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Cincinnati and Its Brewing Industry: Their Parallel Development Through the German Community

Even a cursory study of Cincinnati reveals that two of the main components of the character of the city are its rich brewing heritage and the prominence of its German community. The connection between the two is clear: The image of Cincinnati has been stereotyped traditionally in the image of men with large beer steins, filled to the rim, firmly in hand as they eagerly approach their fellow man, saying in earnest, "Vas you efer in Zinzinnati?," to quote the popular Burger Beer advertising campaign of the post-Prohibition era.

The stereotype aside, there can be no doubt that the brewing industry and the German community have played a significant role in shaping the history and cultural development of Cincinnati. Beginning around 1840, the immigrating Germans, arriving in record numbers, began to exert a tremendous influence on the culture of the city, not coincidentally at the same time as they were becoming a dominating force in the brewing industry.

The following study is designed to illustrate the growth and prosperity of Cincinnati's German brewing industry, and the brewers themselves, within Cincinnati's developing industrial base, during the half century representing the golden age of Cincinnati brewing history, along with the growth of the city as a center of German-American life. Previous works, such as William L. Downard's excellent survey *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: A Social and Economic History* and Robert J. Wimberg's *Cincinnati Breweries*, have examined the history of brewing in Cincinnati, while authors such as Don Heinrich Tolzmann and Guido Andre Dobbert have chronicled extensively the role of the German community within Cincinnati. To date, however, there has been little written examining in detail the relationship between the local German community and its

important brewing industry.[1] While the period before 1840 was largely an era of foundation and growth, and the period of 1890 until Prohibition in 1919 a time of economic stagnation and decay, the fifty-year interval in-between witnessed one of the most significant contributions by the German-American community to Cincinnati's, and indeed America's, economic and social development.

In order truly to understand the role the Germans played in transforming the local, as well as national, brewing industry, one must first look at the status of the brewing industry before the year 1840. In the early 1800s, shortly after the founding of Cincinnati in 1788, the brewing industry and process was largely British-influenced and oriented. So-called "common beer" was produced, top-fermented brews rich in flavor such as ale, porter, and stout, in small, old-fashioned breweries. Cincinnati's first documented brewery was founded by Davis Embree by January 1812, occupying two-and-one-half square blocks along Main Street;[2] it was likely a single-building, one-story brick and wood brewery which blended in with other businesses in the area.

But in the years to follow, primarily after 1840, the incoming Germans and the lager beer style they were developing rapidly came to dominate the brewing industry, the British influence on beer and brewing waning virtually to the point of extinction.[3] Lager beer, a bottom-fermenting brew with a smooth, crisp, clean taste, was developed in the 1830s by two brewers, Gabriel Sedlmayer, of Spaten Brewery fame in Munich, and Anton Dreher of Vienna. With lager beer and the lager brewing process came larger, more modern and efficient breweries, as different from their English predecessors as the brews themselves were.

Most of Cincinnati's German brewers came directly to America from Germany; these German immigrants, like many others, came for economic, social, political, and religious reasons, seeking a new start for themselves and, in some cases, for their families. Some of these immigrants who figured in Cincinnati's brewing industry came from brewing families in Germany, but the majority did not; most had worked as farmers, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, and in other such trades,[4] and were eager to put their skills to use in a new land before entering into the brewing business. While they had come as poor immigrants and settled in Cincinnati, working hard for low pay, they were thrifty, and were able to save money gradually and open their own businesses, eventually buying or founding breweries, on their way to becoming wealthy and active community leaders.

Like other German immigrants, these brewers-to-be were widely characterized as proud, honest, honorable people, willing to work hard to succeed. Further, their cultural interests brought a new and exciting atmosphere to the life seen in everyday Cincinnati, one which not only brought together the new immigrants into a unified, popular society

within town, but also brought numerous benefits for long-time residents. The character of the city soon changed from being primarily British in background to being essentially German in nature, resulting in Cincinnati becoming widely known as a "German town." In particular, one area became the dominant focus for the German community: Over-the-Rhine. This section of the city, located just north of downtown and directly across the Miami and Erie Canal, was home to a close-knit German community and numerous social establishments, with an overall cultural feel of being a "little Germany" in the midst of Cincinnati. A further parallel was drawn based on the geography of Cincinnati; nestled in a basin amongst several hills, the city's location was reminiscent of the Rhine River Valley for many of the immigrating Germans.

Beginning in earnest in the 1830s, and continuing unabated for several decades, German immigrants poured into Cincinnati to an unprecedented degree, making the city one of the most "Germanized" in the country in an amazingly short period of time. The numbers speak for themselves: Cincinnati's German-born population went from 53 in 1800 to 400 in 1820, then up to 1,120 in 1830. In 1840, the local German-born population had reached 3,440, and by 1850, following the initial arrival of the so-called "forty-eighters," the number of Germans calling Cincinnati home had swelled to 30,758, and by 1870, the number of Cincinnati's German-born stood at 49,446.[5] In 1830, the city's German stock represented about 5 percent of the overall population of the city. By 1840, though, the percentage of Germans exceeded 25 percent, with the 1850 total of German-born in the city amounting to 26.6 percent of Cincinnati's total population.[6]

Generally speaking, then, the Cincinnati Germans began to be a major influence on the direction in which the city would go from the 1840s onward. As the immigrants began to make up a higher proportion of the city's population, they became more and more involved in activities within the city, accomplishing many necessary work projects, providing a consistent pool of willing manpower, cultural diversity, and, eventually, founding a number of businesses in industries for which Cincinnati would become famous, most notably in the booming brewing industry.

By 1850, the number of Germans coming into Cincinnati was significantly higher than for any other ethnic group. It was inevitable that the tremendous German population would have a major effect on the character of the city, especially in terms of the growing brewing industry. With the growth in popularity of lager beer, introduced from Europe by the immigrating Germans, a notable increase in the number of breweries in Cincinnati could easily be seen. In 1851, there were still only eight breweries in the city; however, by 1856, there were seventeen listed, and by 1859 the total had risen to thirty-six,[7] presumably suffering no lack of business. Similarly, one can see that the expanding brewing industry in

Cincinnati was of great importance to the economic welfare of the city. In 1836, only 70 people were employed in local breweries, but by 1851 the total had risen to 172, and by 1859 industry growth saw the rise in the number of Cincinnati brewery employees to 315.[8] Additionally, a number of firms, often owned by Germans, began to spring up throughout town, specializing solely in brewers' supplies and equipment.[9] Thus it came as no surprise that, in 1860, Cincinnati was the third-largest brewing city in the United States and continuing to grow.[10]

Contributing to the huge market for German beer in Cincinnati was doubtless the rapid population growth of the city in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1840, Cincinnati's population stood at approximately 46,000. But with the continuing arrival of German immigrants, the city's population exploded, reaching 115,436 by 1850 and approaching 200,000 by 1860.[11]

Along with the increasing population figures, several other factors must be cited which led to the increased output of Cincinnati's German brewers during this critical period of growth. For example, Cincinnati benefited greatly from its location; most notable for the brewing industry was the ready availability of grain from the Midwest for brewing, along with abundant water sources, an adequate transportation system including the expansive Ohio River, a canal system and the emerging railway system, the presence of a viable cooperage industry in the city, as well as a growing customer base. Another factor instrumental in the growth of the local brewing industry was the relatively low start-up cost of a brewery at the time; in the 1850s, a modestly equipped but fully functional brewery could be built and put into service for about one thousand dollars, an amount which tended not to be prohibitive for the thrifty German immigrants.[12]

One important by-product of the wave of immigrants coming into Cincinnati was the founding of a number of local societies to bring these Germans together. They helped achieve a long-standing desire within the German community to create an atmosphere reminiscent of home, on which various interests and activities of the individuals involved were based. Singing societies, literary clubs, and groups from particular regions or cities came together to help satisfy the intellectual, artistic, political, and social needs of the Germans and their community.

Two of these immigrant organizations stand out in Cincinnati's German history for their ability to bring together the local German community as well as to provide widespread cultural benefit for all Cincinnatians. The *Turnverein*, founded in 1848, was a stabilizing, unifying force in Cincinnati's German community, credited with having introduced physical education into the city's public schools in the 1860s, in addition to maintaining, and even improving, the caliber of the teaching of German in Cincinnati's public schools. For their part,

Cincinnati's German brewers actively encouraged their employees to participate in such a movement, under the premise that physically fit employees would be more productive workers.

Additionally, the *Pionierverein* was considered by many to be Cincinnati's largest and most successful German society, lasting from its founding in 1869 until 1961. One of its greatest strengths was its goal of boosting the German immigrant's self-awareness, thus helping the group function as a link between generations of German immigrants past and present. By tastefully showing honor and appreciation of Cincinnati's German background, the club won widespread respect and admiration throughout the city. With members and contributors such as Heinrich Armin Rattermann, the club also won a solid reputation in German circles around the country, with its historical journal *Der Deutsche Pionier*, published from 1869 until 1887, frequently cited as a model for other efforts at German-American scholarship; even today, the journal is recognized as one of the most outstanding sources for the study of the history of Germans in America.[13]

In a sense then, the period of 1840 to 1870 represented a time of increased and better-defined presence for the German community within Cincinnati. However, the period of 1870-90 was to represent the apex of Cincinnati's German presence, with continued immigration, a consolidation of power within the city, and further growth at all levels leading to a boom phase for the German community, particularly in its brewing industry.

Cincinnati's German brewers were encouraged by the growth and prosperity they had witnessed, but were far from fully satisfied with their previous successes. During the important decades of the 1870s and 1880s, Cincinnati's German brewers implemented several key improvements and refinements, along with some timely inventions, which allowed them to attain unprecedented success. During this period, there were a number of improvements made in brewery machinery, equipment, and facilities which were of great help to the individual brewers, leading to greater efficiency in brewing, filling, storage, transportation, and marketing. Breweries were being remodeled, or built new, to include such devices as elevators, engines, pumps, and electricity, thereby mechanizing the plants and saving time and effort in the brewing processes. Beer bottling began in earnest in the 1880s, making it possible to export beer in larger quantities to other regions, and even countries, and open up new markets. In 1871, the Gambrinus Stock Company became Cincinnati's first beer bottler; by 1876, five bottlers existed in Cincinnati, with the figure rising to eleven in 1879[14] and more than doubling by the end of the 1880s. Several of Cincinnati's German brewers, most notably Christian Moerlein and Windisch-Muhlhauser, established their own bottling concerns, the National Lager Beer Bottling Company and the Lion Bottling Company

respectively, to bottle not only their own beers but also those of competing Cincinnati brewers.

Another innovation crucial to the prosperity of Cincinnati's German brewers was the invention and proliferation of ice machines. Given the fact that lager beer, in fermenting and aging, had to be maintained at a temperature approaching thirty-five to forty degrees Fahrenheit, the need for an efficient way to keep the beer cold became acute with growing output levels. These revolutionary machines would render obsolete the practice of gathering and storing unwieldy chunks of ice, often from faraway places such as the Great Lakes and Wisconsin, as well as allow brewers to maintain lagering facilities within the breweries. Previously, Cincinnati's German brewers had been forced to utilize artificial cooling methods, such as dissolving ice in copper tubes, or using dug-out hillside caves as cellars and sub-cellars for storing the massive barrels of lager beer with ice. A further benefit in using the new ice machines was the decrease in ice costs, from $7.00 to $8.00 per ton under the traditional gathering and shipping method to only $1.50 per ton with machines.[15]

Finally, a key development relating to brewery buildings during the boom phase was the physical improvement of brewery facilities, beyond a purely functional level. In the late 1800s, brewery buildings were built not just for brewing efficiency, but also for aesthetic value. While earlier breweries resembled many other manufacturing concerns and showed no concern for embellishment, later brewery buildings were grandiose structures, featuring high arches, plentiful windows, and ornamentation which served to make each brewery unique. Many of Cincinnati's German brewers even constructed statues, monuments, or towers to pay homage to key figures, such as pioneers in the brewery's history or the legendary King Gambrinus. In each case, the goal was to make each concern appear as a unique, yet majestic and impressive business, one which made a statement as to the individuality of each German brewer and the success each had attained.

With their rise in wealth, Cincinnati's German brewers assumed an even more significant role in the community, especially but by no means exclusively among the German-Americans. They became philanthropists, donating to worthy causes as well as investing in their community. Reasons for the brewers' desire to make donations varied; some were personal, such as the religious or individual desire to help others, while others were business-motivated, in an effort to promote their products. Still others were expressing a desire to give something back to the people, largely German, who had supported them and their businesses for many years. While some brewers made substantial, well-publicized gifts to society, others were content to make small, private gifts, particularly to the German community, while continuing to reinvest money in their companies.

Several examples will serve to illustrate the extent of the philanthropy of Cincinnati's German brewers. When the Cincinnati Zoo was in danger of closing in the 1880s, following the death of founder Andrew Erkenbrecher in 1881, John Hauck came to the rescue; the local beer baron bought up the zoo and its property for $135,000, then leased it all to a designated land company for 99 years. In that manner, the long-term survival of one of Cincinnati's major cultural institutions was assured. Hauck also demonstrated his community spirit in being a Mason and an Odd Fellow as well as serving as president of both Cincinnati's German National Bank and, for a time, the Cincinnati Reds.[16] His son Louis was just as active, succeeding his father as president of the German National Bank as well as serving as president of the Cincinnati Gas and Electric Company, a post he resigned at the onset of World War I in fear of a public backlash against the German community, which would harm the well-being of the company.

Another local brewer, Georg Klotter, became highly visible in Cincinnati's German community after achieving business success. Besides becoming a member of the *Liedertafel Sängerbund*, he helped establish the German Protestant Orphanage Society, was a founder and president of the *Cincinnatier Brauer-Bund*, was the first treasurer of the *Deutsche Pioniergesellschaft* and served as director of the *Deutsche Gegenseitige Versicherungsgesellschaft*.[17] George Moerlein, successor to patriarch Christian Moerlein in the large and profitable family brewery, was also a success as a botanist as well as in many other endeavors. As a businessman, he was sole proprietor of the Georgia Granite Company, and as a writer he documented a lengthy journey around the world with friends in his 1886 book *Eine Reise um die Welt*. More notably, as a politician, Moerlein was the leading figure in the Elm Street Republican Club, which struggled in vain against Cincinnati's political czar, fellow Republican Boss Cox. Finally, Ludwig Hudepohl founded one of the city's best known *Sängerbund* groups, the *Männerchor*, in addition to serving on the board of directors of the Golden Jubilee *Sängerbund*. He was also a member of the *Plattdeutsche Vogelscheiten Gesellschup*, a group of northwestern Germans.[18]

In short, Cincinnati's German brewers of the 1870s and 1880s benefited greatly from numerous inventions and refinements which made brewing considerably more efficient and cost-effective, allowing plant and market expansion as market demand increased. In turn, Cincinnati's German brewers became wealthy, respected figures in the city, who utilized their newfound fortune and influence to give much back to the local German community. Such efforts not only enabled Cincinnati's German element to solidify its presence in the city, but also created a deep citywide source of goodwill and respect for the Cincinnati Germans which would last until the outbreak of World War I.

Also worth noting is the level of interaction between Cincinnati's German brewers and their employees. Given the fact that the founders of Cincinnati's breweries were German, it is not surprising that their employees tended to be German as well. With most of Cincinnati's breweries at the time located in the Over-the-Rhine area, most brewers lived and worked alongside their employees; a cordial employer-employee relationship was the rule rather than the exception, markedly more so than in other Cincinnati industries of the time.[19] Brewers would often interact with their employees with little regard for positions or social class differences; since many of the workers were fellow German immigrants, there tended to be a feeling that employers and employees were connected by a greater bond, leading to a strong feeling of mutual respect and healthy interaction.

To this end, the most frequent gathering place in the 1870s and 1880s for Cincinnati's German brewery owners and workers was the saloon. It was not uncommon, for example, to see brewer John Hauck at a saloon across from his Dayton Street Brewery, sitting with some of his managers and a few employees following a hard day of work. Hauck enjoyed finding out firsthand what the likes and dislikes of his employees were as well as their general interests outside of the plant. His employees in turn acquired a high regard for their employer, feeling that they could trust him with their opinions without giving offense or placing their jobs in jeopardy, leading to a more open and productive work environment than was seen in any other Cincinnati industry of the day. Other brewers were often just as willing to enjoy the camaraderie and German atmosphere with their fellow German workers, bringing a long working day to a jovial close in a preferred saloon, over several of their own brews.

Far and away the largest number of saloons in Cincinnati was located in the Over-the-Rhine area, particularly so on a portion of Vine Street where a remarkable 136 saloons were in operation by 1890.[20] In 1865, there were 804 saloons open in Cincinnati; by 1874, the number had risen to 1,296, and by 1883 Cincinnati drinkers could choose from any of 1,890 saloons located citywide,[21] though well over half of that total was in Over-the-Rhine alone.

A typical German saloon of the 1880s was a sight to behold, as a gathering spot for Cincinnati Germans who loved a social luncheon or evening out among friends. Notable is the fact that saloons were almost exclusively a place for men to gather; wives and children, for example, were more likely to accompany the men to one of the many beer gardens located in the Over-the-Rhine area as well as to massive hilltop resorts overlooking the city.[22] Traditional German elements were used in decorating the saloons, in an effort to attract customers and make them feel at home. On the walls one could find paintings representing the best

of German art and artists, including depictions of cultural icons such as Beethoven, Mozart, and others. Statues and busts of German cultural greats also could be seen, while vases filled with fresh-cut, fragrant blooms added a bit of color to the wood furnishings. Most of the men gathered in the main, front room, alongside the ornate carved wood bar or at heavy oak tables, while those seeking to conduct business in relative quiet did so in one of the available side rooms. Beer was served exclusively on draft, at the going rate of five cents per glass, or twenty-one for a dollar. The waiters, usually fellow Germans, became central figures by nature of their workload. One non-German Cincinnatian, D. J. Kenny, described the German waiters in 1875, in the process offering an image which Cincinnati residents held of their admired German *Mitbürger*:

> The Transrhenane waiter is above all things a man to be pitied, and a man to be admired. To be pitied because he seems to be perpetually on those not very fat legs of his with never a moment's time for a private dive into one of those glasses he hands about to his thirsty patrons literally by the hundred. He often brings them by the ten or a dozen in each hand. He is to be admired for his imperturbable good nature, for his freedom from flurry, his constant sobriety, and that prompt memory which rarely, if ever, makes a mistake in the precise number of beers, mineral waters, or glasses of wine ordered, or the exact table to which they are to be brought. He is a capital fellow, and probably 'takes his' in the afternoon before his night work commences.[23]

Another key feature of the German saloon trade was the free lunch, a tradition in which customers were given free food with the purchase of beer. Such a tradition was commonly seen around the noon hour, when German brewery workers and others would stream in thirsty from work. An 1887 description in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* tells of what the typical German visitor could choose from:

> Sample rooms generally set a lunch of roast beef, olives, crackers, and cheese. The beer saloons have a greater variety, and always greasy food and salt fish of some kind. It is spread on a cheap wooden table. The meat is cut in chunks and piled on a big platter; on others are chopped herring, anchovies, Russian sardines, black bread in pieces an inch square, big fat white radishes, potato salad, pumper-nickel, blood pudding cut in slices. Every customer or lunch grabber is expected to buy a glass or so of beer, or grog.[24]

While such generosity had its ulterior motives, namely to sell more beer, other figures inside the saloons were more above-board in their aspirations. Most saloons were frequented by another German businessman, the so-called "Wiener-Wurst Man." Each day, and especially in the evening, this Vienna sausage vendor would enter the saloon with the intention of selling his wares, likely procured from Cincinnati's expansive pork industry, to hungry patrons looking to have a snack with their fresh beer. According to D. J. Kenny:

> The Vienna sausage-man is another well-known character 'Over the Rhine.' He is constantly to be met with, and is known by every body. He carries with him a large tin full of sausages, while a small boy by his side bears the bread, the salt, and the pepper. He is a man not without wit, but of an aspect which the irreverent declare to be bordering upon the ludicrous.[25]

In such ways, and through such figures, Cincinnati's saloons became almost exclusively associated with its German element. While the attention was, for the most part, positive,[26] the rise of the Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibition movement inevitably would take on an anti-German image, which with the outbreak of World War I would lead to the association of beer and brewing completely with the German element, and would hasten the outlawing of brewing in the United States from 1919 until 1933.

While Cincinnati's German brewers did very well for themselves during the period of 1870 to 1890, this was but an extension of the success that the local German community had attained during the same time period. Such was the case that, as Cincinnati's German brewers experienced their personal golden age during this boom phase, so too did Cincinnati Germandom as a whole. Not coincidentally, local brewers took on positions of leadership within the framework of German institutions in town, such as schools, the church, and the press. In many cases, successful German brewers contributed healthy financial sums to these pillars of the German community, in an effort to keep them strong for the growing German population and future generations.

Shortly after the Civil War, the third wave of German immigration into Cincinnati, as elsewhere, began in earnest. It would continue into the 1890s and to a lesser extent up to the outbreak of World War I. These German immigrants were able to assimilate as well as their predecessors, establishing themselves as welcome members of the Cincinnati population while at the same time contributing to the unique German flavor of the city. Similarly, the educational atmosphere, in which many German schools and institutions allowed children of German immigrants to

maintain a strong feel for the immigrant community, fostered preservation of German customs within American society.[27]

While Cincinnati's German societies continued to prosper during the period, it was the church which was most responsible for holding together successive generations of German families and bringing together the German community. By 1870, the local German Protestant church membership had reached 30,400.[28] Additionally, the German Methodism movement began in Cincinnati, largely due to the work of Wilhelm Nast, who beyond providing leadership was a major contributor of articles to the popular Methodist paper known as *Der Christliche Apologete.*[29] Also prominent within the local community were German Catholics, with membership numbering 49,960 in 1870.[30]

Further, the role of the German-language press in Cincinnati must be considered relative to the German community and its growth along with the city. In addition to the church and school, the local German-language press represented one of the pillars of the German community, serving to unite Cincinnati Germans, provide leadership and direction for the German element, educate newly arriving immigrants in the ways and customs of America, and preserve traditional German values and customs, all the while helping readers to incorporate them into the emerging American value system.[31] Though none of Cincinnati's German brewers are known to have participated actively in German-language newspaper publication, they consistently provided important advertising dollars until the onset of Prohibition, helping to support the many such publications which appeared during the mid to late-nineteenth century. Consequently, the local German-language press was able to establish itself as a focal point within the German community, serving as a sort of common denominator for Germans of all religions and personal convictions in gaining news and views both locally and from Germany. Perhaps not unexpectedly, though, criticism occasionally was leveled at the local German-language press, with some claiming that in its thoroughness it helped to retard the immigrants' assimilation process as well as that the press assisted in creating stereotypes detrimental to the position of German-Americans within American society, particularly with regard to the oft-mentioned notion of "personal liberty." Still, the success of Cincinnati's German press was indisputable: During the 1890s, local circulation of German-language daily newspapers grew by 24.4 percent, a sign of progress for the German community despite the fact that a decline in the number of German-born citizens in Cincinnati had also been seen within the previous decade.[32]

In sum, we can note two major periods of growth for Cincinnati's German community and its brewing industry, both of which paralleled and greatly influenced the city's growth and development as a whole. The first major period, from the 1840s until about 1870, can be seen as the

early phase of dominance for Cincinnati Germans and the brewing industry they revolutionized. It was a period of consolidation and expansion, marked by high levels of German immigration, significant growth of the industrial base, and the emergence of the city as one of the powerhouses of the growing western sector of the nation. The second major period, the boom phase, lasted from around 1870 to 1890, and featured a high level of cohesion among the immigrant population and an expanded sphere of influence for the city's German element, most notable among its German brewers and their philanthropic gifts not only to the local German community, but indeed to the city as a whole. While the German element would continue to thrive in Cincinnati until the entry of the United States into World War I, an exodus of Germans from the Over-the-Rhine area, a polarization of employer-employee relationships with the growth of labor unions, and many other factors meant that the German element in Cincinnati would lose the prestige and unity it held before World War I, itself a huge turning point in the history of Germans in America. Nevertheless, the intertwined growth of Cincinnati's German community, its brewing industry, and the city as a whole during the middle of the nineteenth century is secure in history, and continues as a remarkable case study of the importance the German element played as an immigrant group in the historical development of the United States.

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Notes

[1] More detailed information relating to the present study can be found in Timothy J. Holian, "Cincinnati's German Brewing Heritage and the German Community: A Study of Their Rise, Prosperity, Decline and Survival," M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1990.

[2] William L. Downard, *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: A Social and Economic History* (Athens, Ohio UP, 1973), 8. Robert J. Wimberg, *Cincinnati Breweries* (Cincinnati, Ohio Book Store, 1989), 34, claims that Cincinnati's first brewery was established as early as 1806 at the foot of Race Street, by a certain James Dover. Substantive documentation to bear this out has yet to surface.

[3] See also Wimberg, 97. Cincinnati's most famous German brewer, Christian Moerlein, began his brewing operation with Adam Dillman in 1853 by brewing "common beer." By the next year, lager beer was first produced at Moerlein's Elm Street Brewery, with all production of "common beer" discontinued in 1870. This pattern appears to be typical for most of Cincinnati's German brewers of the day.

[4] Numerous examples may be cited, including Bavarian Brewery owner Wilhelm Riedlin; Christian Moerlein; and Jung Brewing Co. founder Daniel Jung, who worked as blacksmiths; Bruckmann Brewery founder Johann Caspar Brückmann, who worked as a carpenter; Foss-Schneider Brewery founder Ludwig Schneider, who worked as a barrel maker; Lackman Brewing Co. owner Herman Lackman, whose first employment in Cincinnati was at a mill; and Schaller-Gerke Brewery cofounder Johann Gerke, who was initially employed as a brick moulder and wood chopper, to name but a few.

[5] Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The Cincinnati Germans After the Great War* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 5.

[6] Downard, 11.

[7] Williams & Co., *Williams' Cincinnati Directory* (Cincinnati: Williams, 1851, 1856, 1859).

[8] Downard, 19.

[9] Beyond a significant cooperage industry, Cincinnati Germans also founded or worked in copper works, which made brew kettles; iron works, which outfitted breweries with piping; and brass foundries for the manufacture of metal fittings. Further, the German community was well represented in hop merchant and grain storage businesses, companies which supplied brewers with necessary raw materials.

[10] Susan K. Appel, "Buildings and Beer: Brewery Architecture of Cincinnati," *Queen City Heritage* 44.2 (Summer 1986): 3-21.

[11] Downard, 22.

[12] Downard, 25. In some cases, purchase of land rights added a considerable sum to the price of building a brewery, especially if the site was considered to be prime territory. For example, in 1857 Joseph Schaller and Johann Schiff, in looking to expand their initial brewery venture, purchased a plot of land on Plum Street, alongside the Miami & Erie Canal, for the sum of $14,000. See also Wimberg, 117.

[13] Of particular interest in examining Rattermann's contributions to German-American history are Heinrich Armin Rattermann, *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke*, 16 vols. (Cincinnati: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1906-12). Regarding *Der Deutsche Pionier* specifically, see also Marc Surminski, "Heinrich Armin Rattermann und 'Der Deutsche Pionier,'" M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1988.

[14] Williams' City Directories, 1872, 1876, 1879.

[15] Downard, 40

[16] During the latter part of the 1800s and early 1900s, Cincinnati brewer and distiller involvement in the operation of the Cincinnati baseball club was extensive. John Hauck had been preceded as president of the Reds by his uncle, George Herancourt, another Cincinnati brewer. Hauck also served a stint as vice-president of the team in the late 1880s, with his son Louis serving as team secretary and treasurer at the same time. Additionally, Julius and Max Fleischmann, of Cincinnati gin and yeast manufacture fame, purchased the team in 1902 and maintained control of operations for some ten years. See also Richard Miller and Gregory L. Rhodes, "The Life and Times of the Old Cincinnati Ballparks," *Queen City Heritage* 46.2 (Summer 1988): 30; Lonnie Wheeler and John Baskin, *The Cincinnati Game* (Wilmington, OH: Orange Frazer Press, 1988), 38, 139.

[17] Wimberg, 11.

[18] Wimberg, 69. For a more detailed discussion of several Cincinnati German brewers, their backgrounds and philanthropic interests, see (author unknown), *Cincinnati und sein Deutschthum* (Cincinnati: Queen City Publishing, 1901).

[19] Cordial relations between Cincinnati's German brewers and their employees remained consistent, at least until the 1879 founding of the "Brauer Gesellen Union" and its subsequent attempts to alter the prevailing state of labor in the local breweries. For a detailed discussion of Cincinnati brewery owner-worker relations, see Downard, 97-124.

[20] Stephen Z. Starr, "Prosit!!! A Non-Cosmic Tour of the Cincinnati Saloon," *Festschrift for the German-American Tricentennial Jubilee Cincinnati, 1983*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982), 49.

[21] Williams' Cincinnati Directories, 1865, 1874, 1883.

[22] See Downard, 31, 66-68, 69-72, 86, 128, 153. Beer gardens and hilltop resorts, although places for entire families to go on weekends for a picnic atmosphere or boisterous evening out respectively, were greatly affected by the passage of the Owen Law in April 1888. The law specifically forbade the sale of intoxicating beverages on Sundays, which beyond being the Sabbath was also most Germans' day off work for the week. While beer gardens suffered from a drop in revenue and a declining customer base due to the new law,

they would survive until the onset of Prohibition. On the other hand, most of Cincinnati's hilltop resorts had closed by the 1890s, with only the Price Hill House remaining open in 1898. Saloons survived the Owen Law more resourcefully, due in part to their smaller size and established tradition in Over-the-Rhine. Many saloons posted lookouts to watch for policemen on the beat; upon sight of a policeman, a warning from the lookout caused all alcoholic beverages to be temporarily stowed away. Still other saloons were even more successful, managing to bribe the officer on duty and convince him to look the other way.

[23] D. J. Kenny, *Kenny's Illustrated Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke, 1875), 134.

[24] quoted in Downard, 67.

[25] Kenny, 135.

[26] As the German community began to move out of Over-the-Rhine in the 1890s and 1900s, some local saloons turned to various notorious vices in an effort to stay afloat, most notably gambling and prostitution. Such activities inevitably helped push saloons in general into a position of ill repute, aiding subsequent efforts by Prohibitionists to associate saloons and beer drinking with a decline in spiritual values. In the 1910s, Prohibitionists would seize upon a growing anti-German sentiment with the approach of American entry into World War I, successfully convincing the American public that the German community maintained a virtual monopoly on the brewing industry and, theoretically, was capable of pulling together large sums of money from beer sales to send to Germany and donate to the German war machine. Feeding on the anti-German hysteria, Prohibitionists were able to hasten the enactment of legislation which, while initially seen only as a wartime measure, ultimately would outlaw virtually all brewing from 1919 until 1933.

[27] For a detailed discussion of bilingual education in Cincinnati, see Carolyn R. Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context*, New German-American Studies / Neue deutsch-amerikanische Studien, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

[28] Tolzmann, 12.

[29] Tolzmann, 12.

[30] Tolzmann, 12.

[31] Guido André Dobbert, *The Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920* (New York: Arno, 1980), 264.

[32] Dobbert, 99.