

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 48

2013

Published 2015

PUBLISHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS BY
THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

WITH THE SUPPORT OF

THE MAX KADE CENTER FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES
AND THE COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

Uwe Spiekermann

**Family Ties in Beer Business: August Krug,
Joseph Schlitz and the Uihleins**

Introduction

Brewing is surely the business most closely related to German-American immigrant entrepreneurs; and the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was one of the most prominent and best known examples. This biographical case study, however, stresses that the success of immigrant entrepreneurs was not only related to a new type of (lager) beer and an intense knowledge transfer from the German to the United States. Entrepreneurial success was also a result of a specific form of social organization of immigrants: While the dominant trend in late 19th century U.S. business favored managerial enterprises and corporations, German-American immigrants still used the family as a resource for the business of newcomers. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was the result of the work of three different families, closely connected through regional origins, marriage, and kinship. When Georg August Krug opened a saloon and a small brewery in Milwaukee in 1848/49, he acted similarly to hundreds of other German immigrants. When his bookkeeper and later second husband of his wife Anna Maria, Joseph Schlitz, took over the brewery in 1858 and established it as one of the larger local and regional players until his accidental death in 1875, he formed and established a mid-sized firm, similar to dozens of others in the country. When finally Schlitz's nephews, six brothers of the Uihlein family, and their descendants had to stop beer production in 1919 due to the National Prohibition Act, they had created one of the leading breweries and beer brands in the U.S. and the world, competing with Anheuser-Busch and Pabst for market and technology

leadership. The family ties were strong enough to stay in business even during the prohibition and to re-establish the brand after 1933, when the Blaine Act repealed the nativist and "noble experiment" of prohibiting intoxicating beverages and the manufacture and supply of alcohol. The Schlitz Company, still a family business, was able to recapture its former market share and to out-compete its competitors in the early 1950s, when it again was for several years the world market leader in beer business.

Family Histories in Germany and in the U.S.

At the beginning was the German revolution of 1848. Georg August Krug (1815-56) was born the son of Georg Anton Krug (1785-1860) and Anna Marie Ludwig (1784-1864), who owned the brewery "Zum Weißen Löwen," the predecessor of today's Faust brewery, in Miltenberg.¹ This was a small and contested town at the River Main, which belonged until 1803 to the Electoral of Mayence, became part of the grand duchy of Baden in 1806, was transferred to grand duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1810, and finally became part of the Kingdom of Bavaria in 1816. Georg August Krug worked in the family business but also became a member of a group of revolutionists among the doctor and farmer Jakob Nöthig, who later emigrated to the U.S. after he was accused of ringleadership (*Rädelsführerei*) and additional political offenses.² Krug and his father were among the petitioners in Miltenberg in March, 8, 1848, demanding liberal reforms.³ On the following day Miltenberg was shaken by protests and turmoils, and Bavarian armed forces reestablished order. This was more than disappointing for Georg August Krug, who faced official prosecution, and he became part of a first wave of politically motivated emigration.⁴ He arrived in the U.S. in May 1848, where he used only his second name and where he was naturalized on December 15, 1854.⁵ In Milwaukee, at that time a preferred destination for the 48ers, he established, probably with his savings, a saloon and restaurant on 4th and Chestnut Streets.⁶ Far from Bavaria, he still managed to receive additional support from his family. First, he rejoined with his fiancée Anna Maria Wiesmann Hartig from Miltenberg (October 9, 1819–January 20, 1887), who he married—likely in 1849.⁷ She was the daughter of Michael Wiesmann and Christina Schlohr, both from Miltenberg. Her presence allowed an extension of business. While Anna Maria Krug took care for the restaurant, August Krug started a small brewing business at a close-by building at 420 Chestnut Street in 1849. Second, his father Georg Anton Krug came to the U.S. on October 25, 1850, accompanied by his grandson, 8-year-old August Uihlein.⁸ Such visits were not without risk: The visitors travelled on the *Helena Sloman*, the first German steam ship on the transatlantic route. It encountered distress on

sea on November 28, 1850 and sunk. Nine people were killed in an accident, but the vast majority of the crew and the passengers, in total 175 persons, were rescued by the American ship *Devonshire*.⁹ Georg Anton Krug lost a Bavarian beer pump, which went down with the wreckage but he rescued \$800 in gold. This capital was invested into the brewery of his son and additional labor force: Among the three employees was the new bookkeeper Joseph Schlitz. But he was not the only staff member with a bright business future. Chain migration opened chances for more than a living; and small immigrant businesses gave talents time to develop: Franz Falk (1823-82), a cooper from Krug's home town Miltenberg, immigrated to Milwaukee in October 1848 and later worked in Krug's brewery. He is a good example for a quite common desire to become his own master after a period of dependent work and capital accumulation. Falk first became a partner of Frederick Goes, modernized their Bavarian Brewery, and incorporated the firm in 1881 as the Franz Falk Brewing Company.¹⁰

August Krug became a respected and independent citizen. In 1850, his real estate property was valued \$1,600. His household consisted of five people, the couple, two workers from the brewery, both from Bavaria, and a young 18-year-old woman, probably a servant.¹¹ Krug seemed to have a voice in the neighborhood of mainly German immigrants, otherwise his certificate of recommendation for G. Graessler's pressed fire-proof tiles, which he used in his house, wouldn't had made sense.¹² He could afford to visit Germany in 1855, where he met his family.

Krug, who already saw himself in competition to other German immigrant brewers, namely the Best family and Miltenberg born Valentin Blatz (1826-94), died in late 1856 in an accident, when he tumbled down a hatchway and passed away several days later.¹³ The value of his real estate, eleven lots of land, was estimated worth \$20,050. There were a total of \$15,296.76 claims and demands against the estate, owed by 24 individuals. Among them were demands of \$276.50 by bookkeeper Joseph Schlitz.¹⁴

This should be a good chance to move forward to the name giver of the later Schlitz Company. But this would ignore the important role of Anna Maria Krug, who owned the Krug Brewery from 1856 to her marriage with Joseph Schlitz in 1858. The latter was not mentioned in the will, and there is no evidence that Krug "had left definite instructions for the continuing of the business under the active supervision of his valued friend and employee, Mr. Schlitz."¹⁵ Offering Schlitz the management of the small brewery was more a pragmatic decision and a business venture than the result of a clear cut plan by 41-year-old August Krug. Schlitz knew the business, and he invested his savings to finance the small but steady expansion of the firm. The marriage of the 27-year-old Joseph Schlitz and the 39-year-old Anna Maria Krug must

be understood in similar terms: He received two third of Krug's estate¹⁶ and could engage relatively freely with the brewery, while she not only maintained the business, she and her first husband had established but also kept it within family property. The childlessness of Anna Krug Schlitz was already a reason for young August Uihlein's emigration to the U.S.¹⁷ In addition, this "son-in-law" or "widow-faithful-employee-relationship" mechanism was and is quite typical for ownership transfer in family businesses; and it was already practiced in Milwaukee's brewing business: When Johann Braun, the owner of the City Brewery died in 1851, Braun's widow Louisa married Valentin Blatz. The widow's capital and the new husband's business skills enabled continuous business operation.¹⁸ Although women played an important role in small business in the middle of the 19th century, such social mechanisms guaranteed that active management of mid-sized or larger firms by women remained a rare exception.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Anna Maria Schlitz seemed to be independent: In 1863, she visited Germany without the escort of her husband.²⁰ Like other Milwaukee elite members, she also supported the Milwaukee Töchter Institut, founded by German immigrant social entrepreneur and early feminist Mathilde Franziska Anneke.

However, not being active in business did not mean to living without means: When Anna Maria Schlitz died in 1887, her estate was valued \$500,000.²¹ Her property rights were to become important for strengthening the Uihlein dominance in the Schlitz Brewing Company. After the death of her second husband she lived a quite modest and reclusive life in the 1874 residence of the former couple at Milwaukee's 11th street, attended by only one servant, a young woman from Prussia.²² Anna Maria Schlitz was buried in the Schlitz cenotaph at Forest Home Cemetery Milwaukee.

Joseph Schlitz (1831-75), the namesake of the brewing company and the beer brand, is an even more mythical figure than August Krug. While the first is often perceived as an unimportant stirrup holder, Joseph Schlitz is normally presented as a successful visionary whose tragic death on sea contributed to the idea of an American industrial titan who died before his mission was accomplished. It is difficult to argue against such narratives typical for the heroic perception of U.S. 19th century business history. Joseph Schlitz was indeed an important brewer and entrepreneur. But his name became famous because of the business development under his nephews, the Uihlein brothers.

Schlitz was born on May 31, 1831, in Mayence as the son of Louisa and Johann Schlitz, a cooper and wine trader.²³ He was trained as a bookkeeper but also learned the basics of brewing in his parents' milieu. With this he surely had good preparatory skills for a business career but it is highly doubtful that he received "an excellent mercantile education and decided financial ability."²⁴ Joseph Schlitz arrived on June 15, 1849, in New York after a journey from

Le Havre on the Charleston based 600-ton sailing vessel Noemie, built in 1847 to carry passengers and freight from the Le Havre to Charleston, South Carolina.²⁵ He named himself already a merchant and told the officials that he planned to stay in New York.

Instead, he went to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he was probably engaged in managing a brewery.²⁶ He moved to Milwaukee and joined the Krug brewery in 1850. Here, he managed to rename the brewery after himself in 1858 (Josef Schlitz, Chestnut Brewery), when he gained control of the business. Well-known and respected as a shrewd businessman, he was able to enlarge his company and his private fortune. This is even more remarkable, because he was, similar to the Krugs and most of the Uihleins, of Catholic faith. In 1860, with real estate valued \$25,000 and additional assets of \$50,000, Schlitz was already one of the richest men in Milwaukee.²⁷ At that time, his household includes his wife, two 26-years old servants from Austria, and four young male immigrants from Bavaria, Hesse, and Baden, working as barkeeper, bookkeeper, brewer and in a beer hall. This was not a modern household. Instead, Schlitz maintained the traditional German model of the *Ganze Haus* abroad, where master and carpenters were living together. However, the success story was not a linear one. The 1870 census valued Schlitz's real estate \$34,000, while his additional assets had declined to \$28,000.²⁸ The Schlitz mansion now accommodated no fewer than sixteen people, fifteen of them of German descent, with only one U.S. born servant. Nephew August Uihlein, at that time bookkeeper of the brewery, was still living under the roof of his uncle and master Joseph Schlitz.

The German immigrant lived a life without scandals, without stain. He tended to the Democratic Party but was never a party man. He was a Mason, a member of various lodges and associations, but such connections were more important for business than for individual enlightenment.²⁹ Schlitz was registered at the beginning of the Civil War, but he was never in active duty.

His growing wealth, together with his reputation as a trustworthy businessmen, was crucial for additional business positions both functional for his core business beer brewing and for investing his profits. Joseph Schlitz became a director of the Second Ward Bank, sharing this position with other brewers like Philip Best and Valentine Blatz, when the bank was reorganized in 1866.³⁰ It was nicknamed "the Brewers Bank." Although the company had only a capital of \$100,000 in 1873,³¹ this was a prestigious position: During the first days after the loss of the Schiller, Schlitz was not perceived as a brewer but as "the President of a Banking Association in Milwaukee."³² Other business endeavors were closely related to his German-American community. Schlitz was a director of the "Northwestern gegenseitige Kranken-Unterstützungs-Gesellschaft," a company initiated by some of the

most prominent German-American businessmen.³³ Such business endeavors were necessary as a civic answer to the severe lack of social insurance in 19th century America. Citizens had to take care for their own risks; and ethnic communities or business branches gave profitable answers to this. Schlitz was also secretary of the Brewer's Protective Insurance Company of the West, who had a paid capital stock of \$164,175 at the end of 1870.³⁴ As The Brewers' Fire Insurance Co. of America, it had a subscribed capital of \$700,000 in 1871.³⁵ Realizing the immense number of fires in general and in the brewing business in particular, this was self-help, necessary for growth and risk management.³⁶

Schlitz died in one of the largest shipping disasters of the late 19th century. After an absence of 26 years, he was planning to visit his town of birth, Mayence.³⁷ The loss of the steam ship Schiller on May 7, 1875 caused 335 casualties, including several prominent Milwaukee residents and was "painfully interesting to thousands of Milwaukee people."³⁸ His body was never recovered, but a cenotaph was nonetheless erected at Milwaukee's Forest Home Cemetery. His wife offered a \$25,000 reward for the corpse, but it was never found. In 1880, rumors that the remains had been discovered caused a sensation but in the end, it was discovered to be a hoax.³⁹ Schlitz had taken care for such an event and had his life insured for \$50,000, a sum helpful for the further expansion of his brewery.⁴⁰ The Milwaukee Board of Trade passed resolutions out of respect in memory of Joseph Schlitz and German-immigrant merchant Hermann Zinkeisen, head of the commission house Zinkeisen, Bartlett & Co.⁴¹ This respect remained.

At the time of his death, Joseph Schlitz was estimated being worth \$500,000.⁴² His death changed the property structure of the Schlitz brewery, which was incorporated in 1874. 4,000 shares of brewery stock were outstanding: Anna Schlitz received 2,000, held in a trust by the executors. 700 shares were given to the Uihlein brothers, who already owned 750. The additional 550 shares were bequeathed to other parties, among them 250 to Clara Marcel Schmitt, Schlitz's niece.⁴³ Anna Maria Schlitz' passive role was taken for granted and responsibility for the brewery switched to Schlitz's nephews, the Uihlein brothers. Again, family members had to take command.

Joseph and Anna Maria Schlitz remained childless—and in accordance to the unwritten laws of family business, the proprietor encouraged several relatives, in this case his nephews, to join the brewing company and to be part of a profitable success story: In 1864, when Edward G. Uihlein followed his brothers August, Henry and Alfred to establish their own brewery in Chicago, the Schlitz Brewery had only 6 to 8 employees.⁴⁴ But in the early 1870s, Joseph Schlitz offered the brothers co-proprietor-ship of the quickly growing family business.⁴⁵ They accepted, and more than three decades later, in 1907, the combined wealth of the Uihlein family "was listed by a conservative

agency at \$100,000,000."⁴⁶

Who were the six brothers who contributed in joint but quite individual ways to this success story?⁴⁷ They were each born in the small town of Wertheim/Main, duchy of Baden, as sons of Joseph Benedict Uihlein (1803–74) and Katharina Josepha Krug (1820–67), who married in Miltenberg on April 20, 1841. This year also marked their move to Wertheim/Main. Joseph Benedict Uihlein was the sixth of thirteen children from a family earlier located in Trennfurt/Main, a small village located north of Miltenberg. They were respected burghers, working as tradesmen, merchants, and hoteliers. At the time of his marriage, Joseph Benedict Uihlein had already seen the "world." He served in "fine" hotels in Lyon, Paris, and likely London, and owned a small shipping line on the Main River.⁴⁸ In 1841, he bought the hotel "Zur Krone" in Wertheim/Main for 13,500 Gulden. This was a renowned establishment at the estuary of the Tauber River and the Main River with a prestigious history stretching back to the seventeenth, possibly as early as the fifteenth century.⁴⁹

Here Katharina Josepha Uihlein gave birth to nine children, seven of them sons: Georg Karl August "August" (1842–1911), Heinrich "Henry" (1844–1922), Eduard "Edward" G. (1845–1921), Karl "Charles" M. (1848–1915), Anna (1850–1932), Alfred (1852–1935), Gustav (1854–70), Laura (1857–1943), and Wilhelm "William" J. (1859–1932). Eight of them emigrated to the United States; only Anna Uihlein, later Anna Grohmann, remained in Germany. Laura Uihlein came to Milwaukee at the age of 16. She was married to the second generation German-American Charles Werdehoff, in 1878, who worked as bookkeeper and later as a travel agent for the Schlitz brewery.⁵⁰ He died in 1885, and Laura Werdehoff remained in Milwaukee until the turn of the century, when she returned to her home region together with her two daughters. She stayed there for nearly two decades, oscillated between Germany and the U.S. for more than a decade, and finally settled again in Milwaukee, where she died as the last of the nine children.⁵¹ Gustav, in contrast, died briefly after his arrival in the U.S. on typhoid fever.⁵²

The remaining six brothers were all involved with the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company—and were mostly recognized as a unit; or, as a Cincinnati brewer expressed it in the harmonious tone of the late Gilded Age: "I cannot recall a more ambitious family, talented, able, energetic, overcoming obstacles with comparative ease, which to most men would seem insurmountable, working together in perfect harmony."⁵³ The standard narrative of the Schlitz brewery, however, only referenced to four brothers—August, Henry, Edward, and Alfred—partly because they represented the most important family branches and partly because these four brothers were engaged in the Schlitz brewery already in the early 1870s. Nineteenth century perception, however, was

different.⁵⁴ Business partners and the public saw a family business represented by brothers in different roles for a common commercial endeavor.

Due to space restrictions and to avoid repetition, it is not possible to go into the details of the individual biographies—although at least four of the brothers were “significant” immigrant entrepreneurs as defined by the Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project; but before we analyze their common business activities, we must at least briefly discuss the pronounced personalities and lives of those six Uihlein brothers who made the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company famous.

August Uihlein, the eldest and dominant of the brothers, was officially never more than secretary and treasurer of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company. He held this position from the incorporation of the company in 1874 until his death in 1911.⁵⁵ It is recorded that “his word was law.”⁵⁶ This resulted not only from the principle of seniority, important for all family businesses, but also because he owned the largest block of Schlitz stock and came to the new world in 1850, as the first of the brothers. Under the auspices of the Krug family, he first attended Milwaukee’s German-English Academy, better known as Engelmann’s School.⁵⁷ In 1855, he joined St. Louis Jesuit College (now St. Louis University) for two years. After an additional 60-day business training, he convinced his uncle Joseph Schlitz to hire him as a bookkeeper in 1858, and at the same time volunteered at Milwaukee’s Second Ward Savings Bank for one year. He did all of this to establish his own business. In 1860, he switched to St. Louis’s Uhrig Brewery to work as bookkeeper and clerk and became general manager of the company in 1862.⁵⁸

The return to St. Louis was important both for August Uihlein’s career and the future of the Schlitz Company. The Joseph Uhrig Brewing Company, successor of the Camp Spring Brewery founded in 1839, was a pioneer in lager beer brewing. They were the first to introduce bock beer to Missouri and efficiently linked the brewing and the distribution of beer. Joseph and his brother Ignatz, who came from Laudenbach, a small village northwest of Miltenberg, were also pioneers in establishing beer garden.⁵⁹ Their parents worked in the Main River transport business and had kinsmanlike relations to the Krug und Uihlein families.⁶⁰ Personal relations from Germany were maintained in the new world and made business careers easier for newcomers. The Uihleins never forgot this: When John Uhrig’s wife Walpurga died in 1897 in Milwaukee, August, Henry, and Alfred Uihlein acted as pallbearers.⁶¹ Although August Uihlein returned to Milwaukee in 1867 to work again as the Schlitz brewery’s bookkeeper, he still planned to start his own brewery in Chicago in the early 1870s.⁶² Such instances were common until the incorporation of the Schlitz brewery in 1874, an important strategic decision by Joseph Schlitz with economic and social motivations.

August Uihlein settled in Milwaukee and, on April 20, 1872 married Emily Werdehoff (March 5, 1851–August 4, 1910), daughter of German immigrant Henerich “Henry” Werdehoff and Charlotte Jürgens. We already read about this family. The young couple had eight children: The twins Clara and Anna, born January 15, 1873, who both died in August 1873; and the surviving Ida (October 24, 1874–July 31, 1968); Joseph Edgar (December 23, 1875–January, 1968), who became an executive in the Schlitz company in 1906; Paula (August 13, 1877–May 16, 1968); Thekla (June 15, 1879–1947); Robert A. (January 26, 1883–May 13, 1959), later active in the Schlitz Company and the First Wisconsin Bank; and Erwin “Ike” (April 18, 1886–October 20, 1968), who became active in the Schlitz Company in 1933, after prohibition.⁶³ They were all educated first in Milwaukee’s German-English Academy, which August Uihlein supported generously. He also financed extensive travel for his children, most notably Joseph’s, Thekla’s, and Paula’s 31,000 mile-14-month tour of Europe, India, and Africa.⁶⁴

After the turn of the century August Uihlein was acclaimed as Milwaukee’s richest man, with private property of more than \$9,000,000.⁶⁵ For him, this was a confirmation of a life lived in a proper way. He became an Episcopalian, perhaps because of a desire to be accepted by old stock Yankees;⁶⁶ but when he died he was still perceived as a German-American, as a “splendid type of the sturdy, durable German stock which has contributed more than any other racial element to the upbuilding of the civic and industrial fabric in this community.” However, he did not want to be judged by his national background but by his personality. He would have liked the following characterization: “Mr. Uihlein’s word was sacred, and his promise (never lightly and carelessly given) the guaranty of fulfillment. Mr. Uihlein was a big, broad man, whose planning and doing were on the large scale. A modest man, withal, with the excellent simplicity of character, and the distaste for the show and gewgaws of publicity and display that attests in such men the genuineness of their good will and good works.”⁶⁷ August Uihlein was active and restless. He taught his children to analyze business and life constantly and carefully. His son Erwin once remembered: “The old man was a tireless worker. . . . The old man was away from home every night. Wednesday night he went to the German theater, and the other nights he would be visiting business districts all over the city. He would talk to neighborhood merchants, druggists, repairmen and find just how their business was going. Every night he was out judging property, and he became one of the best real estate judges in the country.”⁶⁸

August Uihlein was interested in music, in history, in practical things. His passions were simple. His canaries were famous and feared, because they were giveaways for the many visitors to his home. An important public topic

was his excessive interest in fine trotters and thoroughbreds. Supported by his brothers Alfred and Henry, he purchased from the mid-1880s four huge breeding farms, in Truesdell, Menomonie Falls, Racine, and Fox Point. At the turn of the century, they owned close to 2,000 horses and were big players in the international market of first class horses.⁶⁹ August Uihlein paid more than \$25,000 for an individual horse, Alcazar, and \$9,000 for The Harvester, the most famous American thoroughbred before World War I—valued at least \$75,000 at that time.⁷⁰

Apart from this, he was a family man, caring for his relatives: In 1907, he created a \$1,000,000 trust for his children.⁷¹ The death of his wife in 1910 hit him hard.⁷² He died “entirely unexpected” at Helgoland during one of his beloved journeys, accompanied by his son Erwin, daughter Paula, and niece Ella Uihlein of Chicago.⁷³ August Uihlein’s will from February 11, 1911, was written on a single sheet of paper and bequeathed all of his six surviving children. The estate was close to \$4,000,000.⁷⁴ The patriarch of the Schlitz Company had made gifts of over \$5,000,000 to his children before his death. They had to pay \$80,000 inheritance tax on his estate and \$160,000 tax on the gifts—a habit introduced by the state Wisconsin for the first time in this case.⁷⁵

Alfred Uihlein was superintendent of the Joseph Schlitz Brewing from 1875 until 1916, when he succeeded his brother Henry as president of the company until 1926. He was educated in the Wertheim gymnasium and came to the U.S. in 1867. The 15-year-old-boy went to St. Louis to meet his brother August and to work in the brewery business with the Uhrig Brewery. After a short stint as a store clerk in Carrollton, Illinois, Alfred Uihlein went to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he and his brother Henry were working for the Charles Kunz Brewery. Joseph Schlitz and his brother August convinced him to go to Milwaukee, and, from then on, he was involved with Schlitz Brewery.⁷⁶

Here he settled and married Anna Pilger (October 4, 1849-January 31, 1921) on October 26, 1875. She was a daughter of William and Catherine Pilger, an honored and representative family of Milwaukee. The couple had five children, Walther Oscar (September 10, 1876-July 22, 1896); Mathilde (May 6, 1878-July 19, 1944), who later married Albert C. Elser, vice-president of the Second Ward Savings Bank; William Benedict (January 18, 1880-July 28, 1953), a later chairman of the Schlitz company; Hermann Rudolph (June 12, 1883-85); and Herbert E. (May 1, 1890-1947).⁷⁷ In 1887, the couple built a mansion in 1639 North Fifth Avenue, a neighborhood, not far from the brewery, soon nicknamed “Uihlein hills,” because of its draw to several of the brothers.⁷⁸

Alfred Uihlein was involved in education, namely as a Milwaukee school

commissioner from 1890 until 1893. He was active in many Milwaukee clubs and associations both American and German-American. He was praised with the standard words for an American entrepreneur: “Forceful and resourceful, ready at any time to meet any emergency and quick to recognize and improve opportunities, he has advanced step by step to a position of leadership in business circles here, . . .”⁷⁹ But more important was that he, in his function as a superintendent, led the company through a large and continuous process of technological and organizational changes, and that he was able to do this with a relatively small number of strikes and boycotts. He was known and respected for his constant presence in the company—even at the time of the prohibition, when he became president of the Schlitz Realty Co.⁸⁰ In contrast to the second Uihlein generation, having moved to Milwaukee’s east side, he remained in the same neighborhood until his death. Alfred Uihlein’s estate inventory “disclosed holdings valued at \$1,865,750.18.”⁸¹ This consisted of real estate holdings of \$425,200, municipal bonds of \$721,567.61 government bonds of \$272,896.45, \$2,824.49 prepaid insurance, \$44,470.14 life insurance, \$392,853.69 cash and miscellaneous items. He left the bulk of his estate to his sons and his daughter.⁸²

While Alfred cared for the Schlitz Company’s Milwaukee manufacturing center, his brother Edward was responsible for the firm’s distribution and agency network, which was decisive for the regional and later national presence of Schlitz beer. Officially, he was vice-president of the company from 1874 until his retirement in 1915. As an immigrant entrepreneur, he is the most interesting of the six brothers, having left memoirs and hundreds of letters to friends in his birth-home.

Edward G. Uihlein grew up in Wertheim/Main and attended the local Gymnasium until the age of fourteen. His parents and nursemaid were occupied by responsibilities to the inn and hotel business, and floods affected the work regularly. Young Edward had a childhood without much supervision, which resulted in relatively bad school grades and having to repeat classes two times.⁸³ However, he received a typical education, covering singing and music (he was a violin player), drawing and sports, French, Latin, and Greek. Aged 14, Edward Uihlein went to Miltenberg for an apprenticeship at the retail and wholesale grocery of Joseph Knapp.⁸⁴ In 1864, the visit of the Uhrig Family offered a chance for a passage to the U.S. Accompanied to Cologne by his father and his sister Anna and then by the St. Louis brewer family, Edward sailed to New York and travelled via Buffalo and Chicago to Milwaukee, where he stayed at Uhrig’s summer villa.⁸⁵ On his brother’s August recommendation, Fred Vodde, a grocery trader in St. Louis, hired him. Although he had begun to learn English already in Germany, he learned the new language *de facto* at his service work. Edward managed to become

Voode's bookkeeper, and after eight months, he changed to the same position at the small St. Louis brewery Kontz & Hofmeister.⁸⁶ Edward was the first of the brothers to start his own business: Financially supported by his brothers August and Henry, he opened a grocery store in St. Louis in 1865.⁸⁷ A short while later, he sold the business to become a manufacturer and wholesale dealer of industrial oils and greases in St. Louis. Following his largest client, the Chicago based oil producer Chase, Hanford & Co., he opened a branch firm in Chicago in 1867.⁸⁸ When he travelled back to Germany in 1869, he was already a successful businessman, who convinced his brother Gustav to follow him to the U.S.⁸⁹ Although his business was expanding, profitable and not affected by the Great Fire of 1871, he accepted Joseph Schlitz's offer to head the newly founded Chicago agency of the brewery from 1872 and to support the business endeavors of his brothers.

Again, business consolidation was followed by founding a family: Edward Uihlein, who was naturalized on October 13, 1873,⁹⁰ married Augusta Manns (March 29, 1852-June 27, 1913) of St. Louis on January 29, 1875. They had six children: Olga (1875-1971), Clara (1876-1956), Edgar J. (1877-1956) (who visited Cornell University and became involved with the Schlitz company), Richard (1860-84), Ella (1886-1960) and Melita (1893-1919). All daughters received "a most careful education, especially in music and languages, of which latter are included English, German, French and Spanish."⁹¹

Edward Uihlein was a pronounced German-American, was interested in the Arts, and the improvement of his home-town Chicago. He served as a member of the West Park Board from 1894 until 1899 and was responsible for the orchid displays in Garfield Park, the centerpiece of Chicago's West Park system. His dismissal "according to American custom by the dictation of Politicians" hurt him deeply and he decided: Never "again will I have anything to do with any political position."⁹² Edward Uihlein had two closely related passions: The first was horticulture, namely the collection and cultivation of orchids. He became vice-President of the Horticultural Society of Chicago in 1892—and later president—and was a regular guest at the local flower shows.⁹³ His home at 34 Ewing Place had a conservatory in 1894, and his collection of rare orchids—approximately some 5000 sorts in total—was internationally known.⁹⁴ After his dismissal from public service, he decided to build his own park at his Forest Glenn summer residence on Lake Geneva.⁹⁵ The 134 acres park was open to the public and free of admission. His second passion was travelling: He visited Borneo, Sumatra, Ceylon, the Philippines and the South and Central American states to collect tropical palms and orchids. Parallel, however, he (and this included mostly his wife, servants, and some relatives), visited large parts of the world, namely Europe,

the Russian Empire, the West Indies and the Caribbean and was proud of this Northern tours to Alaska and to Spitzbergen.⁹⁶ Similar to his brother August, he weakened his ties to his Catholic faith abroad and was a thirty-second degree Mason.⁹⁷ Edward G. Uihlein, who died on January 25, 1921, at his daughter Clara Trostel's home, left an estate of \$1,120,000, which was distributed among his three surviving daughters and his son Edgar J.⁹⁸

Joseph Schlitz's official successor as president of the brewery was Henry Uihlein. Although born in Wertheim/Main, he grew up in Miltenberg. This followed a request by his grandmother Anna Marie Krug, when her husband travelled to the U.S. in 1850.⁹⁹ At his grandfather's brewery Henry was introduced into business. In July 1861, briefly after the begin of the U.S. Civil War, he arrived in New York¹⁰⁰ and started his career at the Uhrig Brewery in St. Louis, where he worked together with his brother August. He left Missouri in 1866 and went to the frontier town Leavenworth, founded only seventeen years before, to work at the Charles Kunz Brewing Company.¹⁰¹ Nearby Fort Leavenworth, with its thousands of soldiers and westward settlers, was surely a good place for selling beer. He left the west in 1871 and moved "at the invitation of his uncle, Joseph Schlitz," to Milwaukee "to take charge of the practical end of the business of the Schlitz Company."¹⁰² In 1874, he became superintendent, and after Joseph Schlitz's death he officially led the firm.

Henry was the first of the brothers who married. He met Helene K. Kreutzer (October 4, 1849-January 31, 1921), a German immigrant from Bonn (Rhineland, Kingdom of Prussia) in Leavenworth, where they married in 1870.¹⁰³ They had seven children: August Edward (1871-1938), who was trained in brewing in Germany and in New York and made career at the John Eichler Brewing Company in New York (later part of the Rheingold Brewery); Emma (1873-1939), Adele (1875-92); Laura (1877-1967), whose husband Charles E. Albright was one of most gifted sons-in-law, brought into the Uihlein family; George Edward (1880-1950), later one of the top executives of the Schlitz company; Meta (1884-1966), and Herman Alfred (1886-1942), later a Schlitz director.¹⁰⁴ The daughters were mostly married to respectable businessmen in Milwaukee and Chicago.

Henry Uihlein built his home, similar to his brothers, at Uihlein Hill in the late 1870s. Together with his family he lived in 437 W. Galena Street until his death in 1922. His home, surrounded by a large garden, was his castle, a world view corresponding to his perception as a "man of simple taste and a retiring disposition."¹⁰⁵ Only one servant was living in this home with a quite luxurious interior that "remained a monument to Old World craftsmanship, where intricate carving abounded, and all the windows were beveled or of stained glass."¹⁰⁶ Henry, and his brothers August and Alfred, represented the success of the Schlitz brewery, and were regularly listed as "millionaires" in the

growing number of such rankings from the early 1890s.¹⁰⁷

As a president, he took care for the daily business and the administration of the brewing company. He was also in lead of several of the Uihlein family's larger construction projects, namely the Globe Hotel, the Schlitz Hotel, the Alhambra Theater, the Majestic Building, the Schlitz Palm Garden, and the Palace Theatre. Real estate business, in Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, and elsewhere in U.S., took a large part of his working time. Henry Uihlein was a Republican, was interested in public education, and a regular visitor of Milwaukee's theatres.

When he died at his home as a result of a heart attack, he had already distributed the bulk of his fortune to his children and other relatives.¹⁰⁸ In total \$3,953,772, these gifts included stock in the Continental Realty Co. (\$566,666), the Schlitz Brewing Co. (\$546,861), the Commonwealth Power Co. (\$419,545), the New Jersey Theater Company (\$75,000), and Liberty bonds (\$63,734).¹⁰⁹ The German-American brewers still possessed property worth \$1,586,578 at the time of his death, among additional Liberty bonds, worth \$336,008. Such an investment into the U.S. war effort was typical for most immigrant brewers, who were publicly denounced as Germany's fifth column from 1914/15.¹¹⁰ Similar to the former case of August Uihlein, the State of Wisconsin demanded \$325,000 taxes to be paid for the gifts to his children. This claim was contested and the Supreme Court eventually reversed the law.¹¹¹

August, Alfred, Edward and Henry were surely the brothers who dominated the development of the Jos. Schlitz Co. Nevertheless, their younger brothers Charles and William held important positions in brewery departments crucial for the company's expansion.

Charles, the fifth son, grew up in Wertheim/Main and attended the local Gymnasium. On the following years, there is contradictory information: A naturalization report, witnessed by his brothers, named September 1865 as the arrival date and March 16, 1889, as the date he received U.S. citizenship;¹¹² however, another record from Cook County, Illinois, and again witnessed by a Uihlein family member, gave March 13, 1874 as the date of naturalization.¹¹³ In addition, an obituary mentioned that Charles Uihlein "came to America in 1871."¹¹⁴ What we know, however, is that he married Emma Manns (February 28, 1858-August 19, 1946), born in Pennsylvania, a child of immigrants from Bavaria and a sister of Edward Uihlein's wife Augusta, on March 1, 1878 at Oak Park, Cook County, Illinois.¹¹⁵ They had three children, all born in Milwaukee: Arthur (1879-1933); Anna (1880-1900), who died in a boiler explosion during her honeymoon¹¹⁶; and Oscar Lewis (1882-1942), a University of Wisconsin graduate, later president of the Uihlein Electric Co. for more than 30 years. They lived at 116 Galena Street

together with one servant of German descent—the census reports for 1880, 1890, and 1900 named three different women.

Charles Uihlein was specialized in the bottling business. He was involved for many years with the bottling firm Voechting, Shape & Co., established in 1877. In 1885, the firm was renamed as the Joseph Schlitz Bottling Works, and was incorporated by Christian Voechting, G.H. Sharpe and Charles Uihlein with \$300,000 capital stock.¹¹⁷ August Uihlein became vice-president and Charles Uihlein superintendent.¹¹⁸ Because of poor health, the latter retired from business in 1889.¹¹⁹ Known as a quiet man, he was "living in seclusion a greater part of his life," according to Max Griebisch, president of the German-English academy.¹²⁰ Like August, Henry, and Alfred, a member of the Turnverein Milwaukee, Charles Uihlein was interested in arts and was a member of the Knights of Pythias.¹²¹ Although retired, he was still an integral member of the family. When a 'Farmers' cotillion was given at the Deutsche Club on February 4, 1899, Charles and his wife celebrated together with Henry, Alfred, August, William, and other members of the Uihlein family and the German community.¹²² This, however, could have been dangerous. Similar to German-American brewer Frederick Pabst and Milwaukee mayor David S. Rose, a gang of robbers and kidnappers threatened him in 1900.¹²³ When he died in 1915, his personal property was valued to be \$100,000 and his real estate at \$25,000.¹²⁴ He was buried in an impressive tomb at Forest Home Cemetery, next to the Guido Pfister monument.

William Uihlein, the youngest brother, grew up in Wertheim/Main and attended the local Gymnasium. He emigrated to the U.S. on October, 17, 1882 and was naturalized on October 17, 1889.¹²⁵ He was trained as an expert in yeast cultures at the Carlsberg Laboratory in Copenhagen, Denmark, founded in 1875 by brewer Jacob Christian Jacobsen. Here, he benefitted from the ground breaking research of Danish physiologist Emil Christian Hansen, who isolated yeast cells and developed methods to cultivate pure yeast. In Milwaukee, William Uihlein advanced as the second superintendent of the firm. Pure yeast (and artificial cooling) was crucial for the standardization of beer production in the late 19th century; but it is simply incorrect that the "late William J. Uihlein brought the original mother yeast cell to the brewery from Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1881,"¹²⁶ because he arrived in the U.S. later, and Hansen, not earlier than 1883, isolated *Saccharomyces carlsbergensis*, one of the two yeast cultures still dominant in today's beer production.¹²⁷ Pedigree breeders for yeast, necessary for any industrial production, were not introduced before 1885.¹²⁸ William Uihlein was surely one of the earliest manufacturers who introduced pure yeast in the manufacturing of beer in the U.S.; but there is also no solid evidence for the later marketing statement: "In Schlitz beer pure yeast was first introduced in America."¹²⁹

William settled in Milwaukee and married Eliza Rather (August 20, 1865–March 3, 1965) of Fond du Lac in 1885.¹³⁰ They had three children, the twins Martha (1889–90) and Herta (1889–90), who died in infancy, and Ralph A. (1897–1982), who later became director of Family Services of Milwaukee. Due to poor health, William Uihlein retired in 1910; but from that time on, he was a regular traveler to Europe. His connections to Wertheim remained strong, and like his brother Edward, he became an honorary citizen of the town. William's passion was the collection of stamps. In August 1928, when he gave his collection, worth \$250,000, to the Milwaukee Public Museum, he had more than 46,000 stamps from all over the world—quite a large portion of the 56,874 varieties of stamps that had been issued worldwide at that time.¹³¹ When he died in March 31, 1932, he left an estate of \$318,480.27, which went in its majority to the widow and his son.¹³²

Social Networks: Marriages and Kinships

Family businesses, like the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company, were dynamic social institutions that were constantly reconfigured. Families, and therefore the effectiveness of family businesses, were affected by fertility, by infections, accidents, and diseases. The Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families not only used “son-in-law” or “widow-faithful-employee-relationship” mechanisms to improve the human capital of the company, but also recruited a growing number of relatives from Germany. Furthermore, the common ethic or regional background, together with shared interests of the brewing industry, also created a social network among different breweries. The brewers were competitors, but cooperation was dominant in the relations of the big German-American shippers.

As we have already seen, the Schlitz brewery was closely intertwined with the Blatz and the Falk families. All local brewers needed interim finance; dealt with risks of fire, crop failure, and mild winters; and were challenged by the early temperance movement. The Milwaukee brewers established local banks, insurance companies, and good relations to wholesale firms to deal with these fundamental business challenges. They cooperated on a local and regional level, for instance in the Milwaukee Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, to influence local and state politics. When the United States Brewers' Association was established in 1862 to ameliorate federal taxation, Milwaukeean brewers soon joined and supported this national interest group, created by German-American immigrant entrepreneurs.¹³³ A shared national background and language made cooperation easier: Until into the 20th century, German was more common than English. But it should not be forgotten that such associations were grounded on local cooperation, which

was supported and maintained through marriages and kinships between the leading families.

The Pabst and Schlitz companies are a good example for the social fabric of cooperation between immigrant entrepreneurs. Local prices were held at a profitable level by all leading companies—a broken heritage of the German guild system; but cooperation became stronger, when the English Beer Syndicate tried to enter the local market in September 1889.¹³⁴ Mergers and bail outs, for instance of the financially stricken Falk Brewery, were handled as local tasks, to protect the local beer market. In addition, Pabst and Schlitz established joint ventures to cheapen supplies and to increase the purchase power of the brewers. In 1891, Frederick Pabst and August Uihlein purchased 40,000 acres of land in Mississippi to manufacture kegs and barrels by the \$300,000 Delta Cooperage Company.¹³⁵ Based on a mutual agreement, the leading companies were even cooperating in contested fields, for instance in marketing. The use of the term “Milwaukee” caused many problems between Schlitz, Pabst, and Miller, but they fought together against a competitor from New York to restrict the use of the term “Milwaukee” for quality beer from their hometown only.¹³⁶ The decision in favor of the Milwaukee brewers was sent by Schlitz and Blatz to all brewers and bottlers of beer throughout the U.S., to demonstrate their determination to fight for their local rights.¹³⁷

Such business cooperation was based not only on gentleman agreements of the leading representatives of the breweries but also on marriages. When in March 1896, Ida Uihlein, daughter of August Uihlein, married Frederick Pabst, Jr., son of Captain Frederick Pabst, the whole Milwaukee brewing community celebrated: “Gustav Reuss was best man and Otto Falk, William Emmender, Joseph Uihlein, Henry Wehr, Gustav Pabst and Emil Schandeln the ushers.”¹³⁸ Presents valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars were exchanged to strengthen the mood of cooperation. The following year, Gustav, the eldest son of Captain Pabst, married Hulda Lemp, daughter of the William G. Lemp, president of St. Louis's Lemp Brewery. Marriages led to ethnic family alliances, an immigrant model quite different to U.S. trusts, based predominately on the cash nexus.¹³⁹ Individual family dynasties remained strong: Endeavors to combine the Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, and Schlitz breweries fathered by the Rothschilds, failed in the early 1890s.¹⁴⁰ But although Henry Uihlein denied that Schlitz confined business to the North and East, while Anheuser-Busch to the South and West, the leading brewers tried to avoid larger price wars and where interested in a predictable purchase of their profitable beverage.

More typical than such unique conglomerates were small and mid-sized businesses based on kinship relations: Charles Manz (1850–1903), a nephew of Joseph Schlitz, was born in Amorbach, Bavaria and came to Milwaukee

in 1879. He worked in the Uihlein malthouse and bought, together with William Hartwig, the Bussinger Brewery in Watertown, Wisconsin. He sold out in 1902 and returned to Milwaukee in the same year.¹⁴¹ The dynamism of U.S. capitalism and the cooperative capitalism of German immigrants were merged in successful business ventures on American soil.

Business Development

Family businesses—and not anonymous corporations—were the most decisive institutions for the rise of modern industrial capitalism; and for the creation of modern world. Long before the emerging state and professional bureaucracies made business more or less calculable, families gave answers to the most severe problems of a period of transition.¹⁴² They generally have a quite simple hierarchical structure, which allows risk-taking and flexibility. Family ties are less formalized, and cooperation is more likely: This allows the mobilization of capital and trustworthy business relations between the company decision-makers. The social dimension of the family creates trust. Together with various sanctions the principal-agent problem of modern companies is less pressing. Reputation is a crucial factor for the self-esteem of family. Their business will be relatively solid; product quality is more important; good relations to customers are more likely. Family businesses tend to aim for good relations with their employees who are often seen as a big family. Finally, families act as a socializing and education agent. Not only economic but also social and cultural capital can be transferred more easily.

American business historians, namely Alfred Chandler and his supporters, have argued that family enterprises lost ground during the late 19th century and were passed by entrepreneurial enterprises and finally displaced by modern managerial enterprises.¹⁴³ The ever growing need for capital, the growing complexity of business, and the need for more neutral decisions were given as core arguments for the declining relevance of family businesses since the second half of the 19th century. Chandler analyzed the rise of a particular American way of business organization; and unfortunately he was not interested in immigrant entrepreneurship (although he analyzed some companies founded and run by immigrant entrepreneurs).¹⁴⁴ As we have already seen family relations were even more important for this particular group because a family business allowed for maintaining a distinguished cultural identity. The brewing industry in general and the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company in particular are good examples of how important family businesses were in the 19th and in the 20th century.

In the case of the Schlitz Brewery, Chandler's still essential question: "Why did business firms change their basic strategies when, and in the way, they

did"¹⁴⁵ must be answered not only on behalf of markets and technology but also in accordance to generational changes in the leadership of the company. The deaths of Krug and Schlitz, both dominant figures and proprietors of their businesses, made transitions easier and were—as a kind of creative destruction—helpful for the growth of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co.

Three Steps to Market Leadership

Until the 1870s, brewing business in Milwaukee was characterized by small, family-owned breweries, most of them founded by German immigrants:¹⁴⁶ "By 1860, two hundred breweries operated in Wisconsin, with over 40 in Milwaukee alone."¹⁴⁷ Beer was either sold directly, in a saloon or restaurant, or was delivered within a small local radius via horse-drawn wagons. The alleged higher quality of "German" beer was surely not the reason for so many German immigrants entering into the beer business—high quality lager beer requires cooling and pure ingredients; and on a broad scale, this was not possible without innovations of technology and chemistry mainly in the 1870s and 1880s. The high percentage of Germans resulted first from the pre-modern legal structure of beer brewing in German towns: House ownership mostly included the right to brew beer for private consumption. Second, the entry barriers for brewing were relatively low.

1. August Krug fits well into this more general perspective: There was nothing special about his business. Milwaukee was founded in 1846 and remained a fast-growing settler town. Beer brewing was established by three Welsh brewers who produced English-style ale; but Milwaukee was to become a destination for German immigrants, and consequently people like Jacob Best (1842) and John Braun (1846) established their small breweries. Brewing was a way of making a living and was not yet an entrepreneurial pursuit. In 1850, Krug produced about 250 barrels (7875 gallons or 29,810 liters); or 21.5 gallons or 82 liters per day. His father's subvention of \$800 enabled larger production, but even five years later, the output was only 1,500 barrels; with an annual turn-over of around \$1,500.¹⁴⁸ The nice story that he built the city's first storage and cooling cellars at Third and Walnut Streets, the place where the later firm was erected, may be true, but at that time, he was still one among many other brewers and had neither a product nor a company distinguishable from others.¹⁴⁹ The brewing business produced enough profit for his, his wife's, and his employee's living but did not allow large investments necessary for reducing fixed costs and delivering to a local market. However, Krug benefitted from changes in the neighborhood. In 1852, a concert building was erected next to the establishment, where "for years concerts were given on Sundays with a glass of beer costing 5c while

the music lasted and 3c after it had finished.”¹⁵⁰ It is highly unlikely that he made his estate with the brewery alone, but without reliable sources, it is impossible to determine exactly. Krug’s achievements were to establish a brewery, to enlarge it with the help of his father’s capital, to improve the storage facilities, and to broaden the company’s human capital by attracting talented young men from Germany; but he never anticipated anything like the later Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company, the world’s market leader in the early 1900s.

2. Joseph Schlitz took over the management after Krug’s death in 1856. Although he invested his savings in the brewery, business did not change drastically. Krug’s storage and lagering capacities of 2,000 barrels, remained sufficient even in 1862, when sales aggregated 1,605 barrels.¹⁵¹ Schlitz’s brewery benefitted from changes in demand during the Civil War and the rapid growth of Milwaukee’s population from 45,246 in 1860 to 71,440 in 1870: In 1865, 4,400 barrels of beer was sold, an amount enough to accumulate capital.¹⁵² Schlitz’s new position as a director of the Second Ward Bank resulted from this and enabled larger investments, necessary to change a brewery work for a good living into an industrial business with large profits. This took years—production in 1867 reached 5,578 barrels of beer—although Schlitz managed steady growth and capital accumulation. From 1870 until 1871, Schlitz built a new brewery at the corner of 3rd and Walnut Streets resulting in mushrooming production numbers: The sales increased from 8,717 barrels in 1870 to 12,813 barrels 1871 over 49,623 barrels in 1873 to 70,491 barrels 1875.¹⁵³ Again, this was not big but rather mid-sized business: The new brewery building was 40 feet wide and 100 feet long.

The standard trivial explanation of this remarkable growth is that Schlitz donated “trainloads of beer”¹⁵⁴ to the survivors of the October 8, 1871, Chicago Fire and that this gesture enabled him to capture the Chicago beer market. This is nothing more than a marketing myth—although it is possible that the company sent hundreds of barrels of beer to Chicago for free.¹⁵⁵ The fact is that neither the Milwaukee nor the Chicago newspapers of 1871 and 1872 mentioned such a noble gesture. The production was still far too low to make a significant contribution to approximately 100,000 homeless people. Edward G. Uihlein, the Schlitz’s Chicago agent, did not mention any support by the Schlitz brewery in his memoirs. Instead, he focused correctly on the new business opportunities resulting from the loss of no less than nineteen breweries in Chicago.¹⁵⁶

The main reason for the remarkable growth was the strategic decision to establish a shipping brewery with a large network of depots and agencies in the U.S. Mid-West and far beyond. Other Milwaukee brewers had already made similar decisions: In Chicago, a large potential market with nearly 300,000

inhabitants in 1870, Fred Miller had already established an agency in 1867, while Blatz and Jung & Borchert went to Illinois in 1870.¹⁵⁷ Chicago was not only a large beer market but even more importantly a railroad gateway; even before the Belt Railway Company of Chicago was established in 1882 to form the largest intermediate switching terminal in the U.S.¹⁵⁸ The establishment of a Chicago agency in January 1872, headed by Edward G. Uihlein, resulted from the fire and the resulting seller’s market. But the low prices after the reconstruction of many of the destroyed Chicago breweries and the relatively small Milwaukee beer market enforced further market expansion: “we remained dependent on the establishment of further agencies all over the United States.”¹⁵⁹

Such expansion had to be financed: The incorporation of the Jos. Schlitz was therefore a logical consequence of the decision for a shipping brewery. Shortly before Christmas, the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$400,000, effective January 1, 1874. August, Henry, and Alfred became board members and directors: They paid their shares in cash and with promises to pay.¹⁶⁰ With this, Schlitz had secured experienced executives and co-proprietors for the expansion of the business and given his firm a more flexible capital structure. His will, in which he referred extensively to his wife, his brothers, and mainly his nephews, clarified that he understood his firm as a family business.¹⁶¹ Schlitz, who in the same year moved into his new \$19,000 town residence, could not harvest what he had sowed. However, together with the Uihlein brothers, he had created a business structure for the future. Schlitz’s achievements were the construction of a new large brewery, the establishment of a far-reaching distribution concept, and the formation of a group of high skilled executives from his own family who were able to manage the changes related to the corporation’s rapid growth.

3. The Uihlein brothers managed to transform the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company from a leading firm in the beer business to *the* leading firm; at least for three years. This is measured by the simple quantitative indicator of beer production:¹⁶² 78,000 barrels of beer in 1877 led to position ten in the U.S. ranking, while a quintuplicated output pushed the Schlitz Company into second position in 1884 (343,900 barrels).¹⁶³ Best/Pabst was still in the lead and was surpassed in the early 1890s by Anheuser-Busch. With a production of c. 650,000 barrels, Schlitz remained third and became number one from 1900 until 1902, at the latter date with an annual output of more than one million barrels.¹⁶⁴ Market leadership was advertised and celebrated as proof of the superior quality of Schlitz beer.¹⁶⁵

From 1903, Anheuser-Busch again surpassed Schlitz, but the Cream city company remained second or third in the American (and that meant global) ranking until prohibition. Schlitz reached the pre-prohibition zenith

of production in 1907 with approximately 1,500,000 barrels, but afterwards, figures dropped to 1,400,000 barrels in 1913 and to 1,260,000 barrels in 1914. This was not only the consequence of the prohibition movement, which hit shippers often harder than local and regional brewers because the former lost their sales in dry states and counties: Beer consumption per head in the United States was higher in 1915 than in 1905. The paradox fact is that shipping breweries like Schlitz grew much faster than local and regional competitors only until the late 1890s. They were the pioneers of technical innovations and used modern transport and production technology from the beginning.¹⁶⁶ In the 1890s, however, they reached optimal production levels: After the enlargement of the brewing house in 1892, the Uihleins reached this stage: "It is a model establishment, equipped with every appliance that modern science can suggest. A new fire-proof brew-house has just been completed at a cost of \$300,000, which will increase the capacity of the establishment to 1,000,000 barrels per annum, and gives the company unsurpassed facilities for supplying the trade with a superior beverage."¹⁶⁷ Parallel, the local and regional competitors, like New York City's Georg(e) Ehret's Hell Gate Brewery, caught up and benefited from their lower distribution costs. The Uihlein brothers' achievement was therefore not primarily the quantitative output but the qualitative change of the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company.

a) Companies like Schlitz grew because they managed to establish a combined production, distribution and marketing system.¹⁶⁸ The first two elements were changed already during the life time of Joseph Schlitz, the third started not earlier than in the late 1880s. In the Schlitz case, however, control over the firm was still an issue: Since Schlitz's death, the Uihlein brothers were *de facto* owners of the company, but *de jure* Anna Maria Schlitz was still relevant. This changed with her death in 1887. According to the terms of Joseph Schlitz's will, Mrs. Schlitz's will transferred to August (500 shares), Henry (400), Alfred (250), and Edward (250) the bulk of the remaining 2000 shares.¹⁶⁹ The \$500,000 will was a remarkable expression of a family business, because it addressed not less than thirty family members in the U.S. and in Germany.¹⁷⁰

b) Much harder than gaining control over the firm was the establishment of a distribution network for the U.S. and even for beer export. An 1875 advertisement from Louisiana suggests that Schlitz was successful from the beginning.¹⁷¹ But the network was expanded step by step—similar to the investment strategy for modernization and enlargement of the Milwaukee plant. Chicago was the starting point: From this depot, clients were delivered smaller quantities. As soon as it became clear that a new agency would pay, the Schlitz Company bought suitable plots of land near the railway stations, built an ice house and an office, and hired a local agent to serve

the customers. In this way, agencies were established in Springfield, Matton, Champaign, Streator, Ottawa, Pontiac, Peoria, La Salles, Galesburg, Aurora, Mendota, Sycamore, South Chicago, Kensington, Kankakee (all Illinois), La Porte, South Bend, Terre Haute (all Indiana), Grand Rapids, Michigan City and Battle Creek (all Michigan). It was the company's aim to become the local market leader in these locations.¹⁷² Agents had to visit their real and potential clients regularly. Similar to Chicago, the Schlitz Company soon established depots and agencies in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Savannah, Memphis, Omaha, San Francisco and Baltimore. At the latter location, the Schlitz Company sold 5,000–6,000 barrels in 1878, delivered by train, bottled in the Baltimore depot, and distributed to saloons, retail stores and homes.¹⁷³ Chicago remained the most important agency: In 1879, approximately 35,000 barrels of beer of a total production of 139,154 barrels was sold here—more than a quarter and as much as in Milwaukee.¹⁷⁴ Such distribution networks were based on a growing number of refrigerator cars, which had become common since the mid-1870s, with Swift and Anheuser-Busch at the head of these changes.¹⁷⁵ In 1891, Schlitz operated with 300 cars of the joined venture Union Refrigerator Company; Pabst used 400, Blatz 50.¹⁷⁶ Horse-drawn delivery wagons for local delivery were mostly replaced by delivery trucks before prohibition.

In the beginning, these agencies were often shared with other firms: Marx & Jorgensen, the sole agents for Schlitz in Portland, Oregon, were also engaged for Stonewall Whisky, Julius Dressel's Sonoma wines, and bottled beer for the local Gambrinus Brewery, founded by the German immigrant entrepreneur Louis Feuer in 1875.¹⁷⁷ Many agencies were also linked with saloons that offered Schlitz Pilsner and "fine" meals.¹⁷⁸ The distribution network was based on decentralized storage facilities and ice houses that were first rented and later built up on own costs. Schlitz's Chicago ice house, erected from 1879 to 1880 and celebrated as "probably the largest single structure of the kind in the world,"¹⁷⁹ had eight storage cellars, 12x102 feet each. Natural ice was used but in accordance with the newest available technology at that time, the Brainard system and the Fisher patent. Later, ice houses were equipped with artificial ice machines. Depots and agencies allowed decentralizing production parts. Milwaukee-made beer was finished at the place of consumption. The investments in the distribution network soon surpassed the investments in the Milwaukee Brewery: \$75,000 was paid, for instance, for a new bottling plan in Philadelphia, which covered an area of 63x200 feet, included a refrigeration plant and a stable.¹⁸⁰ Such satellite stations were larger than Joseph Schlitz's new brewery from 1870/71. But Milwaukee remained the center of the network: Multisite brewing was not yet used by Schlitz before prohibition.¹⁸¹

While technical problems could be solved with capital and expertise from Milwaukee, a main problem remained—hiring reliable agents with a long-term commitment. Schlitz had to compete with other shipping breweries with similar strategies. At the turn of the century, “responsible wholesale dealers” were searched for in nationwide campaigns.¹⁸² Another problem was to deliver to different regional markets beer products appealing to the local tastes. In South Carolina, for instance, Schlitz beer was first sold in 1898, but the sales remained under \$500 per year until 1901. When the company introduced “a better draught beer for domestic bottling,” the turnover rose from \$23,698 in 1904 to \$58,255 in 1906.¹⁸³ This highlights the relative weakness of Schlitz in the South where the network was patchy and light lager was not very popular.

While the network of depots and agencies became closer and reached, at least in the Mid-West and the North-East, full coverage, the tied-house system offered another distribution model. Pushed by rising license fees, for instance in Chicago in 1884, brewers began to buy individual saloons and to rent to innkeepers who had to tie themselves to the proprietor’s products. Schlitz started to buy such tied-houses from the late 1880s onward. In Chicago, Edward G. Uihlein transformed this into a system of market penetration. From 1897 to 1905, Schlitz built no less than fifty-seven tied-houses in Chicago at a cost of \$328,000.¹⁸⁴ Located primarily on attractive street corners, these larger and often well-equipped selling points offered more respectable establishments for alcohol consumption. Tied-houses were mostly used to secure a local market but they could also be used to conquer well-protected towns. A good example for this was Cleveland, controlled by the Cleveland-Sandusky Brewing Company, a merger of nine local brewing companies.¹⁸⁵ While normally strategic investments led to compromise, this was not the case in Cleveland. Schlitz invested no less than \$400,000 to buy saloons, but the local interests received additional options on many saloons.¹⁸⁶ The newcomer continued to buy locations to sell their brand exclusively, but when Schlitz finally entered the market, they did not cut the prices to outcompete the local syndicate.¹⁸⁷ Competition remained fierce—not on beer but on services, like the so-called “free lunch.”¹⁸⁸ Schlitz’s entrance into the Indianapolis beer market war quite different, as the company attempted to purchase up to 20 tied-houses and offered a barrel beer for only \$6, undercutting the local price of \$7-7.20. After some negotiations, a compromise was made and Schlitz established his beer in Indianapolis.¹⁸⁹

c) The Uihlein brothers’ third main achievement was the integration of modern cooling and packaging technology into the brewing business. For lager beer, cooling was indispensable. The growth of production was accompanied by a parallel growth of ice houses: In 1878, a new 3,300-ton ice house was

built between Galena Street and the brewery.¹⁹⁰ Only two years later, a new “mammoth” ice house was integrated into the company’s area, which “has attracted considerable attention in the trade, as it is probably the largest single structure of the kind in the world.”¹⁹¹ Growth limits were reached, but the introduction of artificial cooling opened opportunities for further expansion. In 1882, Schlitz ordered the second Linde ice machine sold in the United States. It was imported by the Duehren-born immigrant entrepreneur Fred W. Wolf (1837-1910) who purchased the right to manufacture Linde machines in the U.S.¹⁹² The switch from natural to artificial ice (and cooling) took decades: The new machines were quite expensive and the company had invested large sums into the supply of natural ice. Yet in late 1881 the company asked for the right to erect a dam across the Milwaukee River to obtain good (and inexpensive) ice.¹⁹³ The Linde ice machine was run by a 150 horse power engine that could cool nearly 50,000 barrels of beer—this was not less than the central steam engine that steered the whole manufacturing business.¹⁹⁴ In 1892, Schlitz had two Linde and two De La Vergne machines in operation and natural cooling lost importance.¹⁹⁵ Although the Uihlein brothers bought from American manufacturers, they integrated German technology into their business—as did most of their competitors.

Bottling was another technology, which immensely improved from the 1870s. Bottled beer, however, was quite common even for smaller breweries, although for a long time, siphons remained standard for home delivery. Bottling was manual work and therefore quite expensive. After Schlitz’s death, the Uihlein brothers financed and supported a bottling firm working exclusively for the brewery: Voechting, Shape & Co. was established in 1877 and located on the brewery’s property. In the first year, they put out over 1,000,000 bottles of beer and reached more than 10,000,000 in 1885.¹⁹⁶ At that time bottled beer had become a Schlitz specialty, “specifically brewed to be used as bottled beer.”¹⁹⁷ Additional space was necessary and was found on South Bay Street, where the new firm was located on an 11-acre plot between two railroad lines. Perhaps because of the growing importance of bottling for the national shippers, the Uihleins used vertical integration and established the already mentioned Jos. Schlitz Bottling Works in 1885. More than two-hundred people were working there and bottled a barrel of beer in four and a half minutes. This increased sales of bottled Export Pilsner, of which 36,000 were brewed in 1885. The depots often launched similar contract manufacturing for their bottling work,¹⁹⁸ but standardization of bottles, the use of new seals, and, foremost, the mechanization of bottling allowed an additional decentralization from the late 1880s.¹⁹⁹ The improvements in bottling became even more important, when labelling machines were used on a larger scale; but it was not until 1916 that the Schlitz Company installed

a set of ten Barry-Wehmler rotary labelling machines with a total capacity of six hundred to one thousand bottles per minute.²⁰⁰

d) Another challenge, the Uihlein brothers faced was managing the huge supply of raw materials necessary for the mass production of beer. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was well-known for their light lager beer, a pilsner with 3.8% alcohol content: "It is grateful to the taste, assuages thirst, and possesses the stimulating property to a degree just sufficient to render it a thoroughly delightful and health-giving beverage."²⁰¹ "Beer," however, is a misguiding term because the entrepreneurial task depends on the types of beer in production. "Schlitz Beer" was an umbrella term for quite different varieties: In 1891, the company offered the keg-beer brands Budweiser, Pilsener, Wiener, Erlanger, Culmbacher, and Schlitz-Bräu, as well as the bottled-beer brands Pilsener, Extra-Pale, Extra-Stout, and Schlitz Porter; seasonal beers also be mentioned.²⁰² Brewing entails combining large amounts of organic raw materials, controlling fermentation and standardizing the resulting product. Purchase of raw materials depended on the availability of standardized quality raw materials. Water, definitely not a homogenous ingredient, was taken from Lake Michigan and the Milwaukee River and filtered. Hops and barley were purchased predominantly from the larger region: In 1885, two-thirds of barley came from Wisconsin and Minnesota, but the rest was shipped from Canada and California. Hops were bought from New York State and, again, the Pacific coast.²⁰³ What made sense from a business point of view was tricky from a marketing perspective; especially after Anheuser-Busch promoted the superior quality of Bohemian hops, namely from the Saaz region, from the mid-1880s onwards. Schlitz joined this trend, advertising their Schlitz Bräu as "brewed exclusively from Canada Barley Malt and Finest Bohemian Hops."²⁰⁴ But imports from Austria-Hungary remained relatively small and depended on the protectionist tariff policy of the time.²⁰⁵ Schlitz continued to purchase New York State hops, but they were at least partially replaced by cheaper Idaho hops; while Bohemian raw materials dominated advertisement.²⁰⁶ Parallel, the Schlitz Brewery bought a record amount of 2,000,000 lbs. of hops from E. Clemens Horst of San Francisco (1867-1940), an immigrant entrepreneur from Tuttlingen, Baden, and a leading figure in the U.S. hops market.²⁰⁷

These changes in raw material supply is representative of the entrepreneurial challenge the leading German-American brewers faced from the 1880s, when they introduced national brands of German style lager beers. Depending on U.S.-grown raw materials they had to use additional starches, mostly corn and rice, to dilute the high-nitrogen American barley and the less bitter American hops. In strict contrast to Bavarian purity laws, U.S. beer in general and Schlitz beer in particular was characterized by barley and hop

substitutes. At the turn of the century American brewers used approximately twenty pounds of malt surrogates per barrel, ten times more than their German pendants.²⁰⁸ "The result was very pale, stable, easy drinking beer of unrivaled blandness;"²⁰⁹ but not a "German" or "Bohemian" beer. The Uihlein brothers used advanced European technology to combine and recombine the natural raw materials, for instance Gallant-Henning malt drums or the Hellwig process for the preparation of wort.²¹⁰ They were in close contact with the leading Copenhagen Carlsberg laboratories, where August Uihlein's sons Robert and Erwin were educated in the biochemistry of brewing.²¹¹ The use of modern science was crucial for the out-competing of "English" style ale beers by "German" style lagers in the U.S. during the last third of the 19th century. The Uihlein brothers mobilized and combined advanced technology and biochemical research and offered new standardized beer creations.²¹²

e) It is therefore a myth that German-American brewers made "German" beer. They created American beer. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company manufactured new products, strictly distinguished from the beer offered in the inns of Miltenberg and Wertheim. However, the Uihlein brothers managed to promote and advertise their products as quality products similar to the high-quality beers from their fatherland. Their marketing established narratives on German beer and American adaption, which are still believed by many consumers—and academics.²¹³ Using German (and Bohemian) traditions to sell American beer was surely one of the Uihlein brothers' most important achievements.

During Joseph Schlitz' presidency his name was the most important element of marketing, because it should guarantee high quality. This image was supported by paid newspaper articles, who praised the product and that "the beer of Milwaukee is universally regarded as the best in the country by all lovers of the delightful beverage."²¹⁴ The growing number of agencies informed customers regularly on seasonal beer and the advantages of Schlitz beer: "Our present Lager Beer gives perfect satisfaction and no headache."²¹⁵ But branding was still in its infancy in the 1880s. Brand names and signs were not used by the company before the early 1890s. At that time, however, the Uihlein brothers developed a marketing strategy and a corporate identity that has survived to current marketing. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was not a pioneer of in this field—Anheuser-Schlitz and briefly later Pabst were the first movers—but from the mid-1890s, their message was present all over the United States. The Uihleins pushed an umbrella brand strategy based on the name "Schlitz" and the belted globe sign. "Schlitz" was used as an official trademark from May 1888. The belted globe sign, used to emphasize the world-wide reputation of Schlitz beer, was first used in 1890.²¹⁶ Reputation and quality, however, are concepts that need to be grounded in order to be

convincing. The Uihlein brothers used the immense success of Milwaukee shipping breweries as an expression of higher quality, rooted in the skills of German-American brewers, in the natural resources of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, and the social atmosphere of the "Munich of America."²¹⁷ In 1893, this was coined in the slogan "The beer that made Milwaukee famous," the marketing slogan of the company since 1896.²¹⁸ This was quite similar to "Val Blatz's famous Milwaukee Beer," the "famous Best's Milwaukee beer," or Pabst's "Famous Milwaukee Beer,"²¹⁹ all used before. The Schlitz Company linked their products already in the late 1870s, to the location of production, advertising "Schlitz Milwaukee beer," "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.'s Milwaukee Lager Beer," or "Schlitz Milwaukee Pilsen Lager."²²⁰ But the combinations of the belted globe, the name trademark, and the slogan became a visual package that combined a brewery, their origin, and their claim of quality leadership. In sharp contrast to most other breweries, this also meant the absence of the Uihlein brothers in marketing. The combined new trademarks were used extensively since 1896.²²¹ Although local advertisements in saloons and in the public were by far the most common, and direct marketing remained important, the fundamental changes in printing technology and the media system were used by Schlitz to support the decentralized distribution system. Illustrated advertisements became standard. Cupids, elves, or cartoon figures were used to attract customers from the late 1890s: Their aim was to promote the ideal of a standardized product—"Schlitz Beer."

This new marketing strategy can't be discussed here in detail; but in the context of immigrant entrepreneurship it is important to stress that the Uihlein brothers were promoting their product as an American beer, highly acknowledged even in Germany and Bohemia—the countries of reference for beer drinkers at that time. When German chemist G. Bohlen pointed out in 1893 "that the analyzed Milwaukee Lager Beer is to be designated as excellent equal to the best Bohemian beers; and it is a source of pleasure to me to have proven that the German Brewers in the United States employ only the purest materials for brewing purposes, thereby giving a laudable token of German reliability and honesty,"²²² this quote was spread by advertisements. However, the immigrant entrepreneurs believed that they had created something surpassing the German and Bohemian standard: They presented Schlitz beer as "the beer of civilization," whose manifested destiny was to be acknowledged as *the* pure beer wherever "white men live."²²³ The company emphasized the enormous efforts made to materialize modern technology and science, purity and cleanliness, hospitality and domesticity, virtuousness and wholesomeness in one product.²²⁴

The marketing of beer was done with vigor unknown in Germany. Newspapers and magazines were used extensively by Schlitz and other leading

shipping breweries. Outdoor advertisement, restricted in Germany after the turn of the century, was used by the Uihlein brothers quite extensively, for instance, when they paved the whole railway from New York to Chicago with huge advertisement structures every mile.²²⁵ Tied-house saloons displayed the global belt and the Schlitz name in streets and in crowded areas. The Schlitz Company Chicago branch's outdoor sign was 320 feet long, 70 feet high, and covered 23,200 square feet.²²⁶ The Uihlein brothers also used forms of advertisement related to their own passion in travelling: In 1896, the Schlitz brewery supported the German born Capt. Frietsch in constructing the 28 feet long ship *Schlitz Globe*. The journey began in Milwaukee, led to Chicago, New Orleans and Panama. It was planned to travel to San Francisco, Japan, and Australia and to return to Milwaukee in four years.²²⁷ The "beer of civilization" was marching on.

The Uihlein brothers implemented a unique but not exceptional marketing strategy. Anheuser-Busch and Pabst used different but similar strategies. It was a common achievement of the leading German-American shipping breweries to cooperate and to act efficiently against common threats. Joseph Schlitz and the Uihlein brothers were all members of the United States Brewer's Association and held important positions.²²⁸ August and Edward G. Uihlein were presidents and, together with their brothers, representatives of Milwaukee Brewer's Association and later the Chicago and Milwaukee Brewer's Association.

f) This continuing involvement and regular meetings with other brewers established the social fabric of cooperation and joint ventures. This was not only functional in the already mentioned fight against the English Syndicate in 1888/89 and in 1897.²²⁹ It was also important in order to keep profit margins high. The local beer markets were contested but at the same time highly regulated. The brewers had informal agreements on their local and regional sales. Based on their marriages and kinships, they established a culture of mutual restraint: When in 1890 rumors circulated that Chicago brewers were invading the Milwaukee market, the reaction was clear: "Chicago brewers would not do such a thing."²³⁰ But the leading brewers could also fight fiercely against newcomers. In 1890, the leading brewers had fixed the Chicago beer price at \$8 per barrels, allowing discounts not to exceed 25%.²³¹ During the so-called beer war in early 1892, the price fell to \$4, and the big brewers discussed \$2 prices to end the fight in their favor.²³² Family business acted similar to cartels: In New York, the price for retail dealers was \$7 per barrel, but Schlitz and Ehret reduced them significantly in 1893.²³³ In Racine, Wisconsin, Schlitz, Pabst, Obermann and others reduced the price of a barrel to saloonkeepers from \$7 to \$3 to push out the product of the local brewer Ernst Klinkert.²³⁴ The family networks and the friendships of the Uihlein

family were important for the immense profits before the introduction of the income tax in 1913 and of prohibition in 1918 resp. 1919.

g) Finally, it should not be forgotten, that the Uihlein brothers managed to pass their businesses to the next generation. Details were already given in the individual biographies: August's sons Joseph and Erwin led the company until 1961, succeeded by the latter's nephew Robert A. Family business, however, was not only limited to relatives but often extended to the "family" of the firm, namely to skilled staff members. Of course, this was propagated: "Those who worked for August . . . became members of the business family. Hundreds of them remained in the family until they died."²³⁵ But the history of the Schlitz Company was also often linked to struggles with unions. It is not necessary to go into details, but Schlitz faced strikes and boycotts in 1887/88 and, more severely, in 1896 and 1898.²³⁶ In 1904, all Schlitz laborers became members of the American Federation of Labor; and the company managed to deal with the demands of their employees in a comparably modest and cooperative way.²³⁷ Brewing was surely unionized earlier than other branches. However, the quite early acceptance of "labor" by the Uihlein "capital" was probably not a mere concession but an expression of fairness and partnership by proprietors, whose ancestors had left their fatherland for political reasons.

The Social Dimension of Business: Saloons, Beer Gardens, and Beer Halls

The development of the Schlitz family business cannot be reduced to the brewing business as the main product. Beer had a meaning, a social dimension. The Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families did not only sell and promote an alcoholic beverage, but they all linked its consumption with new gathering and communication locations and places they knew from their home country. Beer production was not made for profit only. It was a contribution of immigrants for a different American society, more relaxed and more open-minded. Terms like "sinnenfroh" or "bierselig" still lack American pendants. As Catholics and as beer drinkers, the Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families represented a different way of life; as immigrant entrepreneurs they established tied-house saloons, beer gardens, and beer halls as alternatives to mainstream America.

Saloons are even today discussed as places of sin and evil, of vice and bribe. There is some truth in this, and brewers who tried to own or at least dominate these outlets often tolerated such excesses because they were—on the short term—functional for business. German-American brewers, however, brought the different tradition of local inns to the U.S.—and Krug and the Uihleins even grew up in such institutions. In many parts of Germany, inns were the main meeting places of male workers and the middling sorts, where they

discussed pressing problems of their lives or simply gathered in friendship. The saloon chains, which German-American brewers financed and founded from the late 1880s, stood within this tradition: "They did not only did much to make old world class distinctions seem ridiculous, but afforded the average foreign born much information on the economic and civic life of his adopted country."²³⁸ Saloons, however, were constantly in danger, even in the self-proclaimed U.S. beer capital of Milwaukee. The temperance movement used both financial and moral arguments: A first attempt to introduce higher and even prohibitive license fees failed in 1885, but fees of \$200 annually were still a heavy burden; namely in a town with such a large number of saloons as Milwaukee. The politics of blacklisting saloons linked to gambling, prostitution, and criminal activities put pressure on individual saloon-owners and undermined their reputation—at least in Milwaukee's middle-class circles. Another attempt to raise the license fees failed in 1905/06, and August's son Joseph, a Republican, was a prominent member of a broader coalition with residents and the socialists, who fought against the measure.²³⁹ The Uihlein family used such campaigns to distinguish between their own respectable outlets and the large number of stall and dive saloons that—on the long term—undermined the business model of the company.

The tied house saloons were therefore not only functional for adding value to the Schlitz Company and to conquer or protect markets. They were also spaces of reform and an appeal to the growing prohibition movement for a more nuanced perspective. Let us have a look inside the Chicago tied houses: "The Schlitz barrooms were of mixed design. Some were plain, with the saloon and rear quarters for the proprietor and his family on the first floor and an upstairs divided into small flats. In others the second floor was devoted to halls and meeting rooms. The structure at Ninety-fourth and Ewing avenues, in the South Chicago mill district, was topped with two floors of small sleeping rooms for workers. . . . There was no apparent ethnic specialization, except that a large number did appear in German districts of the North Side."²⁴⁰ These saloons were respectable and offered not only a place for a drink but also space for community life. Although dominated by individual classes, they materialized the pre-1848 vision of German liberalism: a world of burghers with individual rights, based on private property and education. Schlitz row, at Chicago's 115th street, demonstrated that the company saw itself as an integral part of the neighborhood: It was "a two-block string of saloons, stables, and apartments decorated with the distinctive globe trademark at the roof-line. Nearby the company built houses and more apartments for the use of branch managers and for rent to the general public."²⁴¹ Workers and clerks, working and consumption spaces were mixed in such neighborhoods: Schlitz's saloons had to be closed during prohibition but it was zoning that

destroyed such mixed structures from the late 1910s on.²⁴²

While Schlitz's tied houses were an attempt at improving an American institution, immigrant entrepreneurs also tried to establish their own institutions in the new world. Krug's and Schlitz's saloon and restaurant in Milwaukee's Chesnut Street was still in the tradition of German inns, but Schlitz Park was a new element in Milwaukee's social and commercial life. The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company bought the former Quentin's Park in 1879 for \$17,000 to use the space, which they improved, for "Sunday and evening entertainments."²⁴³ The Uihlein brothers won over the City of Milwaukee, also having opened the grounds as a public park. After \$150,000 in renovations, it covered an area of eight acres and was accessible by three street railways. A pagoda allowed views of all parts of Milwaukee, and a new 5,000-seat Park Theatre was used for concerts, performances, and balls. Schlitz Park Hotel contained a restaurant, dining rooms, and four bowling alleys. The park included a menagerie with domestic and wild animals and offered large walking grounds.²⁴⁴ The park was renamed in 1880 and was opened for amusements and festivities in May 1880.²⁴⁵

Until the mid-1890s, Schlitz Park was the first complex for leisure activities, for sports, for entertainment—and for beer consumption. Skating attracted young people and families with children. The park became the home of the light opera and was a "center of musical Milwaukee." The visitors sat on benches; lodges for the privileged nouveau riches or old stock Yankees did not exist. Waiters carried "steins of cold amber lager, ham sandwiches on rye, or the very popular Swiss cheese and other German table delicacies."²⁴⁶ The park was a pleasure space for individuals and families but it was also a gathering place for very different purposes. German revolutionist, American general, and German-American politician Carl Schurz held a meeting at Schlitz Park in 1884 attended by several thousand people.²⁴⁷ During the great street railway strike in 1895, 5,000 supporters held a large picnic in the park and raised several thousand dollars for the strikers.²⁴⁸ Schlitz Park was multifunctional, a commercial space, used for entertainment, for discussing controversial public problems, for educating and enticement. Although established by German-Americans, it was open for other ethnic groups and their needs: The 1904 gathering of 5,000 to 6,000 sons and daughters of the Milwaukee section of the Ancient Order of Hibernians was surely a contrast to German-American singers and turners.²⁴⁹ Schlitz Park's history ended 1923 when it was demolished.

Schlitz Park stood between institutions like the early Milwaukeean beer gardens and large scale leisure resorts, like Pabst's Whitefish Bay resort, developed in the 1890s.²⁵⁰ Such places offered alternatives to saloons, often still fortresses of masculinity and ethnic gathering, and home consumption

of bottled beer propagated and pushed by the marketing efforts of the Schlitz Company. The relative decline of Schlitz Park from the mid-1890s was accompanied by new efforts to promote the image of beer as a drink of *Gemütlichkeit*. While early attempts to implement beer halls as alternatives to beer gardens were pushed by local innkeeper and restaurateurs, the Schlitz Palm Garden, opened in July 3, 1896, and designed by German immigrant Charles Kirchhoff, was a well-financed effort to establish a place of recreation and fellowship for all seasons.²⁵¹ The new location in the center of Milwaukee was similar to well-known beer halls in Munich, Berlin, and Hamburg.²⁵² The main hall, 45 feet wide and 100 feet deep, was designed for 450 people, who indeed consumed seventeen barrels of beer per day on average, with peaks of 35 to 40 barrels.²⁵³ Located next to the Schlitz Hotel on North Third Street, near Wisconsin Street, the interior, with its huge tropical palms, represented abundance and elegance—a strict contrast to the narrow world of the saloon. The Schlitz Palm Garden in Milwaukee became a model for additional franchises, advertised under the same name in several places in Wisconsin and Illinois.²⁵⁴ It was a place for the public but also a popular institution for after-theater parties for the wealthy who preferred champagne to beer.

The beer hall offered not only beer and German-American cuisine but also German style music. Steins and the servant's in traditional German dress created the glimpse into a good old world atmosphere.²⁵⁵ It was a gathering and show place for young and old, male and female, even children were present.²⁵⁶ But the Palm Garden was more than a last staging of German-Americanism. It was a hybrid place, an American show of traditions and their reconfiguration. The lavish garden was a place of modernity and progress, with electrical illumination, modern home equipment, and the broad use of modern communication technology, e.g., for the transmission of concerts to other places in the Lake territories.²⁵⁷ It triggered tourism and hosted guests from excursion boats.²⁵⁸ Similar to establishments in Germany, the beer hall played an important role in local and regional politics. Politicians, like President-to-be Woodrow Wilson, held their introductory speeches there.²⁵⁹ To attract guests, events were constantly designed, advertised, and performed. Although German music, namely popular "classic" tunes, was most common, popular "American" music was offered as well: In 1915, e.g., a German Symphonic Orchestra and rag bands, like the Plantation Syncopators of Memphis, Tennessee, were performing on a rotating schedule.²⁶⁰ Immigrant entrepreneurs, like the Uihlein brothers, used the cultural heritage of their fatherland, isolated some attractive elements, and combined them with local, regional, and national traditions and market needs to create unique places of German diaspora. The German-American immigrants established their own dream worlds—as a flavor to the American experience.

At that time, however, the rigor of the prohibition movement had already affected the daily business, forbidding singing, dancing, and early cabaret performances.²⁶¹ The strategy of beer hall managers to position their institutions as a better alternative to saloons failed under the vigor of fundamentalist and nativist attacks on alcohol consumption.²⁶² The Palm Garden changed into a soft drink emporium in 1919 because of Volsteadism, and—in accordance with the Schlitz Hotel—finally closed in March 1921.²⁶³ The lower floor was used for stores and the hall was converted into a motion picture theatre. After the repeal, plans to re-open the beer hall in Milwaukee failed,²⁶⁴ but the brand of the Schlitz Palm Garden was still used in other places, like Bismarck, North Dakota: Refreshments, luncheons, grand parties, and “dance to peppy music”²⁶⁵ were offered, however, beer halls were, neither there nor in other locations, really successful.²⁶⁶

Risk Management and the Diversification of Business

As we have already seen in the first biographical chapter, brewery property was only a smaller part of individual estates. The Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families diversified their businesses and reinvested their capital. In a family business, this offered new chances for the next generation and also for those not talented or interested in the brewing business. Diversification opened additional profit opportunities and reduced the still important risks of business in general and the brewing business in particular. A detailed analysis of the three families’ business endeavors would surely go beyond the scope of this article; therefore some short hints must be sufficient.

One of the risks of brewing was accidents. Smaller ones happened regularly in Milwaukee and the agencies: When in 1874 a large cooling reservoir in an upper story of the brewery fell through the building, the damage was estimated at \$3,000—and no insurance covered such damage.²⁶⁷ Even later fires were a permanent threat: In 1895, the brewery had only a “narrow escape from being burned.”²⁶⁸ To reduce such risks, Joseph Schlitz became involved in the insurance business. The Uihleins followed this path and invested in new businesses, which covered not only the brewing business but also the general public. August Uihlein, for instance, was a director of Milwaukee Fire Insurance.²⁶⁹

There was no insurance against the prohibition movement: But already Joseph Schlitz, together with other brewers and members of the German-American community, formed the Wisconsin Association for the Protection of Personal Liberty to repeal the Graham Liquor Law of 1872, which introduced not only \$2000 bonds on liquor licenses but also unlimited responsibility by the alcohol business for any damages caused by intoxicated

consumers. Political pressure led to a partial replacement in 1874, but the question of individual liability for drunken patrons remained contested for years.²⁷⁰ The Uihlein brothers were long convinced that the representatives of the prohibition movement were reasonable people and would accept Edward’s statement: “Lager beer is now acknowledged by intelligent men and women as the greatest temperance agent in the world.”²⁷¹ For a while, the Schlitz Company supported the movement financially to influence their course,²⁷² but such efforts were not successful and probably contradictory: When the brewery offered Carrie Nation (1846-1911), a violent activist driven by pretended calls from God, to work for them for an attractive salary “advocating the moderate use of absolutely pure Schlitz, the beer that made Milwaukee famous” she answered that she would advertise the business only “with the hatchet.”²⁷³ Schlitz continued to advertise beer as a health drink, but diversified long before the prohibition in the production of non-alcoholic beverages, for instance Schlitz Fizz in 1909.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the Uihlein brothers were not able to develop a strategy against the prohibition movement; they supported and relied on unsuccessful campaigns of the United States Brewers’ Association.²⁷⁵ One of the failed business responses was the purchase of newspapers—in June 1917, Joseph E. Uihlein contributed \$50,000 for the purchase of the Washington Times²⁷⁶—or at least of some controlling interest.²⁷⁷

In contrast to such severe failures, the investment into the Second Ward Savings Bank of Milwaukee remained profitable. Schlitz’s interests fell to August Uihlein. The latter took over the Best/Pabst shares in 1900 and was succeeded by his son Joseph.²⁷⁸ In 1905, the bank had resources of \$9,611,681.97, which had grown by 1918 to \$23,770,741.01.²⁷⁹ Financial investments were no safe haven: A good example was the success of Simon Dinkelspiel, an agent of the New York Life Insurance Company, who attracted leading Milwaukee business people from 1887 with very favorable investment options that turned out to be unsound. The Uihleins lost money but could at least save most of the investment.²⁸⁰

The most important diversification was the purchase of real estate property. This was functional for the core business because it included buildings and attractive plots in the leading towns of the United States. Many of them were never used for saloons or the distribution network and gained high profits. The brothers owned some 2,000 valuable business sites all over the country and were surely among the largest real estate proprietors of the U.S. No less than 500 of them were located in Milwaukee.²⁸¹ In their home town, they were the largest real estate holders, and their investments in the west side of 1900s Milwaukee were crucial for the growing dominance of Grand Avenue in business life.²⁸² Among the outstanding real estate projects

were the Majestic and the Alhambra Theatres, the Schlitz and Globe Hotels, and the Enterprise Building.²⁸³ The real estate investments were the backbone of the family's wealth, enabling business during the time of the prohibition and allowing for a fresh and successful start after the repeal in 1933.

Diversification in other branches was often linked with the brewery's needs: Together with Frederick Pabst, August Uihlein was a proprietor of Delta Cooperage Company of Mississippi. Incorporated in 1891, the company owned 42,000 acres full of oak varieties, enough to supply all Milwaukee breweries with timber and barrels.²⁸⁴ Henry Uihlein and his sons had a controlling interest in the Universal Motor Truck Company in Detroit, but the trucks were also used for the company's distribution network.²⁸⁵ Unrelated with the brewery, Edward and August Uihlein had large interests in the \$2,000,000 Pecos Valley Beet Sugar Company in New Mexico.²⁸⁶ The plant, a joint venture with Frederick Pabst and second generation Scandinavian immigrant entrepreneur James John Hagerman (1838-1909), should have a capacity of 200,000 tons.²⁸⁷ The factory was running for three campaigns, closed in 1900, was destroyed by a fire in 1903, and was never rebuilt.²⁸⁸

In spite of such losses, the Uihlein brothers were able to diversify their profits in other profitable businesses. They were conservative investors and focused predominantly on real estate investments. With this, they benefitted from the rapid growth of U.S. cities and metropolis and generated profits, probably higher than those of the brewing business. This allowed the family to financially survive the prohibition era and to maintain the family business.

Immigrant Entrepreneurship

Brewing was a contested business in the new world: Prohibition was a suspension of civil and property rights. The destruction of the fourth-largest U.S. industry cannot be reduced to an anti-ethnic sentiment, to anti-urban, anti-capitalist or simply protestant hysteria.²⁸⁹ Although the members of the Krug, Schlitz, and Uihlein families were all American citizens, they were often denounced as "un-American," and were finally expropriated without compensation. These brewers, so claimed the hate speech of the red scare period, should have grown up "all the organizations of this country intended to keep young German immigrants from becoming real American citizens."²⁹⁰

Such prejudices affected the families and the Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company from the beginning. For immigrant entrepreneurs, this was a delicate challenge: Living in a town with not less than 69% of German-American inhabitants in 1890, selling an over-average portion of their products to this group, and being shaped by German culture, traditions and technology, they

could simply not deny their German roots. But as a leading U.S. brewery, they had to appeal to the majority Yankees and other ethnic groups as well. Consequently, the company was engaged in quite diverse activities.

The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company was a regular supporter of the local German-American community; in Milwaukee, Chicago, and other locations. When the Turner Hall needed money, the company gave money.²⁹¹ When the Sängerbund asked, Schlitz supported meetings and festivals. Also the Schützenbund's activities were regularly sponsored by Schlitz—and their competitors.²⁹² From a business perspective, this was a service for their regular customers and it was also an investment into activities linked with beer-drinking.

For the company, however, this was not primarily support for the German-American constituency but an expression of their community responsibility. The brewery supported local firefighters or local baseball teams as well.²⁹³ They cared for veterans of the union and prize shootings of the National Guard.²⁹⁴ This was done in cooperation with other breweries, in these cases with Best and Anheuser-Busch. The Schlitz Brewing Company gave large sums to the Milwaukee Conservatory of Music and cared for this institution, when financial troubles "impeded the development of this art-school."²⁹⁵ German-American culture and communities formed the core of such engagement but they were not restricted to a specific ethnic group. The Chicago branch, for instance, contributed to the Chicago Deak-Verein, a Hungarian benevolent society²⁹⁶ and supported flood-swept Galveston in 1900.²⁹⁷ The company also invested in a better America: In the segregated south, Pabst and Schlitz cooperated in supporting Booker T. Washington's industrial colleges for African-Americans in Tallahatchie County, Mississippi.²⁹⁸ The Schlitz Company invested in a prosperous country: They gave \$7000 for the Chicago World Fair, an event not possible without the funding of the leading firms of the region and the nation.²⁹⁹

The brewery presented itself as representative of America; and they were, for instance, using the nationalist emotions related to the U.S. war against Spain in 1898. After the destruction of the Spanish Pacific Fleet in Manila in May 1, 1898, the company sent 3600 bottles to the East: "As they happened to arrive the same day as the news of the victory over Cervera's fleet at Santiago, the beer was finished in celebrating the victory."³⁰⁰ Later that year, the company sent an additional 489,600 bottles of beer to Manila. Admiral George Dewey's thanks were broadly advertised.³⁰¹ Schlitz also referred to army soldiers in advertisements.³⁰² The company was positioning itself as an integral part of the American nation and its manifested destiny: But national sentiments were also used to promote beer as an American beverage. Typical for this was the request to christen the new battleship Wisconsin with a bottle

of Schlitz beer. In a letter to the Milwaukee Battleship Commission from October 24, 1899, the company argued: "Wisconsin is not a champagne-producing state; that use of imported champagne would scarcely seem American enough for such an occasion. Disregard of musty precedents and Old World customs is characteristic of this progressive nation. [Schlitz beer] is an honest American product."³⁰³

While the company had to address both their German-American core constituency and the broader U.S. environment, the individual family members had a more pronounced perspective; and I will focus only on August and Edward G. Uihlein to back this thesis.

They understood themselves as integral members of the German-American communities in Milwaukee and in Chicago. Their exposed positions as wealthy immigrant entrepreneurs enabled them to support other immigrants: August Uihlein was among the founding members of the Deutsche Gesellschaft in Milwaukee in 1880. Pushed by general criticism on the poor hygienic conditions of transatlantic steamers—in 1880, thirteen of the 1300 immigrants on board of the steamer Ohio died—this ethnic society lobbied for improved legislation, supported poor immigrants to Wisconsin and Minnesota, and paved the way for additional immigration from other countries.³⁰⁴ August was a member of the leading German societies in Milwaukee—Deutscher Club, Turnverein, Deutscher Press Club—and was involved with the Calumet Club, the Millioki Club, and the Milwaukee Club, all of them playgrounds of German-Americans.³⁰⁵ But what does this tell us about the bilingual immigrant entrepreneur, about his identity in his self-chosen and self-created new fatherland? He surely lived somewhere between two countries and quite different cultures. When Clauder's brass band serenaded at his sixtieth birthday, he asked them to play popular tunes "and also the old German songs."³⁰⁶ For August Uihlein, such a combination was possible and he lived this merger of cultures. Typical was a luncheon, given the Uihlein brothers in October 1909 at the Schlitz Palm Garden in honor of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, the oldest chartered military organization in the U.S. Colonel Uihlein offered these old stock Yankees a luncheon "German from start to finish, and," notified by a representative of the Company "served as Germans only can serve."³⁰⁷ This happened more than a century ago; and we cannot remove the legacy of two World Wars, of anti-German politics and of anti-American sentiments from our minds. German-American immigrant entrepreneur August Uihlein and many of his Yankee friends could. The culture of mutual respect, which characterized the interaction of the brothers and the Milwaukee brewers, was seen as a model for an immigrant nation like the United States as well.

August Uihlein died in 1911; and his perhaps *bierseliges* ideal of people

living together in mutual respect was not yet wounded by World War I, of anti-German politics and anti-American sentiments. It is not surprising that the identity of his brother Edward, who died in 1921 just after the war, was in some way different. He was even more strongly involved in the German-American community in Chicago. He was a member of the Germania, the Orpheus, and the German Press Club. Edward was an active member and longtime president of the Teutonia Männerchor.³⁰⁸ He learned to play the violin in his youth, and in Chicago, he became a director of the German Opera House Company, a \$500,000 enterprise, which owned the Schiller Theater as well.³⁰⁹ He backed most of the typically immigrant charitable institutions: Co-founder and president of the German Hospital, renamed Grant Hospital during World War I; member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft; generous supporter of the Old People's Home and the Orphan's Home; and a patron of the annual German-American Charity Ball.³¹⁰ Edward G. Uihlein was a lifetime member and supporter of the Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft of Illinois from its foundation in 1900 and active in the section "Gardening, arboriculture and floriculture."³¹¹ Proud of his German ancestry, his gifts to the Art Institute of Chicago included a reduced copy of the Berlin monument of Frederick the Great.³¹² He contributed, like German-American immigrant entrepreneur Julius Rosenwald, \$1000 for the Goethe Monument Association in 1914, which erected an Olympian figure to represent ancient literature, philosophy, and reason.³¹³ Official America listed Edward G. Uihlein among German agents and propagandists in 1919; and the reason for this was that he gave \$200 of the American Embargo Conference, a pressure neutrality group, co-financed by German money.³¹⁴

Worth mentioned is growing involvement with his former fatherland since the beginning of the war.³¹⁵ Edward G. Uihlein supported the Ostpreußen-Hilfe, founded in 1915 to support towns and villages damaged by Russian troops during their occupation of Eastern Prussia in 1914/15 and became vice-president of its Illinois section.³¹⁶ His constant support of his home town Wertheim went unknown: Triggered by his regular lecture of the local newspaper, the Wertheimer Tageblatt, he gave, for instance, to the orphan's home, the commercial and the primary schools, the women's association, the May lottery, and the home of the blind.³¹⁷ Before the war, this was an expression of his thankfulness and his ongoing care for his home town and its institutions. During and after the war, his engagement was intensified, perhaps as an expression of bitterness over the defeat of his former fatherland and the denunciation of German culture and German-Americans. He became an honorary citizen of Wertheim before his death, and his engagement was continued by his brother William.

Conclusions

What remains from the Krugs, the Schlitzes, the Uihleins who formed a once world market leading brewery no longer in existence? They each left their fatherland, founded families and new homes around Lake Michigan, cared for their relatives and their fellow citizens either of German or of other heritage. They were among the most successful entrepreneurs of German descent in their time. They earned immense fortunes and allowed themselves fanciful passions but did not cross the line into competitive capitalism or Yankeeism. They were conservative investors, interested in a huge network of real estate, depots, agencies, and saloons. Parallel, they invested in education and arts, in meeting and gathering places. Modest and plain, they were quite different from many nouveau riches of the Gilded Age. It seems that they simply wanted to be good and respected neighbors.

The Uihleins made Schlitz famous and led the brewery to the top of the business; but the difference between the name of the mover and owner family and the branded company was telling. There was always tension between their positions in business and in American society. The labor movement challenged their patriarchal business structure, while the prohibition movement questioned the honesty and morality of their core business. Most of the Uihleins were travelers, searching for something new, something they had perhaps lost. Most of them travelled back to Wertheim and Miltenberg, and they gave generous gifts to their relatives and to their birth-homes. This was more than a sentiment. The Uihlein brothers believed, as German-Americans, in the American dream; but for them this was not only to make a living or even a fortune. For them, it was the former motto "E Pluribus Unum"—"out of many, one."³¹⁸ The brothers believed in America as a land of opportunity and of mutual respect, with German-Americans as an integral and accepted part of one broader union. Several family members believed that this dream had become true. But those who survived World War I and who faced the denunciation of German-Americans and the expropriation of the brewing industry became skeptical. Far from home, they had lost their faith in their own American dream. This ambivalence was overcome by the second generation of the Uihlein family, whose identity was already dominated by mainstream America. William, however, the youngest of the six Uihlein brothers, made a telling gift to his town of birth, which expressed the ambivalence of the first generation: In the 1920s, he sponsored Wertheim's New Year's parade. Accompanied by up hundreds of school children, a giant pretzel was carried around the old town's market place. A small one once was the sign of his parent's Hotel "Zur Krone."³¹⁹ This was the "Rosebud" of the Uihlein family.

German Historical Institute
Washington, DC

Notes

¹ The brewery is still manufacturing brewing an "Auswandererbier 1849," an IPA with 18% original wort and an alcohol content of 7.5%. The (marketing) story is that such a beer was given to August Krug by his father, when he emigrated to the U.S. (<http://bierdestages.de/brauerei-faustmiltenberg-auswandererbier-1849-nr-1311/> [2014/07/03])

² *Der Bayerischer Eilbote* 1848, 503.

³ Wilhelm Otto Keller, "Von Miltenberg nach Milwaukee: Biermagnaten vom Untermain in den USA des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Spessart* 106 (2012), October-Issue, 15-26, here 20.

⁴ "Sons of German Innkeeper, Who Accumulated Fortunes in Milwaukee, Are Made Honorary Citizens of Wertheim-on-the-Main, Where They Were Born," *Milwaukee Journal* (1931), March-Issue, Wisconsin Local History and Biographical Articles Collection, F 902 3U1, 3.

⁵ NARA, Soundex Index to Naturalization Petitions for the United States District and Circuit Courts, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service District 9, 1840-1950 (M1285); Microfilm Serial: M1285; Microfilm Roll: 105.

⁶ Brenda Magee, *Brewing in Milwaukee* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2014), 93.

⁷ For a broader perspective s. Suzanne M. Sinke, "Moved to Marry: Connecting Marriage and Cross-border Migration in the History of the United States," *L'Homme* 25 (2014), 11-29.

⁸ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburger Passagierlisten; vol. 373-7 I, VIII A 1 vol. 001; page 86, microfilm K-1701.

⁹ "Loss of the Helena Sloman," *Commercial Advertiser* 1850, December 5, 3.

¹⁰ In 1888, the Franz Falk Brewing Company merged with the Jung and Borchert Brewery and together they formed the Falk, Jung and Borchert Brewery Corporation in 1889. Ranked fourth in Milwaukee (behind Best, Schlitz, and Blatz), the company was hit by two devastating fires in 1889 and 1892. The owners, among them six members of the Falk family, sold their property in 1892 to the Pabst Brewing Company, the successor of the Philip Best Brewing Company. Herman Falk, one of the sons of Franz Falk, used his brewing capital for establishing the Falk Manufacturing Company, incorporated in Milwaukee in 1895. Starting with manufacturing of electric street railways and portable cast welding machines, the Falk Corporation became an important producer of industrial power transmission products and with more than one thousand employees in the early 2000s, when the company became part of Rexnord. For more details s. John Gurda, *The Making of a Good Name in Industry: A History of the Falk Corporation, 1892-1992* (Milwaukee: Falk Corporation, 1991).

¹¹ NARA, 1850 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: M432_1003; Page: 274B; Image: 218.

¹² *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* 1852, February 23, 3.

¹³ Maureen Ogle, *Ambitious Brew: The Story of American Beer* (Orlando et al.: Harcourt, 2006), 35. *Schlitz Brewing Art* (s.l.: Paul Bialas, 2014), a book with wonderful photographs but full of mistakes on the history of the company and its proprietors, talks about Krug passing "away from a lengthy illness, believed to be tuberculosis" (page 13). There is no evidence for this.

¹⁴ "The Last Will & Testament of August Krug," <http://slahs.org/schlitz/will3.htm> (notes by Mike Reilly, editor of the will). The will of Georg(e) August Krug was probated in January 1857, but the case was still unsettled in 1868, s. *Banner und Volksfreund. Vereinigte Tägliche* 1857, January 6, 2; "Milwaukee County Court," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1868, October 4, 7.

¹⁵ Ellis Baker Usher, *Wisconsin: Its Story and Biography, 1848-1913*, vol. IV (Chicago and New York: Lewis, 1914), 951.

¹⁶ Comp. the clauses in "The Last Will & Testament of August Krug," <http://slahs.org/schlitz/will3.htm>.

¹⁷ Edward G. Uihlein, *Erinnerungen aus meinen Jugendjahren & Lebenslauf* (1917), 2 (Ms.), Chicago History Museum. The English translation of the memoirs, available both at the Chicago History Museum and at http://www.slahs.org/uihleins/chicago/edward_g_memoirs.htm is often incorrect and cuts off important passages and details without any notice. For an academic use it is—unfortunately—worthless.

¹⁸ Harry H. Anderson, "The Women Who Helped Make Milwaukee Breweries Famous," *Milwaukee History* 4 (1981), 66-78, here 71-2.

¹⁹ Susan Ingalls Lewis, *Unexceptional Women: Female Proprietors in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Albany*, New York, 1830-1885 (Columbus: Ohio State University, 2009).

²⁰ NARA New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957; Year: 1863; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 234; Line 2; List Number: 1018.

²¹ "Heirs Given a Brewery," *Milwaukee Journal* 1887, January 25, 4. The number of rich and super-rich female estate holders was quite large in the late 19th and early 20th century. A good example is Mrs. Herman Oelrichs, spouse and heir of an American banker and co-proprietor of the Norddeutsche Lloyd of German descent, who died, similar to Joseph Schlitz, on sea in 1906. Her San Francisco real estate property, including the Fairmont Hotel and the Lick House, was purchased for 2,600,000 to a Spreckels-Phelan-Magee company, the Real Property Investment Company, in 1906.

²² NARA, 1880 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: 1436; Family History Film: 1255436; Page: 392B; Enumeration District: 101.

²³ The family remained in the wine business. His brother Charles Schlitz went to Milwaukee and imported and dealt with wine and liquors (*Daily Milwaukee News* 1866, November 12, 6). His nephew John Schlitz worked in the same company until he moved to Cleveland in 1882. In 1875, he faced a penalty of \$1000 fine and four months imprisonment for disobeying the revenue laws ("Judgment Day," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1875, Dec 2, 4; "Whisky," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1875, Jun 26, 4). Johann Schlitz exported wine from Laubenheim (brand: Laubenheimer Hackeldurt), where he owned vineyards, Mayence and Cochem to the U.S. (s. the ad in *Der Deutsche Correspondent* 1895, November 19, 9). He used the global belt, a core element of the Brewing company's marketing, for his wine advertisement in Germany.

²⁴ "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

²⁵ NARA, New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957; Year: 1849; Arrival: New York, New York; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 080; Line: 8; List Number: 731.

²⁶ "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31; "Milwaukee Beer," *Patriot [Harrisburg]* 1871, August 19, 1.

²⁷ Helmut Schmahl, *Verpflanzung, aber nicht entwurzelt: Die Auswanderung aus Hessen-Darmstadt (Provinz Rheinhesen) nach Wisconsin im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang, 2000), 251 and 252, footnote 1055; NARA, 1860 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: M653_1422; Page: 73; Image: 79; Family History Library Film: 805422.

²⁸ NARA, 1870 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee Ward 2, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Roll: M593_1726; Page: 2908; Image: 254; Family History Library Film: 553225.

²⁹ *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Wisconsin Volume* (Chicago et al.: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1877),

382.

³⁰ "The Late Philip Best," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* 1869, July 21, 3.

³¹ *Daily Milwaukee News* 1873, December 20, 2.

³² "The Lost Steamer," *Commercial Advertiser* 1875, May 8, 4.

³³ *Minnesota Staats-Zeitung* 1868, June 27, 4.

³⁴ "Statement of the Condition . . .," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1871, February 8, 2.

³⁵ *Daily Milwaukee News* 1871, February 10, 2.

³⁶ Comp. Jonathan Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge et al.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

³⁷ "Joseph Schlitz's Brewing-Company von Milwaukee," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1878, June 5, Fest-Beilage, 8.

³⁸ "In Milwaukee," *Milwaukee Daily News* 1875, May 9, 1. A detailed analysis of the disaster, which killed mainly people of German descent, is given by Keith Austin, "The Victorian Titanic: The loss of the S.S. Schiller in 1875" (Somerset: Halsgrove 2001).

³⁹ "A Strange Story," *The Times-Picayune* 1880, March 11, 4.

⁴⁰ "Insured," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* 1875, May 19, 3.

⁴¹ *Waukesha County Democrat* 1875, May 29, 5.

⁴² "A Strange Story," *Times-Picayune* 1880, March 12, 7.

⁴³ Anderson (1981), 74.

⁴⁴ Uihlein (1917), 36, 42.

⁴⁵ "Im Januar 1872 offerirte mir Herr Schlitz die Agentur für Chicago und Umgegend gegen eine Vergütung von \$1.25 per Bbl. Wenn auch der Verdienst augenblicklich lange nicht die Höhe erreichte die ich in meinem Geschäft erzielte so durfte ich doch die Zukunft nicht außer Acht lassen da wie Herr Schlitz andeutete er ohne Kinder sei und uns der Besitz seines Geschäfts in Aussicht stand." (Uihlein (1917), 45)

⁴⁶ "House Called Schlitz, that Uihlein Built," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933, April 7, 16. As typical for most of these estimations, the exact number can't be taken for granted.

⁴⁷ For details of the family history indispensable—although penetrated with quite many factual errors and contradictions—Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1873-1881," <http://www.slahs.org/schlitz/history.htm> [2012/08/04]; Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1848-1873," <http://www.slahs.org/schlitz/history2.htm> [2014/03/02]; Michael R. Reilly, "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: A Chronological History 1881-1907," <http://www.slahs.org/schlitz/history3.htm> [04/08/2012]; Mike Reilly, "Uihlein Family History (The Milwaukee Brewing Family). Revised 1/17/00," http://www.slahs.org/uihleins/family_history1.htm [2012/04/24]; Mary Lou Traffis, "Uihlein Family History. Revised January 10, 2000," ed. by Mike Reilly, http://www.slahs.org/uihleins/uehleins/cleveland/family_history1.htm [2012/04/17]; Herwig John, "Die Gebrüder Uihlein (1842-1932)," in *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen: Beiträge und Bilddokumente*, ed. by Günther Hasler (Karlsruhe: Harschdruck, 1976), 90-92.

⁴⁸ "Sons of German Innkeeper, Who Accumulated Fortunes in Milwaukee, Are Made Honorary Citizens of Wertheim-on-the-Main, Where They Were Born," *Milwaukee Journal* (1931), March-Issue, Wisconsin Local History and Biographical Articles Collection, F 902 3UI.

⁴⁹ Otto Langguth, "Das Gasthaus 'zur Krone' in Wertheim," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Alt-Wertheim* 1929, 69-79; Otto Langguth, "The Hotel 'Zur Krone' in Wertheim," translated by Ernst Voss, Chicago History Museum.

⁵⁰ *The Milwaukee Directory for 1883*, vol. XVI (Milwaukee: Alfred G. Wright, 1883), 679.

⁵¹ "Last of the Early Uihleins Dies," *Milwaukee Journal* 1943, February 17, 19.

⁵² The 16-year-old-boy, already named as beer brewer ("Bierbrauer"), left Hamburg together with his brother Eduard (already named a merchant ("Kaufmann")) on Jun 1, 187 (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburger Passagierlisten, 1850-1934, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 vol. 024; page

491, microfilm no. K_1715).

⁵³ "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

⁵⁴ "Chicago gegen St. Louis," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1897, Jun 16, 5, mentioned five brothers in control of the Schlitz company.

⁵⁵ Russell Zimmermann, "A glimpse at a time when life had style," *Milwaukee Journal* 1984, May 27, 36-38, here 36.

⁵⁶ "House Called Schlitz, that Uihlein Built," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933, April 7, 16.

⁵⁷ Peter Engelmann (1823-1874) was another 48er, who emigrated from Kreuznach (like brewer Eberhard Anheuser) to the U.S. in 1849. In 1851, he became principal of the newly founded German-English Academy in Milwaukee, which he headed until his death. On Engelmann and his model institution s. Bettina Goldberg, "The German-English Academy, the National German-American Teachers' Seminary, and the Public School System in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1851-1919," in *German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917*, ed. by Henry Geitz, Jürgen Heideking and Jürgen Herbst (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 177-92, here 180-85.

⁵⁸ On his youth s. "August Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 694-98.

⁵⁹ More on Joseph Uhrig and his brewery can be found in "Uhrig, Franz Joseph," in *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, ed. by William Hyde and Howard L. Conrad, vol. IV (New York et al.: Southern History Co., 1899), 2327-2328. Uhrig could afford to purchase a summer residence in Milwaukee in 1854, which allowed regular personal contacts. For details s. *History Designation Study Report: Villa Uhrig* (Written Fall, 1997) (Ms.).

⁶⁰ Uihlein (1917), 37, mentioned that the Uhrig and Uihlein families were „auf freudlichstem Fuss.“ But Keller (2012), 21 added, that Eva Barbara Ludwig, the younger sister of August Krug's mother Anna Marie, married in 1811 Johann Adam Uhrig, a younger brother of Ignatz and Joseph Uhrig.

⁶¹ "The Uhrig Family's Romance," *Weekly Wisconsin* 1897, April 10, 6. Joseph Uhrig died in 1875 and left a fortune of more than \$500,000. For details on this and the tricky family history s. "Not their Son," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* 1881, June 29, 5.

⁶² "August Uihlein Dies in Germany," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, Evening-Issue, 1.

⁶³ "Georg Karl 'August' Eugene Uihlein and Anna Werdehoff," <http://www.slabs.org/uihleins/milwaukee/august.htm> [2014/06/23].

⁶⁴ "A Journey Around the World: Joseph Uihlein Describes his Wanderings upon the Continent and in Egypt, India and East Africa," *Milwaukee Journal* 1897, September 4, 9-10.

⁶⁵ "Sunday is Birthday of Milwaukee's Richest Man," *Milwaukee Journal* 1907, August 22, 3.

⁶⁶ John N. Ingham, *Biographical Dictionary of American Business Leaders N-U* (Westport and London: Greenwood, 1983), 1483-8, here 1483.

⁶⁷ "August Uihlein," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, 5 (also for the quote before).

⁶⁸ "As Century Passes, Erwin Uihlein Talks of Beer, City and His Papa," *Milwaukee Journal* 1949, January 2, 33, 36, here 33.

⁶⁹ It has to be mentioned that the Uihleins were the Eastern pendant to California's leading breeder and second generation immigrant entrepreneur Adolph B. Spreckels and his Napa Valley farm. His trotter Hulda was a world champion in the 1890s.

⁷⁰ Comp. "August Uihlein and The Harvester to be inducted into Wisconsin Hall of Fame," Press release by the Wisconsin Harness Horse Association Marketing Department, January 3, 2012, <http://xwebapp.ustrouting.com/absoluten/templates...>; "No Money can buy Champion Stallion," *Trenton Evening Times* 1911, October 1, 10. The trotter was sold after August Uihlein's death for a sum near \$50,000 ("Billings Pays \$50,000 for Harvester, Famous Horse," *Duluth News-Tribune* 1912, March 16, 10).

⁷¹ "Miss Uihlein Wills Estate to Relatives," *Milwaukee Journal* 1968, May 21, 13; "Uihlein Trust Not Taxable," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1945, October 16, 19.

⁷² "Mrs. Uihlein Dies," *Milwaukee Journal* 1910, August 5, 9.

⁷³ "August Uihlein Dies in Germany," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, Morning-Issue, 1.

⁷⁴ "Children Get All," *Milwaukee Journal* 1911, November 22, 3.

⁷⁵ "Inheritance Taxes Await Court Ruling," *Milwaukee Journal* 1912, December 27, 5.

⁷⁶ "Alfred E. Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 706.

⁷⁷ "Alfred Eugene Uihlein and Anna Pilger," http://www.slabs.org/uihleins/milwaukee/alfred_e.htm [2014/06/23].

⁷⁸ This and Henry Uihlein's mansion were demolished in 1970. For details s. "Alfred Uihlein House, Milwaukee Wisconsin," http://www.historic-structures.com/wi/milwaukee/uihleins_house.php [2014/06/23].

⁷⁹ "Alfred E. Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 706.

⁸⁰ "Alfred Uihlein Dies at His Home Here, Aged 82," *Milwaukee Journal* 1935, February 21, 17.

⁸¹ "The Uihlein Estate," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* 1935, November 4, 4.

⁸² "Alfred Uihlein Estate Listed," *Milwaukee Journal* 1935, November 4, 14.

⁸³ Uihlein (1917), 9.

⁸⁴ For details s. *ibid.*, 14-33.

⁸⁵ Edward Uihlein left Hamburg together with Joseph, Walburga and her daughter Josephine Uhrig on July 23, 1864. While Uihlein travelled second class the established brewer family used first class cabin (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Hamburger Passagierlisten, 1850-1934, 373-7 I, VIII A 1 Band 018, page 428, microfilm no. K_1710).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁸⁸ "Edward G. Uihlein," in *A History of the City of Chicago its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295-6, here 295, mentioned 1866, but Eduard [sic!] Uihlein was already listed as a taxpayer in the retail and liquor business in November 1865 (NARA, U.S. IRS Tax Assessment Lists, 1862-1918; Tax Assessment Lists for Collection Districts in the State of Missouri, 1862-1865; Series: M776; Roll: 9; Description: District 1; Monthly Lists; Aug-Dec 1865; Record Group: 58).

⁸⁹ Otto Langguth: "Edward G. Uihlein . . . in seinen Beziehungen zur Vaterstadt und zum Deutschum," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Alt-Wertheim* 1920 (1921), 52-70, here 53.

⁹⁰ NARA, *Passport Applications, 1795-1905*; Collection Number: ARC Identifier 566612 / MLR Number A1 508; Series: M1372; Roll: 437.

⁹¹ "Edward G. Uihlein," in *A History of the City of Chicago its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295-96, here 296.

⁹² Uihlein (1917), 76-77 (both quotes).

⁹³ "Horticultural Society of Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, October 9, 4; "Queen Flora Reigns," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, November 9, 12; "E.G. Uihlein," *The American Florist* 56 (1921), 99.

⁹⁴ "Get West Park Jobs," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1894, May 19, 9; "Horticulture in Chicago," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1894, July 29, 25; "E.G. Uihlein, Brewer, Dead," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1921, January 26, Evening-Issue, 1.

⁹⁵ Uihlein (1917), 77-84.

⁹⁶ "Edward G. Uihlein," in *A History of the City of Chicago Its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295-6, here 296. It has to be mentioned that such extensive travels were always related with establishing and expanding social and commercial networks. A good

example for this is his stay at the Hotel Del Coronado in February 1909 and the following journey to Hawaii ("Hotel Arrivals," *San Diego Union* 1909, February 19, 5; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1909, March 26, 7). Here the Uihleins could not only enjoy the hospitality of San Diego's leading German-American entrepreneur John D. Spreckels but could also talk to his brother Adolph B. Spreckels, who was a park commissioner of San Francisco for many years.

⁹⁷ A[lfred] T[heodore] Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. III (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1886, 580).

⁹⁸ "Uihlein Estate \$1,120,000," *American Bottler* 41 (1921), March-issue, 78.

⁹⁹ Uihlein (1917), 2.

¹⁰⁰ NARA 1880 United States Federal Census, Year: 1880, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, roll 1437, family history film 1255437, page 324B, enumeration district 118. Henry Uihlein became a U.S. citizen on October 30, 1880.

¹⁰¹ "Henry Uihlein," in *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. III (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 52-55, here 52. The Kunz family, August, Joseph and Charles, were German immigrants, who run at least two breweries: the Weston Brewing Company, established by German immigrant John Gregorian in 1842, and taken over by August Kunz after Gregorian's death in 1857 (<http://westonirish.com/BREWERY.html> [2014/07/30]; and the Charles Kunz Brewery, from c. 1867 renamed Charles Kunz Brewery, in Leavenworth, KA (<http://www.oldbreweries.com/breweries-by-state/leavenworth-ks-11-breweries/charles-kunz-brewery-ks-29b&c/> [2014/07/30]). During Henry Uihlein's stay, Leavenworth had not less than three other brewing companies, all of them founded by German-American immigrant entrepreneurs.

¹⁰² "Henry Uihlein," (1922), 52.

¹⁰³ Ancestry.com. Germany, Select Births and Baptisms, 1558-1898 [database on-line], Provo, UE, USA.

¹⁰⁴ "Uihlein Family History. Revised January 10, 2000," ed. by Mike Reilly, http://www.slabs.org/uhlein/uehlein/cleveland/family_history1.htm [2012/04/17].

¹⁰⁵ "Henry Uihlein, Deceased," *The Beverage Journal* 58 (1922), 91.

¹⁰⁶ Frank Bauer, "Time's run out on a posh old place," *Milwaukee Journal* 1985, August 25, 6; NARA 1880 United States Federal Census, Year: 1880, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, roll 1437, family history film 1255437, page 324B, enumeration district 118.

¹⁰⁷ "American Millionaires," *New York Herald Times* 1892, May 21, 13-14, here 14 (named as "Nihlein").

¹⁰⁸ "Henry Uihlein, Head of Milwaukee Brewery House, Succumbs to Heart Disease," *Grand Forks Herald* 1922, Apr 23, 11.

¹⁰⁹ "Uihlein Daughters Enjoined To Keep Property in Won Name," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1923, November 28, 3.

¹¹⁰ Comp. Thomas Welskopp, "Prohibition in the United States: The German-American Experience, 1919-1933," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 53 (2013), 31-53, here 38; and, partially identical, Thomas Welskopp, *Amerikas große Ernüchterung: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Prohibition* (Paderborn et al.: Schöningh, 2010), 47-49. For a broader perspective s. Jay Feldman, *Manufacturing Hysteria: A History of Scapegoating, Surveillance, and Secrecy in Modern America* (New York: Anchor Books: 2012).

¹¹¹ "Wisconsin Gift Tax Law is Overthrown," *Boston Herald* 1926, Nov 2, 30; "Wisconsin Courts Reversed," *Macon Telegraph* 1926, Nov 2, 6.

¹¹² NARA U.S. Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791-1992, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service district 9, 1840-1950 (M1285), microfilm serial M1285, microfilm roll 170.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ *Western Brewer* 47 (1916), 212 (the text, however, offered at least two factual errors).

¹¹⁵ Ancestry.com, Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1871-1920 [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA; "Death Closes Cover on a Milwaukee Era," *Milwaukee Journal* 1946, August 20; 1940 United States Federal Census, Census Place: Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Roll T627_4546, Page 6A, Enumeration District 72-146.

¹¹⁶ "Sad Ending to a Happy Wedding Trip," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* 1900, Dec 4, 7.

¹¹⁷ "Articles of Association," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1885, April 10, 8.

¹¹⁸ *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 185-86, here 185.

¹¹⁹ "Charles Uihlein is Dead," *Oshkosh Daily Northwestern* 1915, December 15, 1.

¹²⁰ "Hold Funeral of Charles Uihlein," *Milwaukee Journal* 1915, December 20, 1.

¹²¹ Anke Ortlepp, *Auf denn, Ihr Schwestern!* *Deutschamerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 103, footnote 33; *Official Record of the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Wisconsin Knight of Pythias* 1914, 55.

¹²² *Inter Ocean* 1899, February 5, 18.

¹²³ "Gets into the Game," *Hutchinson News* 1900, Dec 21, 1.

¹²⁴ "Will of Charles Uihlein Bestows \$100,000 Estate," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1915, December 29.

¹²⁵ NARA U.S. Passport applications, 1795-1925, Passport Applications, January 2, 1906-March 31, 1925, collection number: ARC identifier 583839 / MLR number A1 523; NARA series M1490, roll 76; NARA U.S. Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791-1992, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service district 9, 1840-1950 (M1285), microfilm serial M1285, microfilm roll 170.

¹²⁶ "Valued Yeast, 50 Years Old, Ready to Work," *Nevada State Journal* 1932, Nov 19, 2.

¹²⁷ An overview on the breweries, who used pure yeast from Copenhagen is given in Emil Chr[istian] Hansen, *Practical Studies in Fermentation being Contributions to the Life History of Micro-Organisms* (London and New York: E. & F.N. Spon, 1896), 234-38 (apart from Schlitz, fifteen other U.S. breweries were mentioned).

¹²⁸ Mikuláš Teich, *Bier, Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft in Deutschland 1880-1914: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Industrialisierungsgeschichte* (Vienna et al.: Böhlau, 2000), 154.

¹²⁹ *Washington Times* 1901, March 13, 1.

¹³⁰ Her parents came to the U.S. from Germany in 1839 ("Mrs. William Uihlein Dies at 99," *Milwaukee Journal* 1965, March 4, 9).

¹³¹ Alex P. Dobish, "Big collection bears the stamp of Uihlein," *Milwaukee Journal* 1983, October 14, 38-39.

¹³² "Uihlein Estate Totals \$318,480," *Sheboygan Press* 1932, December 17, 3.

¹³³ Amy Mittelman, *Brewing Battles: A History of American Beer* (New York: Algora, 2008), 28-31, passim.

¹³⁴ "Combining Brewers," *St. Paul Daily Globe* 1889, September 16, 1.

¹³⁵ *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1891, July 26, 6.

¹³⁶ "Pabst Beer in New York," *Washington Sentinel* 1900, Aug 11, 3. The Hollender Company had started to sell a "Milwaukee Beer" in New York.

¹³⁷ *Washington Sentinel* 1900, October 27, 3; *Washington Sentinel* 1901, March 23, 3.

¹³⁸ "Pabst-Schlitz," *St. Paul Globe* 1896, March 26, 7.

¹³⁹ "Chicago gegen St. Louis," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1897, June 16, 5.

¹⁴⁰ "Combine in Beer," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, November 28, 1.

¹⁴¹ *American Brewers' Review* 17 (1903), 109.

¹⁴² Comp. Christina Lubinski, *Familienunternehmen in Westdeutschland: Corporate Governance und Gesellschafterkultur seit den 1960er Jahren* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2010), 11-14.

¹⁴³ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge and London: Belknap 1977).

¹⁴⁴ In 2011, family businesses employed 63% of the U.S. labor force and generated 57% of the Gross National Product (*Annual Family Business Survey: General Results & Conclusions, March 2011*, ed. by Family Enterprise USA (s.l., 2011), 1). The numbers of 2013 *Survey of Family Business*, ed. by CBIA (s.l., 2013), 2 were 60% res. 50%.

¹⁴⁵ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "Integration and Diversification as Business Strategies—An Historical Analysis [1959]," *Business and Economic History*, 2nd ser. 19 (1990), 65-73.

¹⁴⁶ Kevin M. Cullen, "Rediscovering Milwaukee's historic breweries. Part I: Milwaukee's downtown breweries," *Brewery History* 140 (2011), 71-86.

¹⁴⁷ Magee (2014), 11.

¹⁴⁸ *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 124.

¹⁴⁹ To get an idea of the early production facilities s. Susan K. Appel, "Pre-Prohibition Breweries – A Midwestern View," *Journal of the Brewery History Society* 136 (2010), 2-21, esp. 9-10 (images of Jacob Best's Old Brewery and Adam Lemp's first brew house and lagering cellar).

¹⁵⁰ "Schlitz Started on Chestnut St. in 1849," *Milwaukee Journal* 1936, September 30.

¹⁵¹ Usher (1914), 951.

¹⁵² Schlitz's quite remarkable property consists mostly of plots of lands of the later place of the new brewery. There was, however, a lack of mobile investment capital.

¹⁵³ Jerry Apps, *Breweries of Wisconsin*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 102; *History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin*, ed. by the Western Historical Co. 1881, 1463 "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

¹⁵⁴ Magee (2014), 93.

¹⁵⁵ It is quite likely that this standard narrative of nearly every contribution to the history of the Schlitz Company during the last decades results from a 1971 marketing campaign, when Schlitz introduced a commemorative Schlitz beer mug/stein depicting the Chicago Fire in 1871 and invented the tradition of generous support for the Chicagoans.

¹⁵⁶ Bob Skilnik, *Beer: A History of Brewing in Chicago* (Fort Lee: Barricade Books, 2006), 24.

¹⁵⁷ A[lfred] T[hodore] Andreas, *History of Chicago*, vol. III (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1886, 580).

¹⁵⁸ Chicago's changing position is analyzed by William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1992), esp. 324-33.

¹⁵⁹ Uihlein (1917), 46: "Mit der Zeit kamen auch Chicagos Brauereien wieder in Betrieb und da in Folge dessen Preise recht gedrückt waren blieben wir auf Errichtung von Agenturen über die ganzen Ver. Staaten angewiesen."

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. Uihlein talked of "Zalungsversprechen (notes);" *History of Milwaukee, Wisconsin*, ed. by the Western Historical Co. 1881, 1463. I haven't found any official announcement of the incorporation in early 1874.

¹⁶¹ Jos[eph] Schlitz, "Last Will and Testament" (undated). This transcript of the will was given to the GHI's Immigrant Entrepreneurship Project by Nancy A. McCaslin, Cassopolis, Michigan. Astonishingly Schlitz gave his age as 44, but he died at the age of 43. He also named August Uihlein (and Henry Magdeburg, the executors) "friends" (ibid., page 5869).

¹⁶² Numbers of employees are only available randomly: In 1878, the company employed nearly 125 people; and more than 500 in 1885 ("Joseph Schlitz's Brewing-Company von Milwaukee," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1878, June 5, Fest-Beilage, 8; *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 127).

¹⁶³ *Janesville Daily Gazette* 1885, May 22, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Victor J. Tremblay and Carol Horton Tremblay, *The U.S. Brewing Industry: Data and Economic Analysis* (Boston: MIT Press, 2005), 86. Schlitz announced already in 1891 that the

new production facilities had a capacity of one million barrels per year.

¹⁶⁵ *Fort Wayne News* 1902, Dec 20, 29.

¹⁶⁶ Martin Stack, "Local and Regional Breweries in America's Brewing Industry, 1865 to 1920," *Business History Review* 74 (2000), 435-63, esp. 450.

¹⁶⁷ *Milwaukee's Great Enterprises*, ed. by W[illiam] J[ohn] Anderson and Julius Bleyer (Milwaukee: Association for the Advancement of Milwaukee, 1892), 237.

¹⁶⁸ For a more detailed view s. Martin Stack, "Was Big Beautiful? The Rise of National Breweries in America's Pre-Prohibition Brewing Industry," *Journal of Macromarketing* 30 (2010), 50-60.

¹⁶⁹ Jos[eph] Schlitz, "Last Will and Testament" (undated), page 5873; "Heirs Given a Brewery," *Milwaukee Journal* 1887, January 25, 4.

¹⁷⁰ "A Widow's Will: The Schlitz Brewery Property Deeded to Many Heirs," *Daily Northwestern* 1887, January 26, 1.

¹⁷¹ "Ziegler's Saloon," *The Times-Picayune* 1875, November 7, 8.

¹⁷² Uihlein (1917), 48.

¹⁷³ "Joseph Schlitz's Brewing-Company von Milwaukee," *Der deutsche Correspondent* 1878, June 5, Fest-Beilage, 8.

¹⁷⁴ "Beer," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1880, Jan 1, 5.

¹⁷⁵ For more information s. Mike Reilly, "Refrigerator Cars (Reefers) History," <http://www.slabs.org/schlitz/reefers.htm> [2014/03/02]

¹⁷⁶ "Gould's Big Plan," *Kansas City Times* 1891, March 12, 11.

¹⁷⁷ *Morning Oregonian* 1878, July 22, 2; Garth Ziegenhagen, "Gambrinus Brewery named after Mythical German King Gambrinus, Inventor of Brewing and the Toast," *Bottles and Extras* 21 (2011), no. 6, 59-60, here 59.

¹⁷⁸ "The Popular Resort," *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* 1878, August 31, 3.

¹⁷⁹ "Among the Brewers," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1880, April 20, 4.

¹⁸⁰ *Western Brewer* 31 (1906), 524.

¹⁸¹ It is wrong, that Schlitz built a satellite brewery in Cleveland, Ohio, "from the scratch" in 1908 (Bill Yenne, *Great American Beers: Twelve Brands that became Icons* (St. Paul: MBI, 2004), 153). This is not mentioned in Robert A. Musson, *Brewing in Cleveland* (Charleston et al.: Arcadia, 2005) and the local newspapers at that time.

¹⁸² *Davenport Daily Leader* 1901, April 1, 4.

¹⁸³ "Beer Purchases Being Probed," *State [Columbia, SC]* 1908, January 31, 3.

¹⁸⁴ (Former) Schlitz Brewery-Tied House (now Mac's American Pub) 1801 W. Division Street: *Final Landmark Recommendation adopted by the Commission on Chicago Landmarks*, March 3, 2011, 21. Tied-Houses were the functional equivalent of sales shops for manufacturers. Schlitz's remaining saloons today among "the finest early examples of signage integrated with architecture in America" (Martin Treu, *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts: A History of Architecture and Graphic along America's Commercial Corridors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP: 2012), 57)

¹⁸⁵ "Beer War in Cleveland," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1898, Dec 21, 4.

¹⁸⁶ "Sandusky Beer Appreciated," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, January 6, 1; "The Saloon Trust," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, February 1, 1.

¹⁸⁷ "Beer War Coming," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, February 18, 1; "Brewers at War," *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, March 11, 1.

¹⁸⁸ *Sandusky Star-Journal* 1899, May 26, 4.

¹⁸⁹ "Ein Bier-Krieg," *Indiana-Tribüne* 1902, Dec 19, 5.

¹⁹⁰ *Daily Milwaukee News* 1878, December 29, 4.

¹⁹¹ "Among the Brewers," *Milwaukee Journal of Commerce* 1880, April 21, 3.

¹⁹² The Fred. W. Wolf Co., incorporated in 1887 in Chicago, built more than 1,200 Wolf-Linde machines before the death of the founder and president of the company ("Fred W. Wolf, Deceased," *Western Brewer* 30 (1912), 129; "Fred W. Wolf," *Cold Storage and Ice Trade Journal*

44 (1912), no. 3, 75).

¹⁹³ *Weekly Wisconsin* 1881, November 23, 4.

¹⁹⁴ *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 126.

¹⁹⁵ "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

¹⁹⁶ *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 185-186, here 185 (186 for the following).

¹⁹⁷ *Der Nordstern* 1884, Jun 4, 8: "eigens zur Verwendung als Flaschenbier gebraut."

¹⁹⁸ "Important to Families," *Galveston Daily News* 1882, August 21, 4.

¹⁹⁹ An overview is given by Tom Fetter, "Packaging: A Historical Perspective," in *Handbook of Brewing*, 2nd ed., ed. by Fergus G. Priest and Graham G. Steward (Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 551-61.

²⁰⁰ *Western Brewer* 49 (1917), 23. Alfred H. Wehmiller (1874-1927) was a second generation German immigrant entrepreneur from St. Louis, who joined the company founded in 1885 by his brother-in-law Thomas J. Barry in 1895. First engaged in malt transport machines, they became a leading producer of packaging machines. In 2013, Barry-Wehmiller employed 7000 people and had a turnover of \$1.5 billion.

²⁰¹ "The Boss Brewery," *Daily Illinois State Register* 1882, April 26, 3.

²⁰² *The Helena Independent* 1891, May 31, 7.

²⁰³ *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 126. At that time William T. Coleman, the father of the town of San Rafael and notorious for his anti-labor and anti-Chinese politics, was the dominant business partner in the West.

²⁰⁴ *Chicago Eagle* 1894, July 28, 11.

²⁰⁵ For a taste of such struggles s. Uwe Spiekermann, "Dangerous Meat? German-American Quarrels over Pork and Beef, 1870-1900," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 46 (2010), 93-110.

²⁰⁶ "Idaho Hops," *Idaho Statesman* 1901, January 31, 4; "We Go to Bohemia for Hops," *Harper's Weekly* 47 (1903), 1240.

²⁰⁷ *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1904, March 11, 11.

²⁰⁸ "Vergleichende Material-Verwendung," *Zeitschrift für das gesamte Brauwesen* 25 (1902), 141.

²⁰⁹ "Beer," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <http://www.eredreference.com/ency/abcalc/beer> [2011/03/25].

²¹⁰ "The Albert Hellwig Process for Drawing Off Wort," *Western Brewer* 33 (1908), 441.

²¹¹ *Western Brewer* 33 (1908), 224.

²¹² A good example for the different cultures of innovation was the *de facto* absence of pure yeast in English beer brewing until the 1960s (Ray Anderson, "The Transformation of Brewing: An Overview of Three Centuries of Science and Practice," *Journal of the Brewery History Society* 121 (2005), 5-24, here 10-11). In addition, due to the lack of reliable sources, it is not possible to give details on the use of pasteurization of beer, in use from the early 1880s.

²¹³ For details s. Uwe Spiekermann, "Marketing Milwaukee: Schlitz and the Making of a National Beer Brand," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 53 (2013), 55-67.

²¹⁴ "Milwaukee Beer," *Patriot* [Harrisburg] 1871, August 19, 1.

²¹⁵ "To Our Patrons," *Quincy Whig* 1874, May 1, 4.

²¹⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1890, May 4, 31.

²¹⁷ Loutner S. Horne, "Beer has Milwaukee Smiling and Booming," *New York Times* 1933, April 2, XX2.

²¹⁸ It is difficult to judge fairly about the year of introduction. "Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co.: Trademarks," <http://www.slahs.org/schlitz/trademarks.htm> [2011/01/26] is helpful but not always reliable. The first entry in the newspaper databases "Chronicle America" and

"newspapers.com" is in *The Labor World* 1896, April 11, 24. The use in journals started even later. In addition, this slogan was surely not a result of Schlitz's engagement after the Chicago Fire in 1871.

²¹⁹ *Los Angeles Daily Herald* 1887, March 21, 10; *Omaha Daily Bee* 1888, June 17, 13; *Roanoke Times* 1892, Jul 2, 4.

²²⁰ *Oakland Tribune* 1880, February 24, 3, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1879, March 8, 1; *Philadelphia Times* 1877, April 27, 3.

²²¹ The Atlas-Bräu campaign in summer 1895 did not yet use the slogan, although it included the global belt (*Times-Picayune* 1895, July 16, 3).

²²² *Bay City Times* 1892, Jun 18, 6.

²²³ *Nebraska State Journal* 1901, May 5, 17.

²²⁴ Although the Schlitz Company stressed that their efforts doubled "the necessary costs" for brewing (*Cincinnati Enquirer* 1902, Dec 2, 2), it was claimed that Schlitz beer would cost no more than other beers (*Nevada State Journal* 1903, May 2, 2).

²²⁵ Schmahl (2000), 252, footnote 1062.

²²⁶ "Schlitz 'Believes in Signs,'" *Charles Austin Bates Criticisms* 2 (1897), 154-55.

²²⁷ *Der Deutsche Correspondent* 1896, August 13, 2.

²²⁸ Joseph Schlitz, for instance, was a member of the resolution committee, a vice-president, a member of the committee of agitation and the committee of resolutions (*Documentary History of the United States Brewers' Association*, p. 1 (New York: U.S. Brewers' Association, 1896), 229, 296).

²²⁹ "Will Fight the 'Combine,'" *New Castle Daily City News* 1889, Sep 16, 4; "Beer Revolt is on," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1897, October 15, 1 (in the latter case together with Yankee and Italian immigrant entrepreneurs).

²³⁰ "Chicago Beer in Milwaukee," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1890, August 12, 3.

²³¹ "To Our Customers," *Inter Ocean* 1890, July 25, 8.

²³² "Heavy Cut in Beer," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, May 1, 6.

²³³ *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 1894, August 5, 18.

²³⁴ "The Beer War at Racine," *Daily Northwestern* 1896, Feb 14, 4.

²³⁵ Gunnar Mickelsen, "Magic of Brewer's Art Led Frederick Miller to Menomonee Valley and Fame," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1932, January 24.

²³⁶ Comp. "A Brewery Boycott," *Duluth Daily News* 1887 November 25, 1; "Opposed to the Union," *Daily Inter Ocean* 1888, January 25, 3; "Hodcarriers' Strike to Go On," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1896, August 8, 3; "Even 'Boodle' was Charged," *Altoona Tribune* 1896, December 16, 1; "Blow at Union Labor," *Logansport Reporter* 1898, June 2, 1; "Strike at Schlitz Brewery Deferred," *Inter Ocean* 1901, August 30, 7.

²³⁷ "Schlitz Beer is Union Made," *Elkhart Truth* 1904, March 5, 5.

²³⁸ Bruce (1922), 770.

²³⁹ Elizabeth Jozwiak, "Bottoms Up: The Socialist Fight for the Workingman's Saloon," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 90 (2006/07), no. 2, 12-23, esp. 17-19.

²⁴⁰ Perry Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920* (Chicago: Illini, 1999), 41.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

²⁴² For details s. Joseph P. Schwieterman and Dana M. Caspell, *The Politics of Place: A History of Zoning in Chicago* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), esp. chapters 2 and 3.

²⁴³ "Beer Park," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1879, July 8, 6.

²⁴⁴ *Industrial History of Milwaukee, the Commercial, Manufacturing and Railway Metropolis of the North-West* (Milwaukee: E.E. Barton, 1886), 118. See also Larry Widen, *Entertainment in Early Milwaukee* (Charleston et al.: Arcadia, 2007), 30-31.

²⁴⁵ Schlitz Park was for a long time Milwaukee's leading resort but it was not exceptional: Blatz Park or Pleasant Valley Resort on the Milwaukee River and Pabst Park on 3rd and

Burleigh Streets offered alternatives (Larry Widen, *Vintage Milwaukee Postcards* (Milwaukee: Apple Core, 2005), 30).

²⁴⁶ "Schlitz Pavilion, Once City Bright Spot, to Be Wrecked," *Milwaukee Journal* 1923, May 31.

²⁴⁷ Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Milwaukee: Deutsche Gesellschaft, 1902), 107.

²⁴⁸ "Did not Run the Cars," *Chautau Daily Tribune* 1896, May 19, 1.

²⁴⁹ *Kentucky Irish American* 1904, Aug 27, 3.

²⁵⁰ Thomas H. Fehring, *Whitefish Bay* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2010).

²⁵¹ On the German beer gardens in Milwaukee s. *History of Milwaukee City and County*, ed. by William George Bruce, vol. 1 (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 768-69, 782-83. Another Schlitz Palm Garden opened in 1897 in Omaha, Nebraska ("Schlitz Co. Palm Garden," *Omaha World Herald* 1897, February 3, 2; *Nebraska State Journal* 1897, August 21, 2).

²⁵² Comp. Heinrich Wagner, "Schank- und Speise-Local, Kaffeehäuser und Restaurants," in *Handbuch der Architektur*, ed. by Josef Durm et al., part 4, half-vol. 4 (Darmstadt: J.Ph. Diehl, 1885), 3-94, here 32-39.

²⁵³ "When Old-timers Get Together They Talk of Palm Garden Days," *Milwaukee Journal* 1937, July 14, 17, 19, here 17.

²⁵⁴ "Palm Garden," *Daily Palladium* 1902, April 17, 8.

²⁵⁵ "Famous Beer Garden to be Revived in Milwaukee," *Chester Times* 1933, March 31, 20.

²⁵⁶ Of course, this world had still strict rules. Although advertised as a "First-Class Family Resort," the management of the Schlitz Palm Garden in Suburbanite, Ill., ruled: "Objectional and disorderly persons not allowed, and no ladies without escorts in the evening." (*Suburbanite Economist* 1908, March 13, 5)

²⁵⁷ *Centralia Enterprise and Tribune* 1897, March 30, 9; "Long Distance Telephone," *Semi-Weekly Cedar Falls Gazette* 1898, February 11, 5.

²⁵⁸ "Schlitz Garden Enters History," *Milwaukee Journal* 1921, March 6.

²⁵⁹ "Wilson in Milwaukee," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 11 (1910/11), 149.

²⁶⁰ *Racine Journal News* 1915, December 3, 6. In contrast to voices, who felt "suddenly transported into the German fatherland," (Charles Gordon, "Field Day of the Ancients," *National Magazine* 32 (1910), 486-88, here 487) when visiting the Palm Garden, this hybrid mixture was crucial for the institution's success.

²⁶¹ "Even Milwaukee's Lid is Clamped Down," *Fort Wayne News* 1915, July 29, 4.

²⁶² "Van Will Open a Palm Garden," *Sheboygan Daily Press* 1908, May 27, 1.

²⁶³ "Palm Garden to Close its Doors," *Racine Journal News* 1921, March 4, 6.

²⁶⁴ "Milwaukee Plans Return of Old Time Biergarten," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1933, March 16, 12; "How and Where the Taverns and Palm Gardens Will Operate is Problematical," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933, March 24, 26.

²⁶⁵ "Schlitz Palm Garden to Open Friday Night," *Bismarck Tribune* 1934, March 1, 4.

²⁶⁶ Comp. *Bismarck Tribune* 1934, October 10, 3; *Bismarck Tribune* 1934, December 29, 3.

²⁶⁷ "Beer on the Rampage," *Semi-Weekly Wisconsin* 1874, November 14, 3.

²⁶⁸ "Fire in Milwaukee," *Goshen Mid-Week News* 1895, June 12, 3.

²⁶⁹ *The Insurance Year Book* 1901-1902 (New York: Spectator, 1901), 219.

²⁷⁰ *Wisconsin Encyclopedia* 2008-2009, vol. 1 (Hamburg, MI: State History Publications, 2008), 156.

²⁷¹ "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

²⁷² The Schlitz Company paid \$500 in 1885. This caused some astonishment in the German-American community, especially because other breweries acted similarly (*Der Deutsche*

Correspondent 1885, Jul 15, 2).

²⁷³ "A Milwaukee Brewery Makes Unusual Offer to Mrs. Carrie Nation," *Saginaw News* 1901, February 13, 6; "Mrs. Carrie Nation Accepts with an Axe," *Forth Worth Morning Register* 1901, February 16.

²⁷⁴ *American Brewers' Review* 23 (1909), 108-9; the tenor of the advertisement was: "Malted barley is digested food. Hops are a tonic—also an aid to sleep. That's what you get in beer. That's why the doctor says 'drink beer' when one lacks vitality" (*Washington Evening Star* 1908, June 16, 8).

²⁷⁵ Daniel Okrent's statement (in his book *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York et al.: Scribner: 2010), 63), that the "brewers' tactics had been self-defeating almost to the point of idiocy," cannot be restricted to their opposition to women's suffrage, he referred to.

²⁷⁶ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 658.

²⁷⁷ The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co. held \$300 of the capital stock (of \$40,000) of the German language newspaper *Banner & Volksfreund* in 1880 ("A Sudden Death," *Daily Milwaukee News* 1880, May 12, 4).

²⁷⁸ *History of Milwaukee City and County*, vol. I, ed. by William George Bruce (Chicago and Milwaukee: S.J. Clarke, 1922), 357.

²⁷⁹ *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Milwaukee*, compiled by W[illiam] J. Langson (Milwaukee: Evening Wisconsin Co., 1905), 42; *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the City Milwaukee*, compiled by H[arry] A. Plumb (Milwaukee: Radtke Bros. & Kortsch Co., 1918), 70.

²⁸⁰ "Mr. Beers in Milwaukee," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1891, November 2, 3. On the international dimension on this white collar crime, s. "Sale of Shares by Alleged Misrepresentation," *Post Magazine and Insurance Report* 61 (1900), 180-86.

²⁸¹ "Brewing Company 'Selling Out,'" *Daily Register Gazette* 1923, June 20, 6.

²⁸² *American Brewers' Review* 23 (1909), 224.

²⁸³ "August Uihlein Dies in Germany," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1911, October 12, Morning-
Issue, 1.

²⁸⁴ *Inter Ocean* 1891, July 26, 13; "Milwaukee Beer Barons," *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1892, July 31.

²⁸⁵ *Plain Dealer* 1912, Nov 17, 5B.

²⁸⁶ "Touring the Valley," *New Mexican* 1896, Dec 6, 4.

²⁸⁷ *Salt Lake Herald* 1897, June 20, 7. It is very doubtful that the company has ever reached this output because irrigation and crop supply problems couldn't be solved.

²⁸⁸ *United States of America, Petitioner, against The American Sugar Refining Company, et al., Defendants*, vol. I (New York: Hamilton Print, 1912), 128-31; *Willet & Gray's Weekly Statistical Sugar Trade Journal* 27 (1903), no. 20, May 21, 5.

²⁸⁹ S. the nuanced analysis by Welskopp (2010), 33-50.

²⁹⁰ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda, and Bolshevik Propaganda*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 1.

²⁹¹ *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1880, Jan 25, 8.

²⁹² *Der Deutsche Correspondent* 1895, May 21, 2.

²⁹³ "Anent the Illinois Tournament," *Dixon Evening Telegraph* 1898, July 15, 4; *Algona Courier* 1898, December 30, 4.

²⁹⁴ "Cottages for Veterans," *Wisconsin State Journal* 1888, December 14, 4; "Day for Prize Shooting Changed," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1892, September 22, 2.

²⁹⁵ *Documentary History of the United States Brewers' Association*, p. 1 (New York: U.S. Brewers' Association, 1896), 91.

²⁹⁶ *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1883, March 2, 8.

²⁹⁷ "Death List may Reach 10,000," *Humeston New Era* 1900, Sep 19, 7.

²⁹⁸ "Brewers as Educators," *Washington Times* 1896, Feb 18, 8.

²⁹⁹ "Sure of Funds," *San Francisco Chronicle* 1893, August 7, 3.

³⁰⁰ *American Brewers' Review* 12 (1898/99), 46. The event of reference was the Battle of Santiago de Cuba on July 3, 1898, when U.S. battleships destroyed the Spanish Navy's Caribbean Squadron.

³⁰¹ *American Brewers' Review* 12 (1898/99), 141; *ibid.*, 262.

³⁰² "Who Stole the Beer?" *Logansport Pharos-Tribune* 1899, January 10, 3.

³⁰³ "To Christen a Ship with Beer," *American Brewers' Review* 12 (1898/99), 186. S. also "Novel Suggestion," *Daily Illinois State Journal* 1898, October 30, 3.

³⁰⁴ Hense-Jensen and Bruncken (1902), 110-11.

³⁰⁵ Ellis Baker Usher, *Wisconsin: Its Story and Biography, 1848-1913*, vol. IV (Chicago and New York: Lewis, 1914), 948.

³⁰⁶ "Jolly Crowd Helps Mr. Uihlein Celebrate his Sixtieth Birthday," *Milwaukee Journal* 1902, August 26, 6.

³⁰⁷ *The Two Hundred and Seventy-Second Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts* (Norwood, Mass.: J.S. Cushing, 1910), 12.

³⁰⁸ Edward G. Uihlein, in *A History of the City of Chicago Its Men and Institutions* (Chicago: Inter Ocean, 1900), 295.

³⁰⁹ *Chicago Securities 1898* (Chicago: Chicago Directory Co., 1898), 192.

³¹⁰ "Will Give Charity Ball Yearly," *Chicago Daily Tribune* 1894, December 22, 4.

³¹¹ *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 1 (1901), 59.

³¹² *The Art Institute of Chicago: Catalogue of Objects in the Museum*, p. i, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Art Institute, 1896), 53.

³¹³ *To Goethe, Mastermind of the German People: Das Goethe-Denkmal in Chicago* (1914), ed. by Martin H. Schmidt (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2014), 62; Donald Krehl, *Monumental Chicago: A Street Guide to the Best of Chicago's Statues, Monuments, and Public Art* (Raleigh: Lulu, 2011), plate 49a.

³¹⁴ *Brewing and Liquor Interests and German Propaganda*, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 1508. His brother William, who contributed \$25, was also listed (*ibid.*, 1511).

³¹⁵ Otto Langguth, "Die Brüder Uihlein oder die Sieben Wertheimer," *Mein Heimatland* 23 (1936), no. 3/4, 116-19, here 118.

³¹⁶ *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikaner für das Jahr 1918* (Chicago: German Yearbook Publishing Company 1917), 153.

³¹⁷ Langguth (1921), 57.

³¹⁸ This motto was officially replaced in 1956 by "In God we trust."

³¹⁹ "Sons of German Innkeeper, Who Accumulated Fortunes in Milwaukee, Are Made Honorary Citizens of Wertheim-on-the-Main, Where They Were Born," *Milwaukee Journal* (1931), March-Issue, Wisconsin Local History and Biographical Articles Collection, F 902 3UI, 3.