time instead of 'German cake' the cook wrote 'Coffee cake', a term not widely used in the Barossa although common in twentieth-century Germany.<sup>94</sup> For the traditional version most local people preferred to say 'German cake' (or *Deutscher Kuchen* in those families where German still slipped into everyday speech). The term 'coffee cake' covered several other sorts of cake as well: any sweet plain cakes that people might choose to eat with a cup of coffee.

An enduring taste for sweet, kneaded yeasty cakes seemed to influence the palate of people from northern Europe, however. They preferred them to cakes

---

<sup>91</sup> Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 50–51.

<sup>92</sup> Tarac Technologies, <http://www.tarac.com.au/about.asp> accessed May, 2005.

<sup>93</sup> It is still a common cake in 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Mrs A. A. Kuchel, 'Coffee Cake', in *The Barossa Cookery Book*, 1932, p. 96.

baked with chemical leavening, even though their compatriot, Count Justus von Liebig, was highly influential in the commercial development of the first chemical leavening in both the United States and in Europe.<sup>95</sup> A German cooking encyclopedia printed in 1909 warned German people that cakes made with these industrial ingredients, although delicious when freshly baked, went stale quickly and tasted of dried hay. This would not suit German people who liked to wait a day after baking to eat their bread and cake.<sup>96</sup> That taste preference for yeast persisted with descendants of settlers even though most had lost all connection with Europe. The chemical version of the German cake offered itself temptingly, but it lacked the yeast flavour and springy texture or *Glumpsch* of the traditional yeast cake. For this reason two important local variations of *Streuselkuchen* with chemical rising agents found local approbation, although they did not appear in *The Barossa Cookery Book*. These were the beer cake and the potato cake previously described in this chapter.<sup>97</sup> Each was a delicious cake in its own way, but neither was truly a substitute for traditional yeast-based *Streuselkuchen*, which endured in spite of imitations as the traditional cake for feasts and celebrations.

---

<sup>95</sup> William H. Brock, *Justus von Liebig, The Chemical Gatekeeper* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 238–241.

<sup>96</sup> Vollmer, *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst*, p. 449.

<sup>97</sup> Heuzenroeder, *Barossa Food*, pp. 98–99. The potato version does not resemble the potato cake of Saxony, which also contains yeast and does not have a topping of *Streusel*.

## Conclusion

The search for Mary Douglas' coded message about hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion in the two major editions of *The Barossa Cookery Book* has revealed some hidden communications about the political, economic and social pressures of the day and the way they affected people's lives. At times the messages were furtive, particularly in the 1917 edition, where the omission of German recipes, the printing of others under innocent-sounding names and the rallied support of society matrons and their daughters from Adelaide all worked together to promote the image of a loyal community for the outside world. The codes in the 1932 edition of *The Barossa Cookery Book* convey an understanding of a much broader range of Barossa people who responded to the public appeal for recipes. For them political pressures were not as strong as they had been fifteen years earlier. Their donated recipes disclosed two distinct messages about people's identity. One is the growing confidence of women to share the German recipes that had long been part of their family life but which did not appear in the 1917 edition. Including a relatively small number of these in the 1932 edition gave a more balanced portrait of Barossa food customs of the day and a small understanding of some of the taste preferences inherited from previous generations of German-speaking families. But at the same time a parallel message in the overwhelming number of English recipes donated by cooks with German names demonstrates how extensively Barossa cooks had embraced culinary patterns offered to them by English cooking and food customs. This message about people and their food in the Barossa represents, of course, only those women with the literacy, culinary skills and time to respond to the call for

recipes. Those excluded from a cookbook representing their own region often lived on food bearing little resemblance to the recipes from the growing Barossa middle class, whether English or German. Their omission is typical of all publications purporting to be regional cookbooks.

In his analysis of the processes by which the peasants in the west and south of France discarded their former way of life and became part of the modern urbanised and industrialised world Eugen Weber writes about the influence of the schools, of increasing literacy and of popular forms of literature.<sup>98</sup> War too is a catalyst for change, according to Weber, because it accelerates movements that are already taking place.<sup>99</sup> *The Barossa Cookery Book* is a fine example of all these elements. Representing families with a standard of living that was rising with increased connections to the outside world, the book came into being because of war and it drew on the literacy of its local audience to reinforce changes that were taking place in the community. In the words of Weber, it showed the power of the printing press, for 'the printing press stands at the entrance of the modern world as dragons guard the gateway of a temple'.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, *The Barossa Cookery Book* makes a significant statement about change and continuity. It is a partial history of its times, of people's fortunes as well as of their food. It is justifiably a regional cookbook, showing a self-conscious pride in the district on the part of the contributors and on the part of the editorial committees promoting the book and the region to the outside world under the name Barossa. Because the book did not record some significant foods that were very familiar to local people at the time of its

---

<sup>98</sup> Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 462, 469, 474.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* p. 475.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* p. 452.

publication, and because it completely overlooked adaptations of some dishes that were the small beginnings of an original local regional cuisine, *The Barossa Cookery Book* was not an entire representation of the cuisine that had developed in the region throughout the century after the arrival of the first immigrants. Nevertheless, local people regarded the book as a familiar resource. It has long been an important institution in the local community and is used and regarded with affection to this day.

## Chapter 10: Conclusion

This investigation into the origins and development of the food of Lutherans migrating to the Barossa in South Australia had two purposes. First of all, I wanted to find out about the food culture of the immigrants who came from Silesia, Brandenburg, Posen, Mecklenburg and parts of Saxony. This meant investigating what they ate before they left Europe and why they did so. Using that knowledge as a base I then wanted to explore what had happened to their food practices in the century after the first arrivals in 1839. The date 1939 was a useful point to terminate the study for two reasons. In the first place, the 1930s saw the publication of *The Barossa Cookery Book*, giving a window into the life of people living in the Barossa at that time. It therefore provided a useful comparison with the food of their forebears both before departure and when they had just arrived in their new place of settlement. Moreover, until 1939, despite continuing evolution, the cultural life of people in the Barossa retained large influences from the past. The ensuing outbreak of war not only caused social turbulence but also breached the social barriers that had given the Barossa relative cultural isolation. From then on the flow of life would quicken, and outside influences would create a less clear picture of cultural development.

Drawing on lists of early migrations compiled by Wilhelm Iwan I discovered that the passengers on the ships to South Australia came from stations of life that were extremely varied,<sup>1</sup> and using background information in the accounts of contemporary travellers I discovered the reasons for this diversity. The people were

---

<sup>1</sup> Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*.

migrating from regions suffering the long-term effects of several crippling conflicts including the Napoleonic wars. Moreover, finally released from the serfdom that had been imposed on them between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, they now had the burden of increasing taxes and debts which accompanied the government's attempts at reform. Slowly, however, reform was bringing improvement. Many of those obliged to sell their farms to compensate the landlords after the land reform legislation had become day labourers working for a wage, and the beginnings of a rural cash economy would ultimately lead to large changes in people's lives even before they gravitated towards the cities. Some had accumulated wealth because of the value of their farms. Others survived in paid employment. Still others had not been able to rid themselves of poverty. In certain years famine lowered the living standard of everybody. Such varying fortunes in life were reflected in people's access to different foods. These foods were also determined by the fact that the departing emigrants were leaving just on the cusp of major change. Their conservative material life practices were still apparent in the food they ate. Although showing small signs of innovation, mainly in the adoption of imported ingredients like potatoes, sago and rice, and augmented by some city influences especially in foods for festive occasions, they still bore similarities to what had been in place for centuries.

The daily diet of many was based on different kinds of grain served as porridge and bread. In this regard it resembled the diet of other rural people across Europe. Meat, mostly salted and smoked, was in poor rural areas a rare festive treat. Recent edible arrivals from the Americas, potatoes and corn, helped to

supplement supplies during shortages of rye, millet, buckwheat, oats and the luxury grain, wheat. Travellers' accounts and recipe books reveal that people cultivated and ate vegetables like turnips, cabbages, beans and cucumbers, as well as different fruits which provided sweet respite from the monotony of grain. Travellers' reports and old recipe books also describe techniques that people employed to preserve their food for the long winter months, namely, drying, salting, smoking and fermenting, the oldest known techniques of food preservation in the world. Ancient traditional food meant not only preserved food, however. It also included a sweet ritual food prepared for Christmas, spiced honey cakes, and the simplicity of the recipe widely used by cooks in the Barossa suggests that their forebears had been making the same dish since at least the sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, despite three centuries of restricted movement and (in many cases) poverty preceding migration, certain changes at different times in history had altered the food of the people living east of the River Elbe long before the departure of emigrants in the middle of the nineteenth century. Much earlier, returning crusaders, itinerant traders, immigrants and invaders from the east had brought to this part of Europe a taste for sweet, spiced cakes and perpetuated a predilection for making sour fermented vegetables. While the area remained part of the Catholic Church these dishes became incorporated into Christian ritual, the first as a festive food for Christmas, the others as substitutes for meat during fasts. The arrival of the Reformation altered the lives of the followers of Luther to the extent that food became separated from religious obligation, and intrinsic symbolism fell away from individual food items. Bread, pickled vegetables, sausages and honey



biscuits continued to be part of the culinary repertoire but lacked any ties to Christian dogma, although in the case of honey biscuits they remained a Christmas custom, a different matter altogether.

Far beneath these consciously avowed beliefs, however, lay much deeper symbolism from earlier pagan times. Ways of shaping the biscuits, the design of bread ovens and the roles of women in baking the bread and bleeding the pig suggest links with older mysteries emanating from natural objects and rhythms of life. These practices endured throughout the centuries and came to the Barossa with some of the migrants from Brandenburg, Silesia, Posen and Mecklenburg. Some endured in different families even in 1939. If the understandings beneath these practices were ever articulated as people performed them, they did not convey them to me. They were emphatic in interviews that the sole intent of their food practices was day-to-day sustenance and pleasure (the Lutheran approach to food), and that roles of women in making food were simply the customary division of labour on a farm. For most people this was the case. Some people in the community, however, had strong attachments to earthy superstitions, for example with regard to planting their vegetables according to the waxing and waning of the moon, and the deeper subliminal values of other food practices were not far removed from these attachments. Such attitudes had nothing to do with a Lutheran interpretation of the Christian religion.

The transfer of these foods and practices to a very different environment on the other side of the earth, where seasonal temperatures were generally higher and where temperature extremes had greater effect in summer than winter, underlay the

other concern of my investigations. I was expecting to find in the culinary practices of the migrating people a tussle between their long-standing culture and the powerful forces of the environment. In this struggle the ancient habits certainly did not disappear. Still in 1939 people were eating bread and porridge, drying fruit, preserving their sour cucumbers in late summer, making smoked sausages on the pig-killing weekend in early winter and baking honey biscuits to hang on the tree for Christmas. They baked their Christmas honey biscuits in spite of intolerable heat in the kitchen during summer. It was the only one of these foods attached to a calendar date rather than a season and survived the reversal of the seasons because it contained no perishable ingredients from a recent harvest. Making the rest of the foods except bread, which remained a constant in people's lives, depended on seasons, and their survival in a completely different environment is due in large measure to the adaptability of the food components to the climate and environment in the antipodes. Pigs, crops, fruit and vegetables in general adjusted well to their new home, just as tomatoes adapted to the Mediterranean environment when introduced to Europe from the Americas. And even though extensive cropping exhausted the soil after two generations, cultivated strains of cereal developed, and farmers learned techniques to continue producing ingredients for making the bread that they expected to consume as an important part of their food culture.

In broad outline, therefore, important dishes in the food of the Lutheran settlers and their descendants remained unchanged. Indeed, in some instances the settlers perpetuated practices long after these had altered in the regions they had left behind. They continued to bake bread using individual *Backofens* when European

regulations were compelling people to use a communal facility and to pay the landlord for the privilege. They baked ancient versions of honey biscuits when nineteenth-century German cooks were refining the recipe and adding new ingredients. Because of isolation the migrating cooks were missing out on many of the nineteenth-century European food developments that came as a result of a new creative, sophisticated, urban approach to cooking. Even in aspects of material culture like food, therefore, Louis Hartz's concept of the fragmentation of societies in colonial lands appears to have some relevance.<sup>2</sup> Fragments of some of the old practices brought with the first settlers did continue in the colony, unaffected by subsequent events and issues in the country of origin.

Most basic dishes did modify, however, and their own development came from other factors that impinged on people's lives in a completely new environment. With regard to food the environment made its mark both within the recipes themselves and in the context of their consumption. How strange it must have been to celebrate Christmas in summer! Remarkably this reversal of the seasons for a fixed festivity created a new traditional Christmas dish: right across the Barossa the family Christmas dinner table always included a bowl of finely sliced cucumbers in cream dressing, prepared in the German manner even by women of English descent who had married into Lutheran families. This German dish would never have appeared on a Silesian Christmas table in the middle of winter. Similarly cherries, a summer food in Europe but ripening in December in the Barossa, became a widespread Christmas treat. Other dishes like the traditional Silesian Christmas fish were scarcely apparent on the Barossa Christmas table in

---

<sup>2</sup> Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies*, pp. 3–6.

1939 unless in salted or pickled preparations. Their disappearance was due partly to a drier environment where fresh fish were not abundant locally. In this way the seasons and the environment brought forth and enhanced some food practices, placing them in a new context as a fixed custom, while restricting others and eventually leading to their demise.

The ways in which the new environment affected the preparation of individual dishes were numerous and sometimes subtle. Buckwheat and millet disappeared from people's porridge and bread because the crops would not grow in the Barossa. Rye for bread was immediately replaced by wheat in a different climate and soil, even though some farmers continued to grow small rye crops in the nineteenth century. Kitchen designs altered. No longer did people bake bread and smoke sausages over a fire in the centre of the house as they had done with the *Schwarzeküche*. These practices, continued without thought of the Barossa climate, were removed, first to an oven projecting outside the kitchen and later to buildings away from the house, before finally disappearing from many households altogether. The tyranny of the Australian climate necessitated the changes. Under the Australian sun, however, and in the fertile soil of the Barossa fruit trees flourished, and families could grow such fruits as citrus, peaches and apricots which were not an abundant part of the common diet of their ancestors in eastern central Europe. Grapes too grew much more easily in their new home. The fact that early reports show how quickly settlers planted these fruits is an indication of their ancient German love of fruit preparations, an enjoyment that they could indulge to excess in the new land. Indeed, the climate required rapid ways to preserve excess fruit

before it deteriorated in the heat, for any waste of food was undesirable to Barossa people whose family stories still resonated with the early struggles of their ancestors. Therefore, the drying of fruit as *Backobst* continued to be an important preservation method. With sugar becoming more readily available, conserving excess fruit in syrup or as jam became another important method of saving food. It was less time consuming than drying fruit, but the Australian climate required dense concentrations of sugar for effective storage. Thus, jam and fruit bottled in heavy syrup became a prominent part of the diet of many people in the Barossa in the first half of the twentieth century.

A surprising discovery was that people making fermented foods, for which ambient conditions must have affected the result, did not seem to show particular concern for monitoring the process in spite of the fact that fermented foods require specific environmental conditions for their success. Even those who fermented pickled cucumbers for sale simply stored them in the back barn until they were ready to eat without worrying unduly about the temperature, confident in the knowledge that the barn had always been a suitable place to create a successful ferment. Makers of mettwurst instinctively knew by the feel of the skins whether the sausages were fermented enough to go into the smokehouse, and the temperature, humidity and smoking times do not appear to have been rigidly regulated. People's success depended on previous successes and experience rather than on scientific explanations and procedures. In this regard the knowledge of members of the family's previous generation was crucial, and oral tradition and example from both women and men played an important role in a successful

cultural transfer, not only from Europe but also within Australia as each generation must have developed its skills through trial and error, adapting procedures to the climate and environment. In doing so, each generation was in fact creating an environmental microcosm for the family's fermented foods that ultimately relied on latent yeasts in the room or in the mixing equipment to achieve the desired effect. Partly their job was done for them by the wooden bowls and equipment brought in the ancestors' luggage, for the micro-organisms ingrained in the wood must have transferred from the old land to the new. Nevertheless, since temperature control in the fermentation of grapes for wine was a constant source of concern in the Barossa wine industry, methods of restraining temperatures during the fermenting and smoking of foods, especially mettwurst, must have been important. If more information were available I would seek to explore this question further.

Unfortunately, instinctive and successful peasant management of environmental factors did not extend to a desire to manage the environment as a whole. The delicate Australian landscape offered many foods, both animal and vegetable, enjoyed by settlers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but the survival of these was always fragile and, invaded by large numbers of people and their animals, indigenous species of plant foods were not destined to survive for long. Reports of pigs digging up the tuberous yam daisies and of picnickers uprooting the slow-growing native currant bushes make it easy to comprehend the significance of the missionary Clamor Schurmann's letters in which he claimed that the food was running out for Aboriginal people and that he could no longer share it with them. Making wheaten bread was another near disaster for the

environment, for wheat in particular exhausted the soil and the wood burned in boilers of flour mills and in bread ovens depleted the landscape, just as it had done in Europe a century earlier. People could continue to make bread from wheaten flour and eat it as their staple only because of innovations in agriculture and industry. Such innovations enabled European cultural practices to dominate the environment. Indeed, growing wheat does require alteration of the environment. Where the environment permits, agriculture prevails over geography and this interaction leads ultimately to the formation of a food culture. The process becomes visible only when that long-developed culture invades an entirely different place and requires both environmental and cultural adjustments to a greater or lesser extent, as it did for the subjects of this study.

In the end the environment was beneficial to the traditional foods of the early Barossa settlers. Not only did the land and the climate permit the survival of introduced European food plants and animals and, indeed, enhance the growth of many of them, it also imparted to some dishes a character peculiar to the region. Meats smoked with redgum sawdust had their own particular flavour. Red fruit sago preparations called *Rote Grütze* became a specific dish made with dark grapes, because grapes provided the most plentiful red fruit in the Barossa climate. Grapes began to appear in this and other traditional dishes in which they had never been used before, especially in the layer of fruit under the festive *Streuselkuchen*. Native currant bushes although handled roughly by pickers did not die out completely, and the jam made from their tart, tannin-rich berries became a local spring delicacy. These dishes assumed more than the aura of locally produced food which is

sometimes called *terroir*,<sup>3</sup> for the food was no longer just the product of traditional ethnic cooking; these were genuine, original dishes of the kind that can rightly be justified as regional cuisine, prepared and consumed by many Barossa inhabitants, and that they were so was attributable to the environment.

Thus, the Barossa environment made inroads into the food practices and dishes of the immigrants from eastern central Europe, and so did the two other cultures encountered by the early settlers, those of their Aboriginal and English neighbours. In spite of some evidence that local people did in fact share certain Aboriginal foods, no records show that they adopted the two main Aboriginal cooking techniques, namely making bread loaves as damper baked directly in the coals and cooking meat and vegetables by steaming them in ground ovens. Although such cultural transfer of food practices did not occur, settlers did learn about plant foods as well as animal foods from Aboriginal people. An appreciation of ingredients like kangaroo, quandongs and native currants remained long after their source of supply in the local area had become scarce. The cultural influence of the English was much stronger. Almost immediately the settlers began to enjoy more meat and to eat white bread, and in a short space of time they learned to rely solely on cows rather than on goats for dairy products, to drink larger amounts of tea than coffee and to consume far more sugar than previously. They adopted English methods of preserving food using plentiful sugar and coped with quantities of summer produce like tomatoes by making sauce in the English fashion. Many of the shared English recipes like puddings boiled in a cloth had been familiar to some country people even before migration because of earlier trade and contact with

---

<sup>3</sup> Janet Lymburn, 'The Case for Culinary Terroir', *Slow*, Vol. 4, 2005, pp. 62–65.



English people in Europe. In fact, the cultural transfer of food from the English to the German was relatively easy not only because of intermarriage but also because of previous interaction. Already similar practices predisposed the Germans to accepting English ways of cooking. These did not, however, prevent the Germans from continuing their own separate food customs as part of their core repertoire.

The environmental and cultural factors described above were the major forces that I expected would shape the food practices of the German-speaking settlers in the century after their arrival in Australia. I was expecting to see an enduring collection of very old dishes modified by the climate and by contact with other cultures, but I discovered some other major and unforeseen influences as well. The most powerful of these was the force of the marketplace. Trade in Europe had long been important in supplying exotic commodities which people had used in their cooking, ingredients like salt, spice, rice, sago and sugar. Trade continued to shape the world's food practices including those of the Barossa. As communications increased in the modern era, trade brought into the Barossa district commodities from all over the world, such as coconut, tinned pineapple and dates, as well as different breeds of farm animals and varieties of seed for crops. Different animal and plant strains imparted slightly different tastes, textures and appearances to the food. Imported ingredients appeared in *The Barossa Cookery Book* in new dishes based on old themes and methods. But the marketplace influenced people's food in other less obvious ways as well. The sudden change from rye to wheaten bread in the lives of the early settlers was dictated as much by the farmers' need to grow wheat to sell in the colony and to pay their debts as it was by the environment.

Similarly, *Rote Grütze*, a porridge dish already transformed by sago as a result of trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, became a dessert made with grapes largely because of the expanding wine industry and the region's success at making and selling red wine. Understandably, in a colony ruled from England trade was in commodities largely supplied or desired by the English, a factor which reinforced the influence of English culture on the food of families of German extraction. Sometimes commercial ventures helped to protect the traditional dishes, for without the bakers and the butchers, for example, certain slowly fermented foods would not have survived the increased pace of life in the twentieth century.

Local families of German descent in the Barossa rarely became commercial powers in their own right, however. They did not often enter markets outside the immediate district or export to distant places and accumulate wealth in this manner. The prime exceptions were the Seppelt and Gramp families in the wine industry, who were sending wine to England and to the other states of Australia well before the twentieth century and were still doing so in 1939 and beyond. Apart from Wintulich, the butchering family who continued to achieve modest commercial success with mettwurst, few if any families turned their traditional food into a major business venture. That they were unable to do so was determined partly by their isolation from the city where sufficient numbers of people might desire to buy their ethnic foods. Moreover, because their ancestors had come from rigidly isolated farming communities in eastern central Europe, most local people did not have a tradition of business acumen handed down in the family on which to model their actions. Nobody developed a multimillion dollar food business like the Heinz

pickle factory in the United States. Mostly, therefore, the marketplace impressed external influences on the food of the German settlers, but the Barossa settlers did not in turn use the marketplace to impose their own food on people further afield in order to make their own fortunes, because that was not part of their culture.

The other powerful force for change was the industrialisation that transformed the world's food as the nineteenth century ended and the twentieth century began. Some aspects were most beneficial to food in the Barossa: without the adoption of saltpetre in the preservation of smoked and fermented meats deaths from botulism in the Barossa might have been numerous. The industrial preservative enabled local people to continue making their traditional sausages in spite of the new climate in their new homeland. Caustic soda and sulphur also lessened the time for drying fruit. Apart from preservation, industry brought peripheral changes, like the use of metal bowls instead of wooden ones for mixing bread dough and sausage meat. The metal industry inadvertently left its mark on ancient food processes by providing galvanised iron roofing offcuts that replaced traditional tubs for scalding the slaughtered pig. Used kerosene tins replaced hand-crafted pickle containers. These ready-made industrial artifacts were a pragmatic way to continue ancient processes in a life that was gathering pace with the arrival of modernity. Industrial processes also transformed and refined a great many ingredients like sugar and flour. The latter became finer because of the new roller mills and bolting techniques, just in time to contribute to the widespread transformations brought about by the introduction of metal ovens and the development of baking powder and self-raising flour. Such developments facilitated baking and gave rise to the invention of the

numerous kinds of cakes that swelled the pages of ensuing editions of *The Barossa Cookery Book*, reflecting world-wide developments in the art of cooking. Chemical raising agents drew cooks away from the skills of yeast cookery and in doing so generated simpler versions of the yeast cake *Streuselkuchen*. Barossa cooks thus devised their own potato cake and beer cake, in which they tried to achieve the characteristic flavours and texture of yeast baking without spending time on the processes of leavening with yeast.

The determined pursuit by local people of certain flavour characteristics in a familiar dish helps to explain why certain foods do endure even when transferred to another part of the world. I came to realise that over a very long time a group of people develop certain taste predilections, and that these become such a necessary part of their lives and well-being that people will go to great lengths to pursue them wherever they may be. In the case of the immigrants from eastern central Europe these were largely the soured tastes of fermentation. The characteristics of yeasted foods pervaded a great many of their dishes: their meat, vegetables, baked goods, dairy foods and drinks. A liking for dishes and beverages containing these characteristics was almost universal among the people I interviewed, and tracing the history of sour fermented vegetables made me realise that this taste preference had endured for centuries, prompting ensuing generations to carry out and hand on involved techniques of fermentation, largely to satisfy a desire for a certain taste. Whether this preference had become part of people's biological disposition is open to question, but it was a significant factor in shaping the food culture over a long period of time. Other fashions in taste like sweet sausages and poppyseed pudding

might fade in popularity, but a love of fermented foods persisted. Above and beyond this basic predilection for soured, yeasted foods, moreover, some people had a refined appreciation of subtle flavours, perfumes and textures in the same dishes. Some cooks went to great lengths to perfect their techniques and to evaluate the success of their own efforts and that of others, taking the appreciation of fermented foods to higher levels. From the basic gustatory preferences of a group of people, therefore, arose the skills of identifying subtleties. These were the province of the perceptive few whose sub-culture might be deemed to be an aspect of gastronomy.

Like other aspects of culture, refined perception of nuances in food and drink can be taught, as wine writer Kevin Sweeney has explained.<sup>4</sup> A striking factor in people's discernment and appreciation of food in the Barossa was that the gastronomic leaders tended to be educated people and good communicators. They were more likely to appreciate foods of different cultures than other people in the community. Thus, the missionaries had not only shared food prepared by the Aboriginal inhabitants of the colony, but had appreciated the finesse of their cooking and also enjoyed the final result. The Homburg and Gramp families, both valuing education and imbued with an appreciation of the arts, showed a deep interest in food. Fritz Homburg not only convened many food competitions in the Tanunda agricultural show but oversaw the production of *The Barossa Cookery Book*, while winemaker Colin Gramp was well known for his discerning taste and culinary interests. The wives of the pastors, who played an important role as providers of hospitality in the parish manse and who had at times been educated to

---

<sup>4</sup> Sweeney, 'Alice's Discriminating Palate', pp. 17–31.

do so, were in a position not only to maintain traditional dishes but also to pass on new recipes and raise culinary awareness among the congregations. It is no surprise that a relatively new and refined dish like *Lachsschinken* can be traced back to their influence. On every social level, as more women learned to read and to write and came into contact with more people in growing townships, the sharing of recipes increased. Women were not only developing awareness of other people's food but were also pursuing a particular result in their own cooking. When one small notebook contains six slightly different recipes for tomato sauce copied from different friends, it is clear that the cook is searching for the best taste that she can find. The fact that literacy and an educated awareness of other people's approaches to food were connected to advanced levels of culinary appreciation and practice is evident in many parts of this study.

To return to the dishes themselves, in this study I traced the fortunes of six that remained popular one hundred years after their transfer to Australia. These were pork smallgoods, bread, sour cucumbers, fruit porridge, honey biscuits and the cake called *Streuselkuchen*. They were not the entire repertoire of traditional Barossa foods but they have come to be recognised as the nucleus of the local ethnic cuisine. Some (the cucumbers and biscuits) barely altered during the century after the first arrivals. The remainder were touched to a greater or lesser degree by the changing environment, market forces and technical innovation and even flourished because of these changes. Their important common element, however, was that Barossa people recognised them as 'their' food. Any concept of the local food culture would mean these dishes. What gave them recognition as a food

culture was not meaningful religious significance. That had all faded away with the Reformation. Rather, their cultural significance came from the handing on of specific skills in managing fermentation and other processes, the sharing of acquired taste and, simply, the convivial pleasure of eating familiar foods. The common element here is the sense of continuity. When people carry out a process of fermentation, they need a little from the last batch to begin the next, and the microbial action takes time to develop. A similar principle applies to cultural transfer in the sociological sense as well. Older group members transfer understandings to newcomers and new generations, understandings of taste preferences and of group activities. The practices may change and have different significance over time, but as long as a group of people continue to claim them as their own the practices have cultural significance. Even when the preparation skills are handed over to commercial butchers and bakers, even when components of the food change, their repeated recognition and sharing by the group creates a food culture. Hobsbawm, Ranger and the contributors to their collection of essays would agree that the consensus of people is critical in the invention and maintenance of a tradition. People will decide among themselves what dishes are indispensable, which ones are to be honoured with a championship competition, which ones will be part of celebrations and which provide the tastes that must be pursued from one year to the next. Such a consensus can accommodate change, but a sense of ownership requires time to develop.

Now, to put these dishes in a broader perspective, it is time to offer the menu of two typical festive meals, one on the eve of the emigrants' departure from

Europe and the other celebrating one hundred years of settlement in the Barossa. Realistically, the great diversity between family practices suggests that no typical meal would exist in either situation. The European meal would reflect the extremely varied economic situations of the people who were departing. However, on the table, if indeed the cottage contained a table and not just a communal dish on a stand, might be fruits and vegetables both fresh and preserved (including dill cucumbers, *Sauerkraut*, potatoes and fruit porridge), salty smoked meat (especially sausage), rye bread, a rare batch of festive *Streuselkuchen* and honey biscuits left over from Christmas. The smoked meat and dried fruit might be served with a dish of dumplings and called *Schlesisches Himmelreich*, to be consumed with great gusto, for even though the dried fruit might have gone dark from oxidation it would still have the intensified flavours of the original plums, pears and apples.

Barossa family meals of the 1930s, on the other hand, reflected the extent to which each family had embraced the modern world. Those holding fast to their rural practices and to the foods associated with their Lutheran upbringing were less likely to change than those living in towns or interacting and marrying with people from outside their original closed circle. Nevertheless, on the traditional table of a Lutheran farming family the bread would be a high loaf made of white wheaten flour, probably bought from the baker. Abundant salads of tomatoes would sit next to more traditional vegetable dishes, potato salad, sausages (softer from the saltpetre), hams and pickled cucumbers. The *Schlesisches Himmelreich* might still be made, perhaps with sweetened pie melon instead of stewed dried fruit, or with dried fruit which looked fresh but had a slight taint of sulphur or caustic soda. A



greater abundance of freshly cooked meat would predominate, and the cured meats would be far less salty. Next to the *Rote Grütze* made of grapes, and the fruit salad containing bananas and tinned pineapple, a tray of newly baked *Streuselkuchen*, which might contain a layer of grapes under the crumbly topping, would still fill the air with spices, and there might be honey biscuits still from Christmas. But in addition to these dishes, most of them similar to the European meal yet altered in subtle ways, the lace-covered table in the big dining room would be covered with scones, sponge cakes, sweet pickles, curried eggs, cream puffs and other delicacies materialised from recipes in *The Chronicle*, *The Barossa Cookery Book* and other printed resources, all reflecting the influences of industrialisation, trade and connections with other cultures.

Clifford Geertz maintains that studies on a group of people do not establish general principles of behaviour, either in that particular community or in the world at large.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, my study of the food practices of German-speaking people who came to live in the Barossa has left me with certain striking personal impressions about people and their history. The first is that to know why a group of people were eating certain foods at a particular period sometimes requires an understanding of events that happened many centuries earlier and of influences from much further afield. I understand why Fernand Braudel's study of the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II encompassed a survey of far-reaching routes of trade and communication extending into Asia, Asia Minor, northern Africa and

---

<sup>5</sup> Geertz, 'Thick description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Culture*, p. 20.

northern Europe over a long period of time.<sup>6</sup> Culture as expressed in food is always changing as people travel to other places and other communities, receiving ideas along the way.<sup>7</sup> Discovering what the Barossa settlers ate before they migrated also necessitated a long and broad view. My second impression is that trade, the marketplace and powers controlling the economy exert influences on people's food not only in obvious ways but also in deep and imperceptible ones. People have used traded ingredients in their foods for centuries and have used them to make dishes that have become a firm part of their food culture. In a sense globalisation through trade has existed for thousands of years, and large-scale capital investment in global commodities like spice and sugar has existed for centuries, altering people's diet and, indeed, according to Mintz, directing their way of life.<sup>8</sup> Making inroads into the fragmented food practices of an isolated society in the Barossa, trade and economic factors were significant agents shaping people and their food.

Finally, the original question about the relative forces of nature and culture on human behaviour remains unanswered and possibly unanswerable. At first glance influences of human interaction seem to dominate, and ancient food practices appear to endure, or to alter under the influence of people rather than of the environment. If the climate and soil could not provide the right resources and cooking conditions, human ingenuity devised these or obtained them from elsewhere, and human creativity invented ways of using them. To adopt a stance with such *hubris* is enticing. Nature, however, supplies all the resources. To this point, the environment in the Barossa has been kind, but the story is not over yet,

---

<sup>6</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, Vol. 1, pp. 543–570.

<sup>7</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, Vol. II, pp. 760–761.

<sup>8</sup> Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 198.

nor have all aspects of the food history of emigrants from Silesia, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Saxony and Posen been explored. Many questions remain open to pursue. People departing from eastern central Europe between 1839 and 1850 went to other parts of Australia as well as to New Zealand, Canada, South America and the United States. A comparison of the ways their food practices developed in separate areas with different geographic conditions and different motivations for settlement would make a fascinating study. In other less benign environments the study might produce different results and help to provide further insights into the means people devise to hold tenaciously to old eating patterns. Alternatively it might give striking examples of the way they modify their food in a different setting.

Further ideas for research emanate from examining spiritual or religious assumptions underlying people's food practices. My study has provided brief insights into the relationship between food and religion, not only with regard to the Reformation and its effects on people's eating habits but also reaching back to much earlier customs and beliefs. An examination of these to discover how much people migrating to different countries were consciously or unconsciously influenced by religious beliefs would form part of a wider comparison. Moreover, women in my study seem to have played an important role in conveying deeper meaning through the preparation of food. A further interesting piece of research would seek to discover whether increasing industrialisation and urbanisation removed women's sense of power over the preparation of food, or whether the

mysteries of bleeding the dying pig were simply replaced by the secrets of making the perfect sponge, thus preserving intact the feminine mystique.

For centuries people have debated whether human behaviour is determined by time and place or by the will of individuals. The debate will continue, joined by philosophers, historians and any thoughtful group of humans arguing into the small hours. They will query whether people's lives are engineered by social forces, intellectual or religious traditions, economic factors or the physical effects of geography, climate and biology. They will examine many situations and aspects of life to look for examples or even to find a starting point for discussion, for, as Isaiah Berlin explains, 'the principal difficulty is to know where to look for the answer at all; to know how even to begin to set about looking for a satisfactory solution.'<sup>9</sup> I would like to end this thesis by suggesting that one small but fruitful place to start is with a study of people's culinary practices over time, particularly when these are transferred from the place of origin to a completely different part of the globe, for in that tiny field are contained all the elements of the debate.

---

<sup>9</sup> Isaiah Berlin, 'Philosophy and Government Repression', in *The Sense of Reality: Studies in Ideas and their History* (London; Pimlico, 1997), p. 58.

## Bibliography

### A. PRIMARY SOURCES

#### Manuscripts

##### **Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, Tanunda, South Australia**

Thiermann, Johann Daniel, *On the ship 'Hermann von Beckerath' 1847*, U. Lynen, trans. (Tanunda: 1848). Translation of personal recollections of the ship voyage and impressions of life in Tanunda.

Folder containing photocopies of all the advertisements in the *Volkskalender* published in Tanunda between 1861 and 1913 by Basedow and Auricht.

##### **Friends of Westgarthtown Archives, Victoria, Australia**

Karsten, Maria, Handwritten recipe notebook (Mecklenburg/Melbourne, c.1848).

##### **Lutheran Archives, Adelaide, South Australia**

Schurmann, Clamor, *Correspondence with the Dresden Committee of the Evangelische Lutherische Mission Society*, Lutheran Archives volunteers, trans. (Adelaide, Victor Harbor and Port Lincoln: 1838 – 1844), Uncatalogued Lutheran Archives Folder.

Teichelmann, Christian G., *Diary*, Marcus Krieg, trans. (Adelaide: 1840–1845), Lutheran Archives Folder TA.

##### **Lyndoch District Historical Society Archives, South Australia**

Jacob, Ann, *Diary*, Anne Hausler, transcription (Jacobs Creek: 1839–1845).

##### **Mortlock Library, Adelaide, South Australia**

Tanunda Croquet Club Minutes (Tanunda: 1924–1933).

Tepper, Johann Gottlieb Otto, diary and personal papers (Adelaide: circa 1920), PRG 313.

##### **Private Possession of People in South Australia**

Cuffley, Peter (author of *The Federation Catalogue*), letter, 10 May (Melbourne: 2005). Possession of Angela Heuzenroeder, Tanunda.

Dyson, Laurel (author of *How to Cook a Galah*), letter, 17 November (Sydney: 2004). Possession of Angela Heuzenroeder, Tanunda.

Eckermann, William Paul, *A Brief History of One Line of the Pioneer Eckermann Family of South Australia* (Eudunda: 1957). Possession of Robert Eckermann, Plympton.

Geier, Anna, Hand written recipe notebook (Greenock: 1915). Possession of Dittrich family, Light Pass.

Geue, Johann Andreas Senior, *The Life of Andreas Geue Senior* (Bethel: 1923). Possession of Les and Yvonne Burgemeister, Light Pass.

- Grosser, Wanda, Hand written recipe notebook (Tanunda: c. 1920). Possession of Kernich family, Tanunda.
- Heinrich, Annie, Hand written recipe notebook (Light Pass: 1914). Possession of Margaret Zweck, Gawler.
- Henschke, Nita, Hand written recipe notebook (Keyneton:1917). Possession of Evelyn Rothe, Tanunda.
- Heuzenroeder, Moritz, *Ship Diary Written on the ship Patell, 1845, by the Pharmacist Moritz Heuzenroeder Born in Duderstadt, 1807, Died in Adelaide, South Australia, 1864.* (Aachen: 1994). Possession of Peter Heuzenroeder, Tanunda.
- Kleinschmidt, Mrs, Hand written recipe notebook (Lobethal: 1920). Possession of Kathy Kleinschmidt, Woodside.
- Kruger, Mrs A., Hand written recipe notebook (Sedan: 1908). Possession of Margaret Zweck, Gawler.
- Leditschke, Emilie Louise Pauline, *A Short Autobiography* (Adelaide: 1950). Possession of Angela Heuzenroeder, Tanunda.
- Nitschke, Emma Hulda, Hand written recipe notebook (Tanunda: 1914). Possession of Olga Nitschke, Tanunda.
- Pietsch, Alma, Hand written recipe notebook (Sedan: 1930–1980). Possession of Warwick Lang, Gawler.
- Saegenschnitter, Martha, and her mother, Hand written recipe notebook (Greenock, 1925, 1900). Possession of the Saegenschnitter family, Adelaide.
- Schilling, Louisa, Hand written recipe notebook (Truro: 1910). Possession of Reg Munchenberg, Truro.
- Semler, Ernestine, Hand written recipe notebook (Springton: 1898). Possession of Merle Hoffmann, Tanunda.
- Sporn, Gertie, and her mother, Hand written recipe notebook (Light Pass: 1925,
- Stiller, Walter, *My Childhood and Youth Experiences 1924–1955* (Tanunda: 1998). Possession of Angela Heuzenroeder, Tanunda.
- Stolz, Frau-Pastor M., Hand written recipe notebook (Light Pass: 1907). Possession of Vreni Kummerow, Angaston.
- Thiele, Colin (author of *The Seed's Inheritance* and *With Dew on my Boots*), letter to Angela Heuzenroeder (Dayboro, Queensland: 1995). Possession of Angela Heuzenroeder, Tanunda.

**State Records Library of South Australia**

*South Australia: Agriculture and Livestock Statistics* (Adelaide: Government Printer, 1907, 1913, 1914 1916).

Tanunda Institute Minutes (Tanunda, 1917–1932). Unit 1, GRG 58/206

### **University of Pennsylvania Electronic Archives**

Kidder, Ed., *Receipts of Pastry and Cookery for the Use of his Scholars, 1720–1740*, University of Pennsylvania Ms Codex 625, at <http://oldsite.library.upenn.edu/etext/collections/diaries/kidder/025.html>, accessed June 2005.

Petre, D., *Her book, 1705 – 1728*, University of Pennsylvania Ms Codex 624, at <http://oldsite.library.upenn.edu/etext/collections/diaries/doro/recipes/028.html> accessed June 2005.

### **Oral Sources – Interviews**

#### **Barossa Valley Public Library, Nuriootpa, South Australia: Barossa Council Public Library Oral History Collection**

Bartsch, Rita (Light Pass: 1993), Tape 62.  
Doering, Mona (Dutton: 1995, 1997), Tape 77 a/b.  
Gramp, Colin (Tanunda: 1993, 2004), Tape 69 a/b.  
Hahn, Bertha (Light Pass: 1993), Tape 64 a/b.  
Lehmann, Peter (Tanunda: 1996), Tape 65.  
Noack, Rhoda (Dutton: 1997), Tape 77 a/b.  
Schiller, Ben (Tanunda: 1984), Tapes 7, 21, 22.  
Schmidt, Harry (Light Pass: 1993), Tape 64 a/b.  
Schmidt, Melva (Light Pass: 1993, 2005), Tape 64 a/b.  
Stiller, Maria (Tanunda: 1982), Tape 12.

#### **Mortlock Library, Archival Database , Adelaide, South Australia**

Grocke, Johannes Otto (Tanunda: 1994), OH 175/18.  
Hill-Smith, Helen (Angaston: 2000), OH 175/23.  
Zweck, Margaret Anne (Light Pass: 1993), OH 175/15.

#### **Private possession – tapes or notes of interviews in possession of A. Heuzenroeder, Tanunda, South Australia**

Ahrens, Margaret (Vine Vale: 2004).  
Auricht, Erna (Tanunda: 2001).  
Bartsch, Eric (Tanunda: 2004).  
Bockmann, Vera (Tanunda: 1993).  
Burgemeister, Yvonne and Les (Light Pass: 2001, 2005).  
Eckermann, Stella (Tanunda: 1984, 1985).  
Falland, Barry (Tanunda: 1993).  
Fowler, Ken (Tanunda: 1997).  
Garrett, Frank (Tanunda: 1994).  
Geier, Anna and Gwenda (Greenock: 1994).  
Gramp, Colin and Josie (Tanunda: 2004, 2005).  
Grocke, Otto (Tanunda: 1994).  
Joan Haese (Tanunda: 2003).  
Hage, Dennis (Bethany: 2004).  
Hahn, Bertha (Light Pass: 1994, 1995, 2001, 2003, 2003, 2004, 2005).

Hein, Esma (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Heinze, Myrna (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Henschke, Prue (Keyneton: 2004).  
 Hentschke, Florence (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Heuzenroeder, Peter (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Homburg, Robert and Phyllis (Tanunda: 2005, 2006).  
 Jenke, Lois (Rowland Flat: 2004).  
 Klose, Brenton (Marananga: 1995).  
 Kolovs, Jenny (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Kraehenbuhl, Darrel N. (Adelaide: 1994).  
 Kroschel, Linda (Angaston: 2002, 2005).  
 Lange, Wally (Tanunda: 1996, 2006).  
 Lehmann, Olga (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Linke, Eric and Josie (Angaston: 2005).  
 Litterini, Di [née Koch] (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Melke, Grace (Melbourne: 2004).  
 Munchenberg, Reg (Truro: 2004).  
 Nicolai, Betty and Dennis (Bethany: 2001, 2004).  
 Nitschke, Janet (Greenock: 1997).  
 Nitschke, Olga (Krondorf: 2002, 2004, 2005).  
 O'Brien, Lewis [Aboriginal Elder] (Adelaide: 2004).  
 Pech, Beverly (Vine Vale: 1994).  
 Proeve, Rev. Heinrich F. W., (Tanunda: 2001).  
 Rosenzweig, Gloria and Mark (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Rothe, Frank and Melva (Tanunda: 1992).  
 Rothe, Luke (Light Pass: 2003).  
 Ruediger, Paul and Betty (Moculta: 2005).  
 Schach von Wittenau, Renate [German food writer], (Hannover: 1996).  
 Schmidt, Melva (Light Pass: 2005).  
 Schrapel, Lawrie (Bethany: 2004).  
 Schulz, Winifred (Tanunda: 1993, 1994, 1996).  
 Seppelt, Malcolm (Marananga: 2004, 2005).  
 Sonntag, Dianne (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Steinborner, Rhonda (Tanunda: 1993).  
 Stiller, Nita and Frank (Bethany: 1992).  
 Stiller, Walter (Tanunda: 2005).  
 Tscharke, Dulcie and Frank (Nuriootpa: 2002).  
 Tscharke, Leonie (Bethany: 2005).  
 Wohling, Sylvia (Bethany: 2004).  
 Zimmermann, Steve (Tanunda: 2004).  
 Zwar, Ivy (Nuriootpa: 1997).

### **Radio Programs**

Steincke, Nicole, ed., 'In the Black Kitchen: A Culinary History of the Barossa', on  
*Hindsight* (Sydney: ABC, 2000).



## Printed Primary Sources

### Electoral Rolls held at the State Library of South Australia

#### Parliamentary Papers

Great Britain, Parliament House of Commons Parliamentary Papers: Accounts Relating to the Trade Between Great Britain and the East Indies 1800–1859 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey microform).

#### Newspapers and periodicals

##### A. Held at the State Library of South Australia

*Deutsche Post, 1848–1850; Deutsche Zeitung; Farm and Garden*, 21 February, 10 March 1859; *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*, 1883; *The Chronicle*.

##### B. Held at the Lutheran Archives, Adelaide, South Australia

*Lutheran Almanac*, (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1918 – 1932).

##### C. Held at the Barossa Valley Public Library, Nuriootpa, South Australia

*Barossa News*, 1908 – 1935.

#### Published recipe books

*An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, Kitab al-tabikh fi al-Maghrib wal-Andalus*, Charles Perry, trans. In: Ambrosio Huici Miranda, ed., *La Cocina Hispano-Magrebi en la Epoca Almohade* (Madrid:1965), at [http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian\\_contents.htm](http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian_contents.htm), accessed June 2005.

Apicius, *The Roman Cookery Book*, Barbara Flower and Elizabeth Rosenbaum, eds and trans. (London: Harrap, 1958).

Austin, Thomas, ed., Harleian MS 279 c.1420, in *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

*The Barossa Cookery Book* (Tanunda: Tanunda Institute Committee, 1923).

*The Barossa Cookery Book: 1000 Selected Recipes* (Tanunda: Tanunda Institute Committee, 1932).

Beeton, Isabella, *The Book of Household Management, London, 1859 – 1861* (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide, 2004), at <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/b/beeton/isabella/household//>, accessed June 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Book of Household Management* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1888, 1901).

Bernhard, Otto, ed., *Dreihundertjähriges deutsches Kloster-Kochbuch* (Leipzig: R. Hennings'sche Buchhandlung, 1856).

*Das Brandenburgische Koch-Buch* (Berlin: Johann Andreas Rüdiger, 1723).

Davidis, Henriette, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, Luise Rosendorf, ed. (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1884).

- \_\_\_\_\_, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die gewöhnliche und feinere Küche*, Louise Höller, ed. (Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1890, ?1895).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die bürgerliche und feinere Küche* Helene Faber, ed. (Berlin: Schreyerscher Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906).
- Ein Koch- Und Artzney-Buch* (Grätz: Widmanstetterischen Erben, 1686), at <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/graz2.htm>, accessed 2005.
- Flavor of the Hill Country: Texas German Recipes from the Sauer-Beckmann Living History Farm* (Stonewall, Texas: Sauer-Beckmann Family, 1995).
- Food 'N Customs - Recipes of the Black Sea Germans* (Bismarck, North Dakota: Germans from Russia Heritage Society, n.d.).
- Food'n Folklore* (Bismarck, North Dakota: Germans From Russia Heritage Society, ?1985).
- The Fredericksburg Home Kitchen Cook Book* (Fredericksburg, Texas: Fredericksburg Parent Teacher Association, 1996).
- Gleim, Betty, *Bremisches Kochbuch* (Bremen: Johann Georg Hense, 1834).
- Gnadenberg Recipes* (Mocolta: Gnadenberg Lutheran Ladies Guild, South Australia, 1982).
- Grandel, Hanna, *Schlesische Spezialitäten* (Munich: Gerhard Rautenberg, 1988).
- Hahn, Mary, *Praktisches Kochbuch für die bürgerliche Küche* (Berlin-Steglitz: M. Hahn's Kochbuch-Verlag, 1934).
- Hajek, Hans, ed., *Das Buch von guter Speise, Augsburg [1350]* (Berlin: Würzburg Münchener Handschrift, 1958), at <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/bvgs.htm>, accessed June 2005.
- The Hawkesbury and Shoalhaven Calendar, Cultural and Cookery Guide and Useful Household Compendium* (Sydney: Woodhill Printing Works, 1905).
- Hobart Cookery Book of Tested Recipes, Household Hints and Home Remedies* (Hobart: Davies Brothers Limited, ?191-).
- Jüttner, Franz W., Tuohy, F. and Bentley, W. A., eds, *Barossa Cookery Book* (Tanunda: Tanunda Australia Day Committee, 1917).
- Kander, Mrs Simon, *The Settlement Cook Book* (Milwaukee: 'The Settlement', 1901).
- Kokebok*, 24 handwritten recipes (Oslo Riksarkivet: 1785), at <http://www.notaker.com/onlitxts/manurik1.htm>, accessed June 2005.
- Krummenerl, Rainer, *Küchenrenner für Landschaftskenner* (Leipzig: Verlag für die Frau, 1993).
- Kurek, Irén, *Lifting the Lid Off the Goulash: Secrets of Traditional Hungarian Cooking: Things My Mother Taught Me* (Melbourne: Academia Press, 2000).
- Lang, George, *The Cuisine of Hungary* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1971).
- Looft, Marcus, *Nieder-Sächsisches Koch-Buch* (Altona: Kortenschen Buchladen, 1755).
- Miller, Mrs, comp., *The Albion Park Scotch Fair Cookery Book* (Sydney : Worker Trade Union Print, 1909).
- McCallum, Nola, *The Holy Cross Lutheran Church 2003 Centenary Recipe Book* (Murray Bridge: PakPress, 2003).
- Moffatt, Mrs Willie, comp., *The Berrambool Recipe Book* (Melbourne: Specialty Press, ?1915).

- Molokhovets, Elena, *Classic Russian Cooking: A Gift to Young Housewives* [1897] Joyce Toomre, ed. and trans. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).
- Neues allgemeines Schlesisches Kochbuch für bürgerliche Haushaltungen ... von einer Schlesischen Hausfrau* (Berlin: Eduard Pelz, 1835).
- Rathmann, Elfrieda, *Grafschaft Glatzer Kochbuch* (Münster: published by the author, 1991).
- Riches from the Vine* (Nuriootpa: Soroptimist International Barossa Valley, 1994).
- Ritter, Henriette, *Kurzgefastes aber deutliches und vollstandiges Kochbuch*, (Berlin: T. H. Riemann, 1826).
- Rutledge, Mrs Forster, comp., *The Goulburn Cookery Book* (Sydney: Edwards, Dunlop & Co., 1912).
- St Michael's Lutheran Primary School Auxiliary, *Recipes From my Grossmutter* (Hahndorf, South Australia: St Michael's Lutheran Congregation, 1995).
- Sartorio, Salomone, *Cook Book: Containing A Hundred Useful Pieces* (Copenhagen: Kiöbenhaffn, 1616), at <http://www.notaker.com/onlitxts/kogebog.htm>, accessed June 2005.
- Schach von Wittenau, Renate, *Mecklenburg bittet zu Tisch* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1995).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sachsen bittet zu Tisch* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1999).
- Sharman, Annie L. ed., *Green and Gold Cookery Book* (Adelaide, published by the author? 1923).
- Smith, E., *The Compleat Housewife or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* [1753] (London: Literary Services and Production, 1968).
- Stopp, Hugo, ed., *Das Kochbuch der Sabina Welserin, Augsburg* [c.1553] (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter Heidelberg, 1980), at <http://www.staff.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/sawe.htm>, accessed June 2005.
- Vollmer, Richard, ed., *Universal-Lexikon der Kochkunst* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1909).
- Voulta, Ute, *Schlesien bittet zu Tisch: rezepte aus Schlesien* (Rendsburg-Eckernförde: Kreisfrauengruppe der Vereinigten Landsmannschaften, 1987).
- Weber, Elise, *Bürgerliches Kochbuch*, 25<sup>th</sup> Edition (Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, ?1890).
- Wiswe, Hans, ed., 'Ein mittelniederdeutsches Kochbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, No. 37, 1956, pp. 19-55, at <http://staff-www.uni-marburg.de/~gloning/mndk.htm>, accessed June 2005.

#### **Other Published Primary Sources**

- Adams, John Quincy, *Letters on Silesia Written During a Tour Through That Country in the Years, 1800, 1801* (London: J. Budd, 1804).
- Adams, John W. 'My Early Days in the Colony', *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, South Australia, No. 33, 1988, pp. 43–47.
- Bockmann, Vera, *Full Circle* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1987).

- Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme, *The Physiology of Taste*, Fayette Robinson, trans. (Adelaide: eBooks@Adelaide, 2004), at <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/b/brillat/savarin/b85p/index.html>, accessed July 2005.
- Brock, Daniel George, *Recollections of D. G. B.* [1843] (Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 1981).
- Carles, Emilie, *A Wild Herb Soup: The Life of a French Countrywoman*, Avriel Goldberger, trans. (London: Gollancz, 1991).
- Cato the Elder, 'Agriculture Chapters 36-39', in Paul Halsall, ed., *Internet Ancient History Sourcebook: Slavery in the Roman Republic* (New York: Fordham University, 1999), at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/slavery-romrepl.html>, accessed September 2005.
- Dampier, William, *A New Voyage Round the World* [1697] (New York: Dover Publications, 1968).
- Dickens, Charles, *A Christmas Carol* [1843] (London: Peerage Books, 1986).
- Dutton, Francis, *South Australia and its Mines* (London: Boone, 1846).
- Ey, Anna, *Early Lutheran Congregations of South Australia: Memoirs of a Pastor's Wife* (Adelaide: A. P. H. Freund, 1986).
- Eyre, Edward John, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines and the State of Their Relations with Europeans* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1845).
- Forest, Thomas, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas, 1774-1776* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1969).
- Gerstäcker, Friedrich, *Reisen*, Vol. 4 (Stuttgart und Tübingen: I.G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1854).
- Hailes, Nathaniel, *Recollections: Nathaniel Hailes' Adventurous Life in Colonial South Australia 1802 - 1879*, Allan L. Peters, ed. (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1998).
- Heyne, E. B., *The Amateur Gardener for South Australia* (Adelaide: Scrymgour & Sons, 1881).
- Iwan, Wilhelm, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien*, David Schubert, trans. as *Because of Their Beliefs* (Highgate, South Australia: H. Schubert, 1995).
- Jacob, William, *Report on the Trade in Foreign Corn and on the Agriculture of the North of Europe* (London: James Ridgway, 1826).
- Johnston, Carolyn, ed., *The Domostroi: Rules for Russian Households in the Time of Ivan the Terrible*, Carolyn Pouncy, trans. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994).
- Juers, Gottfried R., 'The Story of Old Hoffnungsthal', *The Lutheran Herald*, 22 August, 1938; 9 February 1939.
- Klose, Samuel, *Missionary to the Kurna: The Klose Letters*, Joyce Graetz, ed. and trans. (Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archives, 2002).
- Listemann, G., 'My Emigration to South Australia and Return to the Fatherland, 1851', B. Arnold, trans. *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, pp. 51-56.

- Luther, Martin, *The Letters of Martin Luther*, Margaret Currie, trans. and ed. (London: Macmillan, 1908).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* [1537], trans. F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), at <http://www.iclnet.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/concord/web/smc-03o.html>, accessed June 2005.
- Marshall, Joseph, *Travels Through Germany, Russia, and Poland in the Years 1769-1770* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971).
- Marx, Karl, *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, Part V, Chap. 16, Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, trans. (Marx/Engels Internet Archive: 1995), at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch16.htm>, accessed June 2005.
- Meyer, Heinrich August Eduard, 'Aborigines of Encounter Bay', in J. D. Woods, ed., *Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, E. S. Wigg & Son, 1879), at <http://www.library.adelaide.edu.au/digitised/SAhistory/sahistory.html>, accessed June 2005.
- Moryson, Fynes, *An itinerary vwritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the tyvelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: John Beale, 1617).
- Old Colonist, *Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia* [1851], E. M. Yelland, ed., (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1970).
- Reimer, Rudolf, 'A Contribution on the Question of German Emigration' [1850], B. Arnold, trans., *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, No. 33, 1988, pp. 48–49.
- Robertstown Jubilee 150 Historical Committee, ed., *Emmaus to World's End, A History of the Robertstown Council Area* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986).
- Schroller, Franz, *Schlesien, Band I* (Glogau: Carl Flemming, 1885).
- Schubert, David, ed., *Kavel's People: From Prussia to South Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1982).
- Schummel, Johann Gottlieb, *Reise durch Schlesien im Julius und August, 1791*, Wohciech Kunicki, ed. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995).
- Schurmann, Clamor W., 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia', in J. D. Woods, ed., *Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, E. S. Wigg & Son, 1879), at <http://www.library.adelaide.edu.au/digitised/SAhistory/sahistory.html>, accessed June 2005.
- Thiele, Colin, *The Sun on the Stubble* (Sydney: Lansdowne/Weldon, 1992).
- Teichelmann, Christian Gottlieb and Schurmann, Clamor W., *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Phraseology, of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia* (Adelaide: published by the authors at the native location, 1840). [The native location was Piltawodli on the banks of the Torrens River.]
- Vivienne, May, *Sunny South Australia* (Adelaide: Hussey and Gillingham, 1908).

- Von Rumohr, Karl Friedrich *The Essence of Cookery (Geist der Kochkunst)* [1822], Barbara Yeomans, trans. (London: Prospect Books, 1993).
- Wendlandt, Wilhelm, *Germans in a Strange Land* [1880] Philip Scherer, trans. (Tanunda: Philip Scherer, 1986).
- Willington, Joan Kyffin, ed., *Maisie, Her Life in Her Letters from 1898 to 1902* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 19992).
- Zwingli, Huldreich, *Von Freyheit der Spysen*, [1522] (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1900).

## B. SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abdalla, Michael, 'Food preservation Among Modern Assyrians', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation: Ethnological Studies* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 188–194.
- Abel, Wilhelm, *Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Olive Ordish, trans. (London: Methuen, 1980).
- Adamson, Melitta Weiss, 'Medieval Germany', in Melitta Weiss Adamson, ed., *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 153–196.
- Adorno, Theodor Wiesengrund, 'On the Question: "What is German?"', Thomas Y. Levin, trans., *New German Critique*, No. 36, 1985, pp. 121–131.
- Aka, Christine, 'The Change in Rural Food Storing in a Village in North-West Germany', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 83–90.
- Alavi, Hamza, 'Peasant Classes and Primordial Loyalties', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 1, No.1 (Oct 1973), pp. 23–59.
- Alberts, Robert C., *The Good Provider: H. J. Heinz and his 57 Varieties* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).
- Ambuhler, Reto, 'Basler Leckerli', *Information About Switzerland*, at [http://www.about.ch/culture/food/basler\\_leckerli.html](http://www.about.ch/culture/food/basler_leckerli.html), accessed August, 2002.
- Anderson, Virginia DeJohn, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Applebaum, Anne, *Between East and West* (London: Papermac, 1995).
- Appleby, Joyce, 'Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought', in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 162–173.
- Austin, Bette R., comp., *A Bibliography of Australian Cookery Books Published Prior to 1941* (Melbourne: RMIT, 1987).
- Bacon, Josephine, 'The Significance Of Wheat in Judaeo-Christian Religion', in Harlan Walker, ed., *Look and Feel: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1993* (London: Prospect Books, 1994), pp. 42–44.
- Bammer, Angelika, 'Mother Tongues and Other Strangers: Writing "Family" across Cultural Divides', in Angelika Bammer, ed., *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question* (Wisconsin: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 90–105.
- Bannerman, Colin, 'Recipes Come From Kitchens: Food Cultures Come From Printing Presses', in Barbara Santich and A. Lynn Martin, eds, *Culinary*

- History* (Brompton, South Australia: East Street Publications, 2004), pp. 107–114.
- Barthes, Roland, 'Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 20–27.
- Battcock, Mike and Azam Ali, Sue, *Fermented Fruits and Vegetables: A Global Perspective* (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1998).
- Bauer, Wolfgang, 'Die Nudeln des Marco Polo: Nachrichten vom chinesischen Kontinent des Geschmacks' in Uwe Schultz, ed., *Speisen, Schlemmen Fasten: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Essens Herausgegeben von Uwe Schultz* (Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1993), pp. 103–118.
- Beardsworth, Alan and Keil, Teresa, *Sociology on the Menu: An Invitation to the Beik, Study of Food and Society* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- Beik, William H., 'Searching for Popular Culture in Early Modern France', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 49, No. 2, 1977, pp. 266–281.
- Bell, David and Valentine, Gill, *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Bell, George and Bishop, Geoffrey, 'Foundations of the Barossa Valley Wine Industry', in Annelly Aeuckens, ed., *Vineyard of the Empire: Early Barossa Vignerons 1842 – 1939* (Adelaide: Australian Industrial Publishers, 1988), pp. 22–52.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas, 'The Social Construction of Reality', in Craig Calhoun *et al.*, eds, *Contemporary Social Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 42–50.
- Berlin, Isaiah, 'Philosophy and Government Repression' in *The Sense of Reality* (London; Pimlico, 1997), pp. 54–76.
- Bernard, R.-J., 'Peasant Diet in Eighteenth Century Gévaudan', in Elborg and Robert Forster, eds, *European Diet From Pre-industrial to Modern Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 19–46.
- Bernier, Jeanne-Marie, *A Baker's Dozen* (Sydney: Bread Research Institute of Australia, 1992).
- Berry, John W., 'Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation', in Amado M. Padilla, ed., *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 9–24.
- Bessièrè, Jacinthe, 'Local Development and Heritage: Traditional Food and Cuisine as Tourist Attractions in Rural Areas', *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1988, pp. 21–34.
- Best, Daniel, 'Fermentation Opportunities Ripen', *Prepared Foods*, Vol. 159, No. 7 p. 86.
- Bishop, Geoffrey, 'Viticulture and Wine-making, 1842–1905', in Annelly Aeuckens, ed., *Vineyard of the Empire: Early Barossa Vignerons 1842 – 1939* (Adelaide: Australian Industrial Publishers, 1988), pp. 53–90.
- Bishop, John M., *Birrell: Three Brothers Birrell* (Uraidla, South Australia: published by the author, 2003).
- Black, Maggie, *The Medieval Cookbook* (London: British Museum Press, 1992).

- Blum, Jerome, *The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'From Servitude to Freedom', in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past* (London: Thames and London, 1982), pp. 57–80.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Village and the Family', in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past* (London: Thames and London, 1982), pp. 9–32.
- Bogucka, Maria, 'The Towns of East-Central Europe From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke, eds, *East-Central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 97–108.
- Bolens, Lucie, 'Sciences Humaines et Histoire de l'Alimentation: Conservation des Aliments et Associations des Saveurs Culturelles', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Sec. XIII – XVIII* (Prato; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 387–412.
- Bolton, Geoffrey C., 'Louis Hartz', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1973, pp. 168–176.
- Borda, Beatriz, 'Food as a Medium for Preserving Culture', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 101–108.
- Botulism: Fact Sheet 270* (New York: World Health Organization, 2002), at <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/who270/en/>, accessed September 2005.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).
- Boxer, Charles Ralph, *Jan Compagnie in War and Peace 1602-1799* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1979).
- Braudel, Fernand, *Civilization and Capitalism 15<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> Century: The Structures of Everyday Life*, Vol. I (London: Collins, 1981).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Civilization and Capitalism 15<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> Century: The Wheels of Commerce*, Vol. II (London: Collins, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. 1 (London: Collins, 1972).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II (London: Collins, 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Personal Testimony', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 448–467.
- Brauer, Alfred, 'A Few Pages From the Life of the Fathers', *The Australian Lutheran Almanac for 1928* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1927), pp. 50–68.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Under the Southern Cross: History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*[1956] (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1985).
- Bread Research Institute of Australia, *Australian Breadmaking Handbook* (Kensington, NSW: TAFE Educational Books, 1989).
- Brears Peter, et al., *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain* (London: English Heritage / British Museum Press, 1993).



- Breen, T.H., 'The Meanings of Things: Interpreting the Consumer Economy in the Eighteenth Century', in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 249–260.
- Brewer, John and Porter, Roy, eds, Introduction, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 1–15.
- Bringéus, Nils-Arvid, 'Man, Food and Milieu', *Folk Life*, Vol. 8, 1970, pp. 45–56.
- Brock, William H., *Justus von Liebig, The Chemical Gatekeeper* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Bulbeck, David, Reid, Anthony, Lay Cheng Tan, Yiq Wu, comp., *Southeast Asian Exports Since the 14<sup>th</sup> Century: Cloves, Pepper, Coffee and Sugar* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998).
- Burke, Peter *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: T. Smith, 1978).
- Burnett, John, 'Trends in Bread Consumption', in Theodor C. Barker, John C. McKenzie, John Yudkin, eds, *Our Changing Fare: Two Hundred Years of British Food Habits* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1966), pp. 61–75.
- Campbell, R. H., 'Diet in Scotland: an Example of Regional Variation', in Theodor C. Barker, John C. McKenzie and John Yudkin, eds, *Our Changing Fare* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1966), pp. 47–60.
- Campbell-Platt, Geoffrey, 'Fermented Foods', in Richard K. Ronson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Food Microbiology* (London; San Diego: Academic Press, 2000), pp. 736–738.
- Camporesi, Piero, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, David Gentilecore, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Magic Harvest: Food, Folklore and Society*, Joan Krakover Hall, trans. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).
- Carlin, Martha and Rosenthal, Joel T., eds, *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe* (Ohio: Hambledon Press, 1998).
- Castleman, Geoff, *Growing Cereal Rye State of Victoria* (Walpeup, State of Victoria: Department of Primary Industries, 1995), at <http://www.dpi.vic.gov.au/dpi/nreninf.nsf/LinkView>, accessed May, 2001.
- Chaney, David, *Cultural Change and Everyday Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- Chaudhuri, Nupur, 'Shawls, Jewelry, Curry, and Rice in Victorian Britain', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds, *Western Women and Imperialism* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 251–242.
- Chaudhuri, K. N., *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean; An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Chauney, Martine, *Le Pain d'Épice de Dijon* (Dijon: Christine Bonneton, 1978).
- Cherl-Ho, Lee, 'Lactic Acid Fermented Foods and their Benefits in Asia', *Food Control*, Vol. 8, No. 5/6, 1997, pp. 259–269.
- Chilman, Joy K., *Barossa Valley Aboriginal Heritage Survey: Pilot Survey* (Adelaide: Department of Environment and Planning, 1990).
- Clark, Gregory, 'Productivity Growth Without Technical Change in European Agriculture before 1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2, 1987, pp. 419–432.

- Clutton-Brock, Juliet, *Domesticated Animals From Early Times* (London: Heinemann/British Museum, 1981).
- Cockburn, Rodney, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia* (Adelaide: Publishers Ltd, 1925-1927).
- Coles, Robin B. and Draper, Neale, 'Aboriginal History and Recently-Discovered Art in the Mount Lofty Ranges', *Torrens Valley Historical Journal*, October 1988, pp. 2-42.
- Collins, E. J. T., 'Why Wheat? Choice of Food Grains in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1993, pp. 7-38.
- Coombs, Bob, ed., *Australian Grains* (Camberwell Victoria: Morescope Publishing, 1994).
- Corn, Charles, *The Scents of Eden: A Narrative of the Spice Trade* (New York: Kodansha International, 1998).
- Cortonesi, Alfio, 'Self-sufficiency and the Market: Rural and Urban Diet in the Middle Ages', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 268-274.
- Counihan, Carole, 'Bread as World: Food Habits and Social Relations in Modernizing Sardinia', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 283-295.
- Coxe, Antony and Araminta Hippisley, *The Book of the Sausage* (London: Pan Books, 1978).
- Crawford, Gary W., 'Prehistoric Plant Domestication in East Asia', in C. W. Cowan and P. J. Watson, eds, *The Origins of Agriculture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), pp. 7-32.
- Cronin, Constance, *The Sting of Change: Sicilians in Sicily and Australia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
- Cross, Gary, 'Comparative Exceptionalism: Rethinking the Hartz Thesis in the Settler Societies of Nineteenth-Century United States and Australia', *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1991, pp. 15-41.
- Csergo, Julia, 'The Emergence of Regional Cuisines', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 500-515.
- Dalby, Andrew, *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (London: British Museum Press, 2000).
- Darnton, Robert, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).
- Darvey, N. L., 'Cereal Rye Industry' in Bob Coombs, ed., *Australian Grains* (Camberwell, Victoria: Morescope Publishing, 1994), pp. 374-378.
- Daunton-Fear, Richard and Vigar, Penelope, *Australian Colonial Cookery* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1977).
- David, Elizabeth, *English Bread and Yeast Cookery* (New York: Viking, 1980).
- Davies, Norman, *Europe: A History* (London: Pimlico, 1997).

- DeJohn Anderson, Virginia, 'Origins of New England Culture', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 48, No. 2, 1991, pp. 231–237.
- Dembińska, Maria, *Food and Drink in Medieval Poland*, Magdalena Thomas, trans., William Woys Weaver, revised and adapted (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Methods of Meat and Fish Preservation in the Light of Archaeological and Historical sources', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 13–23.
- Dennell, Robin, 'The Origins of Crop Agriculture in Europe', in C. W. Cowan and P. J. Watson, eds, *The Origins of Agriculture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1992), pp. 80–91.
- Desportes, Françoise, 'Food Trades', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 275–286.
- De Vries, Jan, 'Peasant Demand Patterns and Economic Development: Friesland 1550–1750', in William Parker and Eric Jones, eds, *European Peasants and Their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 205–236.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Purchasing Power and the World of Goods', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 85–132.
- Diamond, Jared, *Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everybody for the Last 13,000 Years* (London: Vintage, 1998).
- Diner, Hasia R., *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- Douglas, Mary, 'Deciphering a Meal', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 36–54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Michael Nicod, 'Taking the Biscuit: The Structure of British Meal', *New Society*, Vol. 19, Dec. 1974, pp. 744–747.
- Jack Cecil Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939).
- Louis Dupree, 'From Whence Cometh Pasta?' in Peter Snoy, ed., *Ethnologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Jettmar* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983), pp. 128–134.
- Laurel Dyson, *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia's Culinary Heritage* (Melbourne: Lothian, 2002).
- Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford; Malden MA: Blackwell, 2000).
- Ebaugh, Helen Rose and Chafetz, Janet Saltzman, 'Agents for Cultural Reproduction and Structural Change: The Ironic Role of Women in Immigrant Religious Institutions', *Social Forces*, Vol.78, No.2, 1999, pp. 585–612.
- Eckersley, M., 'History of Grain Farming in Australia', in Bob Coombs, ed., *Australian Grains* (Camberwell, Victoria: Morescope Publishing, 1994), pp. 206–212.

- Edwards, John, *The Roman Cookery of Apicius, Translated and Adapted for the Modern Kitchen* (London: Rider, 1984).
- Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* [1939], Edmund Jephcott, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978-1982).
- Elkin, Adolphus P., 'Reaction and Interaction: A Food Gathering People and European Settlement in Australia', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1951, pp. 164–186.
- Ellen, Roy, 'Sago Subsistence and the Trade in Spices: a Provisional Model of Ecological Succession and Imbalance in Moluccan History', in P. Burnham and R. Ellen, eds, *Social and Ecological Systems* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), pp. 43–74.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Nicola Goward, 'Notes on the Culinary Uses of Palm Sago in the Central Moluccas', *Petits Propos Culinaires*, Vol. 16, 1984, pp. 28–34.
- Ellerbrock, Karl-Peter, 'From Pickling or Drying to Modern Food Preservation: Economic Changes on the Threshold of the Industrial Age (1750-1850)', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Prato: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 441–461.
- Engerman, S., 'Family and Economy: Some Comparative Perspectives', in Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), pp. 233–248.
- Erbguth, F. J., 'Historical notes on botulism, *Clostridium Botulinum*, *Botulinum Toxin*, and the Idea of the Therapeutic Use of the Toxin', abstract. *Movement Disorders*, Vol. 19, No. 8, 2004, at <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/abstract/107633241/ABSTRACT>, accessed September 2005.
- Erickson, Charlotte, ed., *Emigration from Europe 1815 – 1914* (London: A. & C. Black, 1976).
- Fabian, F. W., Bryan, C.S. and Etchells, J. L., *Experimental Work on Cucumber Fermentation* (Michigan: Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1932).
- Fabian, Johannes, *Anthropology with an Attitude: Critical Essays* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001).
- Fabre, Geneviève, 'Feasts and Celebrations: Introduction', in Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Geneviève Fabre, eds, *Feasts and Celebrations in North American Ethnic Communities* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. 1–12.
- Fabre-Vassas, Claudine, *The Singular Beast: Jews, Christians & the Pig*. Carol Volk, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
- Fahey, Warren, *When Mabel Laid the Table: The Folklore of Eating and Drinking in Australia* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1992).
- Fauve-Chamoux, Antoinette, 'The Stem Family', in Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), pp. 86–113.
- Feeley-Harnik, Gillian, 'Religion and Food', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 63, No. 3, 1995, pp. 565–582.
- Hans Fenske, 'International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century', *Central European History* Vol. 13, No. 4, 1980, pp. 332–347.

- Fjellheim, Björn, 'The Conservation of Food as a State Peasant Economy', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 119–118.
- Flandrin, Jean Louis, 'Dietary Choices and Culinary Technique, 1500-1800', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 403–417.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'From Industrial Revolution to Industrial Food', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 435–441.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Le Goût a son Histoire', *Autrement*, Vol, 138, 1993, pp. 147–158.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Le Goût et la Nécessité: Sur l'Usage des Graisses dans les Cuisines d'Europe Occidentale, XIV-XVIII Siècle', *Annales E. S. C.*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1983, pp. 369–401.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Introduction: the Early Modern Period', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 349–373.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Seasoning, Cooking and Dietetics in the Late Middle Ages', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 313–327.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Today and Tomorrow', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 548–553.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Philip Hyman, 'Regional Tastes and Cuisines: Problems, Documents, and Discourses on Food in Southern France in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries', *Food and Foodways*, Vol 1, 1986, pp. 221–251.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Massimo Montanari, 'Introduction to the original edition', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 1–9.
- Flannery, Tim, *The Future Eaters* (Sydney: Reed New Holland, 1994).
- Fontaine, Laurence, *A History of Pedlars in Europe*, Vicki Whittaker, trans. (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1996).
- Foster, Robert, Hosking, Rick and Nettelbeck, Amanda, *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2001).
- Friedman, Jonathan, *Cultural Identity & Global Process* (London: Sage, 1994).
- Gabaccia, Donna R., *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1998).

- Gawlick, Henry, *Eigengebackt Brot: Brotbacken auf dem Lande in Mecklenburg* (Rostock: Volkskultur Institut Mecklenburg und Vorpommern, 1992).
- Geertz, Clifford, 'The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 33–54.
- , 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3–30.
- Goode, Judith, Theophano, Janet and Curtis, Karen, 'A Framework for the Analysis of Continuity and Change in Shared Sociocultural Rules for Food Use: The Italian-American Pattern', in Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, eds, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), pp. 66–88.
- Goody, Jack, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- , 'Industrial Food', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 338–356.
- Grant, Mark, *Roman Cookery: Ancient Recipes for Modern Kitchens* (London: Serif Cookery, 1999).
- Griggs, Peter, 'Sugar, Demand and Consumption in Colonial Australia, 1788 – 1900', in Robert Dare, ed., *Food, Power and Community* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1999), pp. 74–90.
- Guillaumin, Emile, *The Life of a Simple Man*, Margaret Crosland, trans. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1983).
- Haden, Roger, *Technologies of Taste: Configuring the Oven as Cultural Text*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Sydney: 2003).
- Hagen, William W., 'The Junkers' Faithless Servants: Peasant Insubordination and the Breakdown of Serfdom in Brandenburg-Prussia, 1763– 811', in Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee, eds, *The German Peasantry: Conflict and Community in Rural Society From the Eighteenth to the Twentieth centuries* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 71-101.
- Halbwachs, Maurice, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Harbottle, Lynn, 'Taste and Embodiment: The Food Preferences of Iranians in Britain', in Helen Macbeth, ed., *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp.175–185.
- Harmstorf, Ian, 'Aboriginals in the Barossa Valley Area', in Gordon Young, Ian Harmstorf, Donald Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Vol. 3* (Adelaide: SAIT, 1977), pp. 259–268.
- , 'South Australia's Germans in World War II', (Adelaide: South Australian German Association, 1987), at <http://www.sagermanassociation.asn.au/images/WW11.doc>, accessed in 2004, 2005.

- Harnisch, Hartmut, 'Peasants and Markets: the Background to the Agrarian Reforms in Feudal Prussia East of the Elbe, 1760-1807', in Richard J. Evans and W. Robert Lee, eds, *The German Peasantry : Conflict and Community in Rural Society From the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London: Croom Helm, 1986, ), pp. 37–70.
- Harris, Marvin, 'The Abominable Pig', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 67–79.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Good to Eat* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).
- Hartz, Louis, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York: Brace & World, 1964).
- Hazelton, Nika Standen, *The Cooking of Germany* (New York; The Hague: Time/Life Publications, 1971).
- Hebart, Theodor Ernst, *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1938).
- Heinze, Andrew R., 'Mass Consumption, Schmass Consumption: On Jewish Things and American Popular Culture', *Review in American History*, Vol. 24, No.1, 1996, pp. 73 – 83.
- Heinzelmann, Ursula, 'Spreewälder Gurken: Pickled Cucumbers from the Spreewald', *Gastronomica – the Journal of Food and Culture*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2004, pp. 13–17.
- Heuzenroeder, Angela, 'All Fired Up: Wood Ovens in the Barossa', *Divine Food and Wine*, July-September, 2004, pp. 15–19.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Barossa Food* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1999).
- Hexter, J. H., 'Fernand Braudel and the *Monde Braudellien*', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 1972, pp. 480–539.
- Hirst, J. B., 'Keeping Colonial History Colonial: The Hartz Thesis Revisited', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 82, 1984, pp. 85–104.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J., 'Peasants and Politics', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1973, pp. 3–22.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Hocquet, Jean Claude and Hocquet, Jacqueline, 'The History of a Food Product: Salt in Europe. A Bibliographic Review', *Food and Foodways*, Vol. 1, 1987, pp. 425–447.
- Hodges, Richard, *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).
- Hoerder, Dirk, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).
- Holmes, Duncan, 'This is War', manuscript of unpublished article (Toronto: 1996). Possession of Angela Heuzenroeder.
- Holt, James, 'Louis Hartz's Fragment Thesis', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1973, pp. 3–11.
- Holweck, Frederick G., 'Easter', in K. Knight, ed., *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, [1909] (New York, Online Edition, 2003), at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>, accessed December, 2004.
- Hoops, Johannes, *Waldbäumer und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1905).

- Hörandner, Edith, 'Kostformen in Wandel', *Ernährungs-Umschau* Vol. 37, 1990, pp. 15–20.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Storing and Preserving Meat in Europe: Historical Survey', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbón, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 53–59.
- The House of Seppelt* (Adelaide: The Advertiser, 1951).
- Howes, David, Introduction to David Howes, ed., *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1–17.
- Huang, H. T., 'Fermentations and Food Science', in Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* [1954], Vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Hudgins, Sharon, 'Edible Art: Springerle Cookies', *Gastronomica*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 2004, pp. 66–71.
- Huetz de Lempis, Alain, 'Colonial Beverages and the Consumption of Sugar', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 383–393.
- Huggett, Frank E., *The Land Question and European Society* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975).
- Huss-Ashmore, Rebecca and Johnston, Susan L., 'Wild Plants as Famine Foods: Food Choice Under Conditions of Scarcity', in Helen Macbeth, ed., *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp. 83–100.
- Ilcan, Suzan, *Longing in Belonging: The Cultural Politics of Settlement* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Praeger, 2002).
- Inglehart, Ronald and Baker, Wayne E., 'Modernization, Cultural Change and the Persistence of Traditional Values', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 65, 2000, pp. 19–51.
- Ioannou, Noris, *The Barossa Folk: Germanic Furniture and Craft Traditions in Australia* (Roseville East, South Australia: Craftsman House, 1995).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Barossa Journeys Into a Valley of Tradition* (Adelaide: Paringa Press, 1997).
- Isaac, Rhys, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Williamsburg VA: North Carolina Press, 1982).
- Israel, Jonathan I., *Dutch Primacy in World Trade 1585-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
- Jacob, Heinrich, *Six Thousand Years of Bread: Its Holy and Unholy History* [1944] (New York: Lyons & Burford, 1997).
- Jägerstad, M., Jastrebova, J. and Svensson, U., 'Folates in Fermented Vegetables – A Pilot Study', *Lebensmittel Wissenschaft und Technologie*, Vol. 37, No. 6, 2004, pp. 603–611.



- James, Allison, 'Cooking the Books: Global or Local Identities in Contemporary British Food Cultures?' in David Howes, ed., *Cross-Cultural Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 78–91.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Piggy in the Middle: Food Symbolism and Social Relations', *Food, Culture and History*, Vol. 1, 1993, pp. 29–48.
- Jardine, Lisa, *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996).
- Jensen, Elfrida, *Barossan Foundations* (Adelaide: Nuriootpa War Memorial Community Centre Inc., 1969).
- Jobse-van Putten, Jozien, 'An Outline of the Development of Food Preservation in the Past Hundred Years', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 119–127.
- Jones, Maldwyn A., *Destination America* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1976).
- Jonitis, Peter Paul, *The Acculturation of the Lithuanians of Chester, Pennsylvania* (New York: AMS Press, 1985).
- Jordan, Terry G., 'Preadaptation and Modernization in Rural North America', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 79, No. 4, 1989, pp. 489–500.
- Juhnke, Richard, *Wohlau, Geschichte des Fürstentums und des Kreises* (Würzburg: Holzner Verlag, 1965).
- Jupp, James, ed., *The Australian People, An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).
- Kaiser, Herrmann, *Das alltägliche Brot* (Cloppenburg: Niedersächsisches Freilichtmuseum, 1989).
- Kaiser, S., 'Zuckergeschichte in Schlesien', *Schlesischer Kulturspiegel*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1997, pp. 22–23.
- Kalčol, Susan, 'Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity', in Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, eds, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), pp. 37–65.
- Kaplan, Anne R., Hoover, Marjorie A. and Moore, Willard B., 'Introduction: On Ethnic Foodways', in Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge, eds., *The Taste of American Place* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), pp. 121–134.
- Kaplan, Steven Lawrence, 'Breadways', *Food and Foodways*, Vol. 1, 1987, pp. 1–33.
- Kaufman, Cathy, 'The Ideal Christmas Dinner', *Gastronomica*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 2004, pp. 17–24.
- Kisbán, Eszter, 'The beginnings of potato cultivation in Transylvania and Hungary: government policy and spontaneous process', in John Burnett and Derek J. Oddy, eds, *The Origins and Development of Food Policies in Europe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 178–191.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Dishes as Samples and Symbols: National Ethnic Markers in Hungary', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann and Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und Kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 204–211.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Food Habits in Change: The Example of Europe', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 2–9.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'May His Pig Fat be Thick: Domestic Conservation of Fat in Hungary', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 24–32.
- Kittelberger, Karl F., *Lebkuchen und Aachener Printen: Geschichte eines höchst sonderbaren Gebäcks* (Aachen: Meyer und Meyer Verlag, 1988).
- Knibiehler, Yvonne, 'Essai sur l'Histoire de la Cuisine Provençale', *Oxford Symposium Proceedings 1981: National and Regional Styles of Cooking* (London: Prospect Books, 1981), pp. 184–190.
- Köck, Christoph, 'Preserving Food at Home or Buying it to Hoard?' in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 128–137.
- Körber-Grohne, Uldegard, *Nutzpflanzen in Deutschland von der Vorgeschichte bis heute* (Hamburg: Nikol, 1995).
- Kowalska-Lewicka, Anna, 'The Pickling of Vegetables in Traditional Polish Peasant Culture', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 33–37.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Potato and the Polish Kitchen', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 90–94.
- Kraehenbuehl, Darrell, *Pioneer German Botanists in Colonial South Australia: The Ones Who Stayed – And Those Who Left* (Adelaide: unpublished typescript prepared for the Barossa Valley Vintage Festival, 1993).
- Krauss, Irene, 'Heute back' ich, morgen brau' ich: Zur Kulturgeschichte von Brot und Bier', *Deutsche Lebensmittel-Rundschau*, Heft 8, 1995, pp. 251–255.
- Kroeber, A. L. and Kluckhohn, Clyde, *Culture, a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (New York: Random House, 1952).
- Krug-Richter, Barbara, 'Nahrung und Ernährung im frühneuzeitlichen Nordwestdeutschland: Münster in Westfalen im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Prato: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 187–216.
- Kuper, Jessica, ed., *The Anthropologists' Cookbook* (London; New York: Kegan Paul International, 1997).
- Kurek, Irén, *Lifting the Lid off the Goulash: Secrets of Traditional Hungarian Cooking: Things My Mother Taught Me* (Melbourne: Academia Press, 2000).
- Lalonde, Marc P., 'Deciphering a Meal Again, or the Anthropology of Taste', *Social Science Information*. Vol. 31, No. 1, 1992, pp. 69–86.
- Laurieux, Bruno, 'Medieval Cooking', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 295–301.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Spices in the Medieval Diet: A New Approach', *Food & Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, Vol. I, 1985, pp. 43–76.
- Lawson, Philip, *The East India Company: - A History* (London: Longman, 1993).

- Le Roy Ladurie, Emanuel, 'Famine Amenorrhoea, Seventeenth - Twentieth Centuries', Elborg Forster, trans., *Annales E.S.C.*, Nov.-Dec. 1969, pp. 1589–1601.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French village 1294 – 1324* (London: Scolar, 1978).
- Leahy, Terry, 'Food and the Environment', in John Germov and Lauren Williams, eds, *A Sociology of Food and Nutrition: The Social Appetite* (South Melburne: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 34–53.
- Carola Lentz, ed., Introduction to *Changing Food Habits: Case Studies from Africa, South America and Europe* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), pp. 1–26.
- Peter Lesniczak, *Alte Landschaftsküchen im Sog der Modernisierung* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003).
- Levenstein, Harvey, 'The American Response to Italian food, 1880-1930', *Food & Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, Vol. I, 1985, pp. 1–24.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Food Habits of European Immigrants to America: Homogenization or Hegemonization?', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann und Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 465–472.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Paradox of Plenty; A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
- Levine, David, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (New York: Academic Press, 1977).
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 'The Culinary Triangle', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 28–35.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, John and Doreen Weightman, trans. (London: Cape, 1970-1981).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Structural Anthropology*, Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, trans. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977).
- Light Pass Revisited Committee, *Light Pass Revisited, a History of People, Places and Events at Light Pass, South Australia*. (Light Pass: unpublished typescript, 1986).
- Lightfoot, Kent G., Martinez, Antoinette and Schiff, Ann M., 'Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence From Fort Ross, California', *American Antiquity*, Vol. 63, No 2, 1998, pp. 199–222.
- Lockwood, Yvonne R. and Lockwood, William G., 'Pasties in Michigan's Upper Peninsula: Foodways, Interethnic Relations, and Regionalism', in Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge, eds, *The Taste of American Place: A Reader on Regional and Ethnic foods* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), pp. 21–36.

- Lonie, John, *Keep Your Eye on Germany*: Theatre program (Adelaide: Magpie Theatre, 1979?).
- Lorini, Alessandra, 'Public Rituals and the Cultural Making of the New York African-American Community', in Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Geneviève Fabre, eds, *Feasts and Celebrations in North American Ethnic Communities* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. 29–47.
- Love, David R. and Love, Dulcie I., *The Linke Families in Australia 1838-1980: A History and Family Tree* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1980).
- Low, Tim, *Wild Food Plants of Australia* (Pymble, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1991).
- Ludbrook, N. H., *A Guide to the Geology and Mineral Resources of South Australia* (Adelaide: Department of Mines and Energy South Australia, 1987).
- Ludvíková, Miroslava, 'A Contemporary Look at old Food Preserving Methods Practised in Moravia', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 138–146.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Integration Processes in the Popular Diet of the South Moravian Border Region', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 138–145.
- Lunt, Horace G., 'Food in the Rus' Primary Chronicle', in Musya Glants and Joyce Toomre, eds, *Food in Russian History and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 15–30.
- Macbeth, Helen and Green, Alex, 'Nationality and Food Preferences in the Cerdanya Valley, Eastern Pyrenees', in Helen Macbeth, ed., *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp. 139–154.
- Macfarlane, Alan, *The Origins of English Individualism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).
- Macneil, Rod, 'Time after Time: Temporal Frontiers and Boundaries in Colonial Images of the Australian Landscape', in Lynette Russell, ed., *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 47–65.
- Makkai, Laszlo, 'Economic Landscapes: Historical Hungary from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke, eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 24–35.
- Malcolmson, R. and Mastoris, S., *The English Pig: A History* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998).
- Malinkowa, Trudla, *Sorbische Auswanderer nach Übersee* (Bautzen: Domowina Verlag, 1995).
- Malowist, Marian, 'Comments on the Circulation of Capital in East Central Europe', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke, eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 109–120.

- Maltsters Association of Great Britain, *How is Malt Made?* (Newark, Notts, 1994), at <http://www.ukmalt.com/howmaltismade/maltnade.html>, accessed May, 2001.
- Mangelsdorf, Betty, Ahrens, Elsie and Bell, John, *The Story of the Ahrens Family* (Adelaide: Betty Mangelsdorf, 2003).
- Mannion, John, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
- Markuš, Michal, 'Turning-Points in the History of popular Diet in Slovakia', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbón, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 143–147.
- Marle, William, 'Olde Baking Recipes' on the website of *The Worshipful Company of Bakers* (London: n.d.), at <http://www.bakers.co.uk/recipes-european.php4#nonpareils>, accessed August 2002.
- Martin, A. Lynn, 'National Reputations for Drinking in Traditional Europe', *Paragon*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 1999, pp. 163–186.
- Martin, A.W., 'Australia and the Hartz 'Fragment' Thesis', *Australian Economic History Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1973, pp. 131–147.
- Mason, Laura, 'Gingerbread', in Alan Davidson, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Food* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 338–339.
- McCance, R. A., and Widdowson, E. M., *Breads White and Brown* (London: Pittman Medical Publishing, 1956).
- McCracken, Grant, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).
- McGee, Harold, *On Food and Cooking: The Science and Lore of the Kitchen* (New York: Scribner, 2004).
- McIntosh, William Alexander *Sociologies of Food and Nutrition* (New York: Plenum Press, 1996).
- Mead, Margaret, 'The Changing Significance of Food', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 11–19.
- Meillassoux, Claude, 'The Social Organisation of the Peasantry: The Economic Basis of Kinship', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 1, No.1, 1973, pp. 81–90.
- Mendelson, Anne, 'Hartshorn, Salt and Potash', *Petits Propos Culinaires*, Vol. 20, 1985, pp. 78–79.
- Mennell, Stephen, *All Manners of Food : Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Culinary Culture of Europe Overseas', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann und Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 459–464.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'On the Civilizing of Appetite', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 315–337.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sociological Theory: Uses and Unities* (London: Nelson, 1974).

- \_\_\_\_\_, Ann Murcott and Anneke H. van Otterloo, *The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture* (London: Sage, 1992).
- Menz, Christopher, *Colonial Biedemeier and German Art in South Australia During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 1992).
- Messer, Ellen, 'Three Centuries of Changing European Tastes for the Potato', in Helen Macbeth, ed., *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp.101–113.
- Meyer-Renschhausen, Elisabeth, 'The Porridge Debate: Grain, Nutrition and Forgotten Food Preparation Techniques', in Carola Lentz, ed., *Changing Food Habits: Case Studies From Africa, South America and Europe* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), pp. 181–209.
- Miller, Naomi F., 'The Origins of Plant Cultivation in the Near East', in C. W. Cowan and P. J. Watson, eds, *The Origins of Agriculture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1992), pp. 39-58.
- Milner, Andrew, *Cultural Materialism* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Browitt, Jeff, *Contemporary Cultural Theory* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2002).
- Mintz, Sidney W., 'The Changing Roles of Food in the Study of Consumption', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 261–275.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'A Note on the Definition of Peasantries', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. ,1 No. 1, 1973, pp. 91–106.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sweetness and Power: the Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1986).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture and the Past* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1996).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Time, Sugar and Sweetness', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 357–369.
- Mitchell, Ellen, *Maria Karsten's (née Ziebell) Culinary Calendar 1999* (Melbourne: Friends of Westgarthtown, 1998).
- Mitterauer, Michael, 'Peasant and Non-peasant Family Forms', in Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), pp. 26–48.
- Moinier, Bernard, 'The Role of Salt in Civilisation', *Science Tribune*, October 1996, at <http://www.tribunes.com/tribune/sel/mon1.htm>, accessed September 2005.
- Möller, Helmut, *Die kleinbürgerliche Familie im 18 Jahrhundert: Verhalten und Gruppenkultur* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969).
- Montanari, Massimo, *The Culture of Food*, Carl Ipsen, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Food Models and Cultural Identity', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 189–193.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Food Systems and Models of Civilization', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 69–78.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Peasants, Warriors, Priests: Images of Society and Styles of Diet', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 178–185.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Production Structures and Food systems in the Early Middle Ages', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 168–177.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Romans, Barbarians, Christians: The Dawn of European Food Culture', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 165–167.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Toward a New Dietary Balance', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 247 – 250.
- Montero, Darrel, 'The Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Assimilation over Three Generations', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 46, No. 6, 1981, pp. 829–839.
- Montgomerie, Deborah, 'Beyond the Search for Good Imperialism: The Challenge of Comparative Ethnohistory', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1997. pp. 153–168.
- Morineau, Michel, 'Growing Without Knowing Why: Production, Demographics and Diet', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 374–382.
- Muller, H. G., 'Industrial Food Preservation in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in C. Anne Wilson, ed., *Waste Not, Want Not: Food Preservation in Britain from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 104–133.
- Munchenberg, Reginald S., Proeve, Heinrich F. W., Ross, Donald A., Hausler, E. Anne and Saegenschnitter, Geoffrey B., eds, *The Barossa, A Vision Realised* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1992).
- Nettelbeck, David, *Common Sense and Courage: The Nettelbeck Family* (Caulfield South, State of Victoria: published by the author, 1999).
- Neumann, Gerhard, 'Bayerischer Märchenkönig und pommerscher Junker: Essen und Trinken in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Uwe Schultz, ed., *Speisen, Schlemmen Fasten: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Essens Herausgegeben von Uwe Schultz* (Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1993), pp. 344–357.
- Niekrawietz, Hans and Konrad, Werner, *Schlesien, unvergessene Heimat* (Würzburg: Adam Kraft Verlag, 1991).

- Notaker, Henry, 'Comments on the Interpretation of Plagiarism', *Petits Propos Culinaires*, Vol. 70, 2002, pp. 58–66.
- Oliver, Guillermo, Nuñez, Martha and Gonzalez, Sylvia 'Fermented Vegetable Products', in Richard K. Ronson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Food Microbiology* (London/San Diego: Academic Press, 2000), pp. 739–744.
- Osmond, Jonathan, 'Land, Peasant and Lord in German Agriculture Since 1800', in Sheilagh Ogilvie and Richard Overy, eds, *Germany, A New Social and Economic History, Volume 3, since 1800* (London; New York: Arnold, 2003), pp. 74–105.
- Ownby, Ted, 'Harvest Celebrations in the Rural South and the Challenge of Mass Culture, 1865–1920', in Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Geneviève Fabre, eds, *Feasts and Celebrations in North American Ethnic Communities* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Press, 1995), pp. 129–139.
- Pacitti, Domenico, 'Does the Devil Eat Hot Dogs?', *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 21 December, 2000.
- Padilla, Amado M., ed., *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980).
- Pagrach-Chandra, Gaitri, *Windmills in my Oven: A Book of Dutch Baking* (London: Prospect Books, 2002).
- Papashvily, Helen and Papashvily, George, *The Cooking of Russia* (New York: Time/Life Books, 1972).
- Parker, Willam N. and Jones, Eric L., eds, *European Peasants and Their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Parsonson, Ian, *The Australian Ark: A History of Domesticated Animals in Australia* (Collingwood: CSIRO, 1998).
- Paschel, Jarrett Michael, *A Theory of Collective Taste and Preference: The Sociology of Food and Wine* (Washington: University of Washington, 1999).
- Payne, Pauline, 'Richard Moritz Schomburgk, Second Director of the Adelaide Botanic Garden, 1865 – 91', in Ian Harmstorf and Peter Schwerdtfeger, eds, *The German Experience of Australia 1833 – 1938* (Adelaide: The Australian Association of Humboldt Fellows, 1988), pp. 69–92.
- Pearce, H. R., 'The Hop Kiln in Australia and its Significance in the Lobethal Area', in Gordon Young, ed., *Lobethal, Valley of Praise* (Adelaide: South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, 1983).
- The Pech Heritage: A History and Family Tree of Johannes Pech and His Descendants 1850 – 1987* (Adelaide: Pech Family History Committee, 1987).
- Pederson, Carl S., *Microbiology of Food Fermentations* (Westport, Connecticut: AVI Publishing Company, 1979).
- Pedrocco, Giorgio, 'The Food Industry: New Preservation Techniques', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 481–491.
- Perkins, John A., 'The German Agricultural Worker 1815 – 1914', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1984, pp. 3–27.



- Pfister, Ulrich, 'The Protoindustrial Household Economy', in Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), pp. 114–145.
- Pitte, Jean-Robert, *French Gastronomy: the History and Geography of a Passion*, Jody Gladding, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- Polya, Rosemary, *Food Regulation in Australia: A Chronology* (Parliamentary Library, Federal Parliament of Australia, 2001), at <http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/chron/2001-02/02chr01.htm#> accessed May, 2005.
- Pomeranz, Kenneth and Topik, Steven, *The World That Trade Created: Culture, Society, Culture and the World Economy 1400 to The Present* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1999).
- Proeve, Heinrich F. W., *A Dwelling-Place at Bethany; The Story of a Village Church* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1983).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gottlieb and Hedwig Schultz of Walton: The Story of Their Emigration and the Families of Their Children* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1980).
- Rabinowitsch, Mihail, 'Eating Habits in Russian Towns in the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries: the Main Phases of Development', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbón, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 63–68.
- Radeva, Lilija, 'Periods and Turning-points in the History of Bulgarian Food', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbón, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 63–68.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Traditional Methods of Food Preserving Among the Bulgarians', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 38–44.
- Rechner, Peter, 'History and Culture of Silesia, Cradle of the Lutheran Church of Australia', Adelaide, Lecture at the Meeting of the Friends of the Lutheran Archives, 27 June, 2005, *FoLA Newsletter*, August, 2005.
- Reichstein, Rudolph Walter, *The History and Family Tree of Johann Wilhelm Reichstein & Johanna Caroline Dorothea Reichstein* (Adelaide: Reichstein Family Reunion Committee, 1973).
- Riera-Melis, Antoni, 'Society, Food and Feudalism', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 251–267.
- Rockwell, Joan, 'The Danish Peasant Village', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1974, pp. 409–461.
- Rønnevig, E., *Bakaromnen, Trend og Tradisjon* (Oslo: Norskett Samlaget, 2001).
- Rösener, Werner, *Bauern im Mittelalter* (München: C. H. Beck, 1985).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Peasantry of Europe*, Thomas Barker, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

- Rosenthal, Erich, 'Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago Illinois', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 66, No. 3, 1960, pp. 275–288.
- Ross, Alice, 'A Gingerbread Tradition', *The Journal of Antiques and Collectibles*, Vol. 1, December, 2000, at <http://www.journalofantiques.com/hearthdec.htm>, accessed August 2002, 2005.
- Ross, Donald, 'A Land of Wheat and Vines', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1992), pp. 49–71.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Special Surveys in a Land of Hills and Valleys', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1992), pp. 10–20.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Munchenberg, Reginald, 'The Everyday Way of Life', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1992), pp. 123–144.
- Roy, Prodipto, 'The Measurement of Assimilation: The Spokane Indians', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 67, No. 5, 1962, pp. 541–551.
- Rozin, Elisabeth and Rozin, Paul, 'Some Surprisingly Unique Characteristics of Human Food Preferences', in Alexander Fenton and Trefor Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978), pp. 243–252.
- Rudolph, Richard L., ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995).
- Ruotsala, Antti, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other* (Helsinki: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, 2001).
- Saalfeld, Diedrich, 'The Struggle to Survive', in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past* (London: Thames and London, 1982), pp. 109–132.
- Sabban, Françoise, 'Insights into the Problem of Preservation by Fermentation in 6<sup>th</sup> Century China', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 45–54.
- Sack, Daniel, *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
- Samsonowicz, Henryk and Maczak, Antoni, 'Feudalism and Capitalism: a Balance of Changes in East-Central Europe', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke, eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 6–23.
- Sanders, Matthew and McInerny, Bernie, 'Land Use in the Bethany Region From 1844 to 1900', in Gordon Young, Ian Harmstorf and Donald Langmead, eds, *Barossa Survey Vol 3* (Adelaide: Australian Heritage Commission, 1977), pp. 269–288.
- Santich, Barbara, *Looking for Flavour* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1996).
- Saunders, Alan, 'Why Do We Want an Australian Cuisine?' *Australian Cultural History*, No.15, 1993, pp. 1–18.
- Schama, Simon *The Embarrassment of Riches* ((New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987).

- Scharfenberg, Horst, *The Cuisines of Germany* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1989).
- Scherer, Philip A., *Bethany Profiles* (Tanunda: published by the author, 1993).
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants*, David Jacobson, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).
- Schlegel-Matthies, Kirsten, 'Regionale Speisen in deutschen Kochbüchern des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann und Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 212–227.
- Schulz, Elizabeth M., *Guilty Till Proven Innocent*, unpublished thesis (Adelaide: University of South Australia, 1987).
- Schumaker-Voelker, Uta, 'German Cookery Books, 1485 – 1800', *Petits Propos Culinaires*, Vol. 6, 1980, pp. 34–46.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Reprints of Old German Cookery Books', *Petits Propos Culinaires*, Vol. 7, 1981, pp. 47–54.
- Schurmann, Edwin A., *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia 1838-1853* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1987).
- Shanin, Teodor, 'The Nature and Logic of the Peasant Economy', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol.1, No. 1, 1973, pp. 186–206.
- Shephard, Sue, *Pickled, Potted and Canned: How the Art and Science of Food Preserving Changed the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
- Sheppard, R. and Newton, E., *The Story of Bread* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957).
- Shortridge, Barbara G. and Shortridge, James R., eds, 'Introduction', *The Taste of American Place* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), pp. 1–20.
- Sillasoo, Ülle, 'Defining Food Boundaries on the Basis of Late Medieval Urban Archaeobotanical Material' (Tallinn: unpublished paper delivered at 3rd Conference of the Institut Européenne de l'Histoire d'Alimentation in Bologna, Italy, 2003).
- Silverman, Sydel, 'The Peasant Concept in Anthropology', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 7, No.1, 1979, pp. 49–69.
- Simoons, Frederick J., *Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances in the Old World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Food in China; A Cultural and Historical Inquiry* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2000).
- Simpson, E. R., *The Hahndorf Walkers and the Beaumont Connection* (Adelaide: Beaumont Press, 1983).
- Smith, Anthony D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1986).
- Smith, R. E. F., *Bread and Salt: A Social and Economic History of Food and Drink in Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- Smith, T. Lynn and Parenton, Vernon J., 'Acculturation Among the Louisiana French', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 44, No. 3, 1983, pp. 355–364.

- Soler, Jean, 'The Semiotics of Food in the Bible', in Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik, eds, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 55–66.
- Spiro, Melford E., 'The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups', *American Anthropologist* New Series, Vol. 57, No. 6, 1955, pp. 1240–1252.
- Spode, Hasso, 'Dear Sauf bleibt ein allmächtiger Abgott bei uns Deutschen': *Trunkenheit als Baustein der nationalen Identität*, in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann und Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 212–227.
- Stare, Frederick J. and Trulson, Martha F., 'The Implantation of Preference', in Seymour M. Farber et al., eds, *Food & Civilization: Voice of America Forum Lectures* (Washington: Charles C. Thomas, 1966), pp. 224–237.
- Stead, Jennifer, 'Necessities and Luxuries: Food Preservation from the Elizabethan to the Georgian Era', in C. Anne Wilson, ed., *Waste Not, Want Not: Food Preservation in Britain from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 66–103.
- Stoličnà, Rastislava, 'The Ways of Food Preservation in Slovakia', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 219–225.
- Sweeney, Kevin W., 'Alice's Discriminating Palate', *Philosophy and Literature*, Vol. 23, No.1, 1999, pp. 17-31.
- Symons, Michael, *One Continuous Picnic: A History of Eating in Australia* (Adelaide: Duck Press, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Shared Table: Ideas for Australian Cuisine* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1993).
- Szromba-Rysowa, Zofia, 'Bourgeois Influences on Polish Popular Food and Eating Habits: Directions and Periods of Change', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbón, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 95–98.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Social Aspect of the Popular Diet in Poland, with Special Consideration of Eating Customs and Nutritional Prescriptions and Proscriptions', in Alexander Fenton and Trefor Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978), pp. 267–275.
- Tan Koonlin, *The Swamp-Sago Industry in West Malaysia – A Study of the Sungei Batu Pahat Floodplain* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1983).
- Tannahill, Reay, *Food in History* (London: Penguin, 1973).
- Tanner, Jakob, 'Italienische "Makkaroni-Esser" in der Schweiz: Migration von Arbeitskräften und kulinarische Traditionen', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, Gerhard Neumann und Alois Wierlacher, eds, *Essen und kulturelle Identität: Europäische Perspektiven* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 473–497.
- Tarac Technologies, at <http://www.tarac.com.au/about.asp> accessed May, 2005.

- Tazbir, Janusz, 'Culture of the Baroque in Poland', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 167–178.
- Tempest, Snejana, 'Stovelore in Russian Folklife', in Musya Glants and Joyce Toomre, eds, *Food in Russian History and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 1–14.
- Teske, Raymond H. C. Jr, and Nelson, Bardin H., 'Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No.2, 1974, pp. 351–367.
- Teusner, Myrene, 'Johann Menge, 1788 – 1852', *Barossa Historic Bulletin* Vol.1, No. 5, 1978, pp. 12–21.
- Teusner, Roger E., 'The First Inhabitants', in *The Barossa, A Vision Realised* Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1992), pp. 7–9.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *A Short History of The Barossa Valley* (Tanunda: Barossa Valley Archives and Historical Trust, 1971).
- Teuteberg, Hans-Jürgen, 'Die Begründung der Ernährungsindustrie', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986), pp. 291–310.
- \_\_\_\_\_'The Escape From the Malthusian Trap and the Beginning of the "Nutritional Revolution"' (Münster, unpublished paper, ?2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *European Food History: A Research Review* (Leicester; London; New York: Leicester University Press, 1992).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Der Fleisch- und Wurstverzehr der Deutschen in historischer Betrachtung', *Ernährungsforschung*, Vol. 43, 1998, pp. 1–28.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Die Frischgemüseversorgung städtischer Haushalte unter Einfluß der Rationalisierung und Urbanisierung 1850 – 1913', *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie*, 1, 49, 2001, pp. 34–54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'From Famine to Nouvelle Cuisine: Change of Diet as a Result of Industrialization and Urbanization', in William Blockmans, ed., *The Roots of Western Civilization*, Vol. 1 (Danbury CT: Grolier, 1994), pp. 81–92.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The General Relationship Between Diet and Industrialization', in E. and R. Forster eds, *European Diet From Pre-industrial to Modern Times* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), pp. 48–61.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Last Great Famine in Pre-Industrial Germany, 1846-47' (Münster, unpublished paper, ?2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Magische, mythische und religiöse Elemente in der Nahrungskultur Mitteleuropas', in Nils-Arvid Bringéus et al., eds, *Wandel der Volkskultur in Europa* (Münster: Beitrage zur Volkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland, 1988), pp. 351–373.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Mutter's Kochtopf als Orientierung in der Fremde: Zur Rolle der heimischen Küche bei ausländische Zuwanderern', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, October 14/15, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Periods and Turning-Points in the History of European Diet: A Preliminary Outline of Problems and Methods', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 11–23.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The "Proper Pleasure": Reflections on Eating Taste as a Bridge between Nature and Culture' (Münster: Paper presented at a History Seminar, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Revolution in the Kitchen: The Emergence of the *Bürgerliche Küche* in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Germany' (Münster: unpublished paper, 1985).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Variations in Meat Consumption in Germany', *Ethnologia Scandinavica*, Vol. II, No. 5, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Vom Hausierer und Höker zum Lebensmittelkaufmann', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986), pp. 281–290.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Zur Kulturellen Bedeutung des Brotes in der Geschichte der Ernährung', *ErnährungsUmschau* 45, Heft 1, 1998, pp. 396–400.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Jean-Louis Flandrin, 'The Transformation of the European Diet', in Albert Sonnenfeld, ed., *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present Under the Direction of Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari* (New York: Penguin, 2000), pp. 442–456.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Peter Lesnicziak, 'Alte ländliche Festtagsmahlzeiten in der Phase sich intensivierender Verbürgerlichung 1880 – 1930', *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, Vol. 46, 2001, pp. 319–353.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986).
- Thirsk, Joan, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Preparation of Food in the Kitchen, in Europe North of the Alps, 1500-1700', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Prato: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 423–439.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Rural Economy', in Jerome Blum, ed., *Our Forgotten Past* (London: Thames and London, 1982), pp. 81–108.
- Thomas, C. A., comp., *Birth of American River 1802* (Kingscote: Island Newspapers, 1978).
- Thomas, William I. and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958).
- Thoms, Ulrike, 'The Change of the Kitchen Range and the Changes in Food Preparation Techniques in Germany, 1850–1950', unpublished paper presented to the Fourth Symposium of the International Commission for Research into European Food History (Münster: 1995).
- Thorpe, J., *The Origins of Agriculture in Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).
- Tolksdorf, Ulrich, 'Development and Decline of Preferences and Taboos in Matters of Food and Drink', in Alexander Fenton and Trefor Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978), pp. 325–333.
- Toomre, Joyce, 'Food and National Identity in Soviet Armenia', in Musya Glants and Joyce Toomre, eds, *Food in Russian History and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 197–211.

- Topolski, Jerzy, 'A Model of East-Central European Continental Commerce in the Sixteenth and the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke, eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 128–139.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Religious Fasting as a Kind of Food Taboo in Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries' in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Alimentazione e Nutrizione Secc. XIII – XVIII* (Prato; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1997), pp. 555–567.
- Toussaint-Samat, Maguelonne, *History of Food*, Anthea Bell, trans. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- Traeger, Rhonda, ed., *The Family Wurst* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1980).
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh R., 'Fernand Braudel, the *Annales*, and the Mediterranean', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4, 1972, pp. 468–479.
- Turmo, Isabel González, 'The Pathways of Taste: The West Andalucian Case', in Helen Macbeth, ed., *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997), pp.115–126.
- Văduva, Ofelia, 'Popular Rumanian Food in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Traditional and Incoming Elements', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 99–103.
- Van Abbe, Derek, 'The Germans in South Australia', *German Life and Letters: A Quarterly Review*, No. 3, 1960, pp. 161–168.
- van Winter, Johanna Maria, 'The Role of Preserved Food in a Number of Medieval Households in the Netherlands', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 57–73.
- Visser, Margaret, *Much Depends on Dinner* (Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).
- Wagner, Philip M., 'Food as Ritual', in Seymour M. Farber, ed., *Food & Civilization: Voice of America Forum Lectures* (Washington: Charles C. Thomas, 1966), pp. 60–72.
- Warde, Alan, *Consumption, Food and Taste* (London: Sage, 1997).
- Weaver, William Woys, 'Cakeboards', *Early American Life*, Vol. XXXII, February, 2001, at <http://www.cakeboard.com/cakeboards.html>, accessed July 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Die Geschichte Hausfrau', in Alexander Fenton and Trevor Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 343–363.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sauerkraut Yankees: Pennsylvania Dutch Foods & Foodways* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Siesses and Saures', in *Food in Motion: The Migration of Foodstuffs and Cookery Techniques: Oxford Symposium 1983* (London: Prospect Books, 1984), pp. 80–83.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'White Gravies in American Popular Diet', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 41–52.

- Weber, Eugen, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernisation of Rural France, 1870 – 1914* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977).
- Weinhold, Rudolf, 'Baking, Brewing and Fermenting of the Grape-must', in Astri Ridderfold and Andreas Ropeid, eds, *Food Conservation* (London: Prospect Books, 1988), pp. 73–80.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Potato Spirits in Early Days', in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbón, eds, *Food in Change: Eating Habits from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), pp. 69–73.
- Weiss Adamson, Melitta, 'Medieval Germany', in Melitta Weiss Adamson, ed., *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays* (New York/London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 153–196.
- Whitaker, Thomas W., and Davis, Glen N., *Cucurbits: Botany, Cultivation, and Utilization* (London: Leonard Hill, 1962).
- Wiegelmann, Günter, *Alltags- und Festspeisen: Wandel und Gegenwärtige Stellung* (Marburg: N. G. Elert Verlag, 1967).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Historische Grundlagen der regionalen Kostunterschiede in Mitteleuropa', *Ernährungs-Umschau*, No. 37, 1990, pp. 4–14.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Innovationen in Speisen und Mahlzeiten', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986), pp. 325–334.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Kontinuität und Konstanz in der Volksnahrung', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986), pp. 311–324.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Der Wandel von Speisen- und Tischkultur im 18. Jahrhundert', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost: Geschichte und regionale Prägung* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986), pp. 334–344.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Zucker und Süßwaren im Zivilisationsprozeß der Neuzeit', in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg and Günter Wiegelmann, *Unsere tägliche Kost* (Münster: F. Coppenrath Verlag, 1986), pp. 135–152.
- Wilhelm, Hubert G. H., *Organized German Settlement and its Effects on the Frontier of South-Central Texas* (New York: Arno Press, 1980).
- William, T. J., comp., *The Australasian Butchers' Manual* (Melbourne: Peacock Bros, 1912).
- Willoughby, Lorraine, *Christian Seidel from Prittag, Silesia, Family History 1841 – 1996* (Evanston, South Australia: Lorraine Willoughby, 1996).
- Wills, John E. Jr, 'European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in J. Brewer and R. Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 133–149.
- Wilson, Anne, ed., *Waste Not, Want Not: Food Preservation in Britain from Early Times to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).
- Wiseman, Julian, *The Pig: A British History* (London: Duckworth, 2000).
- Wolf, Eric R., *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
- Wood, Beverley, ed., *Tucker in Australia* (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1977).



- Wuchatsch, Robert, *Westgarthtown* (Melbourne: Heritage Council of Victoria, 1998).
- Wyrobisz, Andrzej, 'Economic Landscapes: Poland from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Maczak, Samsonowicz and Burke, eds, *East-Central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 36–46.
- Yoder, Don, 'Sauerkraut for New Year's', *The World and I Online*, Vol. 1, 1989, at <http://www.worldandi.com/specialreport/1989/january/Sa15804.htm> accessed September 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Sausage Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans', in Alexander Fenton and Trefor Owen, eds, *Food in Perspective: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1978), pp. 409–425.
- Young, Gordon, *Early German Settlements in the Barossa Valley, South Australia* (Adelaide: Techsearch, 1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Lobethal, Valley of Praise* (Adelaide: South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, 1983).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Harmstorf, Ian, Langmead, Donald, eds, *Barossa Survey Volume 3* (Adelaide: Australian Heritage Commission, 1977).
- Zank, Wolfgang 'Cultural Diversity and the Political System: The German Experience', in Staffan Zetterholm, ed., *National Cultures and European Integration: Exploratory Essays on Cultural Diversity and Common Policies* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), pp. 84–108.
- Zeffertt, Wendy, *Cultured Foods* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1999).
- Zytkowicz, Leonid, 'Trends of Agrarian Economy in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary from the Middle of the Fifteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century', in Maczak, Samsonowicz and Burke, eds, *East-central Europe in Transition from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 59–83.