

Ernst Rose

Auguste Vogel from Milwaukee and the Sangerhausen *Rosarium*

The important role of private foundations in the promotion of Western culture is known to all historians and sociologists. What would German culture be without the institutions of August Hermann Francke or of Ernst Abbe? What would Sweden be without the Nobel prizes, or America without the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations?

Yet even smaller institutions sometimes have effected significant changes, as will be proved here by the little-known example of the Sangerhausen *Rosarium* situated in central Germany between the Harz and Kyffhäuser Mountains. In its development from rather humble beginnings to the foremost German rose research station a Milwaukee lady by the name of Auguste Vogel has played a prominent part, and the history of the Sangerhausen *Rosarium* should therefore be of some interest to German-Americans.

I

For most of the nineteenth century¹ Sangerhausen continued its quiet life as an agricultural center, from which it was slowly awakening after 1866, when the new railroads² and the new public utilities breathed fresh life into its moss green walls. In 1896 a Civic Improvement Association (*Verschönerungsverein*) began its meetings, and a municipal recreation park was founded in spite of vociferous opposition. Both actions characterized a younger generation which yearned for a more significant role of the borough in German culture.

One of the young people was the science teacher Ewald Gnau who in 1884 had joined the faculty of the Sangerhausen *Gymnasium*. He came from the Rhineland³ and grew up in the lively liberal tradition of his home region. Rhinelanders contributed generously to the public weal and did not wait for the bureaucrats to act. In 1896 Ewald Gnau was forty-three years old, in the prime of life when one does not mind spending extra time and effort in the pursuit of one's hobbies. As soon as the park project appeared tangible, he spoke with businessmen and

budding industrialists, with better situated farmers and nurserymen, and prevailed upon them to become involved in the new undertaking. Its beginnings were a cluster of three ponds which for centuries had provided the public water supply. The borough council then bought some adjacent land, and a rich brewer abandoned the brewery's dump which no longer served any practical purpose.⁴ The owners of a machine factory beautified the biggest pond by an ornamental railing, and several farmers lent their horses or oxen teams for free-of-charge soil movements, which were necessary to make the park accessible. Finally carpenters in their free time erected a suitable entrance gate which proudly displayed Goethe's verses:

Freudig kehre hier ein, und froh entferne dich wieder!
Ziehst du als Wandrer vorbei, segne die Pfade dir Gott!⁵

But Ewald Gnau did not only inspire other people, he also contributed personally to the establishment of the new park. With his own hands he planted the seeds of many foreign bushes and trees, which came at his request from botanists all over the world. Thus to the indigenous willows and beeches were added the Italian poplars and mulberries, the East Asiatic ginkgo and ailanthus trees, the North American tulip tree, the balsam fir, and the hickory.⁶ He even dared to plant the seeds of a *Sequoia gigantea*, which took roots and slowly grew to the end of the 1930s.⁷ In these plantings Ewald Gnau had in mind the famous model of Fürst Pückler, whose landscaped park at Muskau he had visited. In fact, some of the rarer seeds came from the older park.

There was also another garden enthusiast living in turn-of-the-century Sangerhausen. His name was Albert Hoffmann, and he was a special friend of roses, which he quietly collected, until he owned eleven hundred varieties. And of course he subscribed to the *Rose Bulletin*, which first appeared in 1886, and he was a member of the German Rose Association, which was founded in 1883. At the Association's 1897 meeting the well-known nurseryman Peter Lambert of Trier proposed the establishment of a special garden for the classification and standardization of rose stocks. He was interested in preserving the old, forgotten rose varieties and thought less of visitors and admirers. Several larger cities like Frankfurt am Main, Erfurt, and Görlitz took up the proposal and offered their services. But only modest Sangerhausen could promise a suitable plot free of encumbrances and was therefore chosen for the project. Connected with the official award was a gift of 500 marks for several years, barely enough for a starter. But Albert Hoffmann and Ewald Gnau knew where to look for more money, and on July 3, 1903 the new garden could actually be opened next to the borough park. The most important private gift was a contribution of 1,000 marks by Auguste Vogel from Milwaukee,⁸ which arrived at just the right time before the opening.

Albert Hoffmann, of course, became the official caretaker of the *Rosarium*. He first laid out a number of circular and rectangular beds, which kept the various rose families together. Each specimen was provided with a metal label inscribed in indelible ink, and most

specimens were taken from Albert Hoffmann's private collections. At the same time the botanist Dr. Dieck in Zöschen near Merseburg was collecting all the original wild roses he could lay his hands on, and he also displayed them at the Paris World Exhibition of 1908. His collection was subsequently sold to Monsieur Gravereaux, the curator of the *Roseariae L'Hay-les-Roses* in Seaux near Paris. But the friends of the Sangerhausen *Rosarium* realized that they were missing a priceless opportunity and immediately undertook the purchase of additional acres for the display of wild roses. The Civic Improvement Association, the Harz Club, and even the borough itself contributed, and thus it became possible to redesign the original plan and to arrange the additional roses in a less geometric arrangement in accord with their genetic derivation. The French collector generously provided root stocks and cuttings. Over the years the garden grew.

II

Auguste Vogel⁹ was born at Sangerhausen on June 19, 1824 and was the sister of the tanner Karl Herpich who lived before the old northern borough gate in a building which was privileged as a bathhouse.¹⁰ But the privilege was no longer utilized, and in 1880 the bathhouse was torn down and replaced by a pretentious modern apartment building.¹¹ Auguste's later husband Friedrich Vogel was also a tanner, and her brother may have made his acquaintance as a journeyman. Craftsmen's guilds were still in existence during the first half of the nineteenth century, and it was part of a journeyman's education to visit workshops in other parts of Germany and perhaps even Europe. Friedrich Vogel was born at Kirchheim u. T. (Kirchheim below Teck Castle) in the kingdom of Württemberg on May 8, 1823 and was therefore no compatriot of the Prussian Karl Herpich. It does not look as a coincidence that Auguste Herpich arrived in the United States in July 1847, exactly one year after Friedrich Vogel's arrival in July 1846. Auguste Herpich was a pious Evangelical Lutheran and certainly no adventuress. A voyage from central Germany's Sangerhausen to distant Milwaukee was no easy undertaking for a young lady of twenty-two years of age who possessed but limited means. We have no detailed description of a trip that depended on slow terrestrial vehicles and unreliable ocean vessels. Upcoming Milwaukee's place on the map was difficult to visualize for a small-town lady from the Prussian province of Saxony. The voyage would require some outfitting and would take quite a number of weeks. It stands to reason that Auguste did not start it without some previous correspondence and directions; in all probability she simply followed Friedrich Vogel, who after a time at Buffalo was already establishing his business at Milwaukee. He now called himself Frederick and was able to become engaged to Auguste, whom he married in 1850. The marriage took place in Milwaukee's Evangelical Lutheran *Gnadenkirche* (Grace Church).

Frederick's tannery at first was small, but gradually developed into the famous Pfister and Vogel Leather Company, one of the largest

tanneries west of the Alleghenies, and after Frederick's demise on October 24, 1892 even the largest of the world.

Their married life was a very happy one. They had five children, of whom the two sons became prominent in their father's industry, while their three sisters entered into good marriages. As Frederick's business prospered, the couple could devote some time to their cultural interests. Auguste not only participated in the charitable concerns of the Evangelical Lutheran Grace Church, but also contributed to Northwestern University and other educational institutions. In addition she was known as a great nature lover, and the founding of her native town's Rose Garden must have struck a receptive chord of her mind. Professor Ewald Gnau, with whom she corresponded, called her "his best helper"¹² and could count on her interest until her death on October 14, 1910, at the age of eighty-six years.

Mrs. Auguste Vogel's gift was partly used for the purchase of sturdy iron benches which invited the casual visitor to pause and contemplate the attractive flowers. Each bench displayed the legend "Contributed by Auguste Vogel from Milwaukee" and in addition bore some appropriate German verses. One could find quotations from Goethe's *Chinesisch-Deutsche Tages- und Jahreszeiten* ("Chinese-German Days and Seasons"), from Otto Roquette's *Waldmeisters Brautfahrt* ("Woodruff's Mating Trip"), from Prince Philipp zu Eulenburg's *Rosenlieder* ("Rose Songs").¹³ Of the homemade verses Ewald Gnau contributed a number himself. I remember:

Haben Edle Gutes euch getan,
Rührt ihr Werk mit rauher Hand nicht an!

and:

Kyffhäuser grüßt, schau hin zu jenen Höh'n!
O deutsches Vaterland, wie bist du schön!¹⁴

Indeed over the years the *Rosarium* together with the borough grew in importance. The official *Rosenzeitung*, which at first came out in Frankfurt, was later transferred to Sangerhausen.¹⁵ And botanical authorities like Professor Graebner in Dahlem referred to the garden in their horticultural handbooks. In 1932 it was prominently mentioned in G. A. Stevens' article on "Roses in Other Lands" in the *American Rose Annual*.¹⁶ But the financial basis of the garden's operations for a long time was precarious. Albert Hoffmann in the beginning worked without remuneration. Later his salary came partly from the Civic Improvement Association and partly from the fees of the German Rose Society. All the available funds were meager, and they certainly were not sufficient for an enlargement of the original area, which appeared quite desirable. It therefore came as a godsend when shortly before the First World War Mrs. Vogel's heirs made over the sizable sum of 7,000 marks to the friends of the *Rosarium*.¹⁷ An additional area of twelve acres was bought immediately and landscaped according to Albert Hoffmann's instructions. But the war interfered, and the fields were used for raising potatoes. It was only after 1918 that they could be fully utilized as an

extension of the rose garden. Meanwhile, however, the borough had become aware of its generous patron, and her portrait was requested and displayed in the old borough hall.¹⁸

III

Without Mrs. Vogel's last gift the *Rosarium* would never have reached its present-day eminence. It now possessed all the acreage necessary for a display of all its riches. The combined municipal park and *Rosarium* at present cover 40 acres of which 30½ acres (or 12½ hectares) comprise the *Rosarium* proper. In 1982 it contained between 45,000 and 50,000 rose bushes of 6,500 varieties, which were classified after the system of the German-American professor Alfred Rehder of Harvard University.^{18a} Among the varieties were Russian and Siberian roses, Alpine and Indian roses, Japanese cling roses,¹⁹ hardy roses from Arkansas that can endure a frost of sixty degrees centigrade. Of course, the *Rosarium* harbors the spectacular Black Rose (Max Krause's *Nigrette* of 1932) which however is only a very dark red rose, since nature cannot produce a pure black. The Green Rose (Bambridge and Harrison's *Viridiflora* of 1856), on the other hand, with its very small petals is but a curiosity. Roses from Goethe's Weimar garden are represented as well as cuttings from the millennial stock (*Der tausendjährige Rosenstock*) of Hildesheim planted in 677 A.D. Likewise one can find such historical curiosities as the oriental roses brought to Europe by the crusaders, and the famous *Souvenir de la Malmaison* of 1843.

As the inscriptions on the benches indicated, the cultural significance of rose breeding was not forgotten by the *Rosarium*'s founders. They were even aware of the connections between horticulture and fine arts and early provided some appropriate statuary. The most popular sculpture to be found in the *Rosarium* was fashioned from indigenous shell limestone by the Sangerhausen artist Müller-Thiess. It represents Goethe's proverbial rash boy chasing for the Rose Among The Heather, the *Heideröslein*.

Yet rose culture is not only a source of aesthetic delight and mental restoration. It has also developed into a sizable business. In 1933 German rose breeders were exporting roses in the amount of six million marks, which went mainly to northern and eastern countries, since German roses are better adapted to cold climates than French and Italian roses. And in the 1980s the single Kordes nursery of Hamburg was raising 3½ million roses annually.

One should therefore not be astonished to find in the *Rosarium* also sample beds of various nurseries. The last edition of its rose list regularly enumerates the rose varieties available in the German Democratic Republic (to which Sangerhausen now belongs), although the *Rosarium* itself does not act as a commercial agency. Some of the nursery displays try to make one aware of the adaptability of roses for framing or hedging purposes, in mazes and in pergolas.

Rose fanciers can of course be found in every political party and are not restricted to a particular ideology. The *Rosarium* before 1914 served

as a patriotic gathering place and even provided the background for a marble bust of Auguste Victoria, the wife of the last German emperor, who was the protectress of the German Rose Society. When the German Republic took over, its representatives granted an honorary citizenship to Professor Ewald Gnau on April 6, 1923; no other Sangerhausen citizen had received the honor before.²⁰

The National Socialists exploited the *Rosarium's* popularity for their own purposes. They officially designated Sangerhausen as the Rose City (*Rosenstadt*) and conducted Professor Gnau in a grand parade through the streets of the borough. But the octogenarian "Rose Father" could not accede to the new party's demands and soon resigned from every connection with the *Rosarium*. The Party on July 17, 1934 celebrated the "Festival of the 400,000 Roses" without him. In typical propagandist exaggeration they not only exhorted the public to view and enjoy the flowers, but also to attend dances and concerts, parades and soccer matches. The churches had to ring their bells and deliver special sermons, and the whole borough was awakened early in the morning by the blast of trombones.²¹

Finally, on September 20, 1935 the National Socialists celebrated the completion of a *Rosenforschungsinstitut* ("Rose Research Institute") as a significant addition to the *Rosarium*. It had, however, not been created by them and had been in preparation since 1927. Its foundation was provided by Professor Gnau's voluminous private correspondence and by his personal experiments with various breedings and plant sprayings. These collections were for many years stored in an old powder magazine, the so-called *Pulverhäuschen*, but only now found a more permanent depository.²²

Since then the new institute has continued to investigate all pertinent plant diseases and insect damages, as well as breeding and propagation methods. It also certifies new varieties and furnishes information on request. It should be mentioned that the basic financing of the new institute was by no means borne by the borough and county governments alone. The German Rose Society and its Sangerhausen branch were also among the early contributors.

At the end of the Second World War Sangerhausen was first occupied by American troops and was later included in the Russian occupation zone. During the first postwar years many trees of the old municipal park were cut down for firewood and building materials. The rose garden, on the other hand, suffered mainly from neglect.²³ But gradually orderly conditions prevailed, as Sangerhausen became a definitive part of the German Democratic Republic. The new socialist and communist regime saw Sangerhausen as the capital of a large mining region, which centered on nearby lignite and copper deposits and contributed to the Leuna Works near Halle on the Saale, which had been founded at the end of the First World War. Sangerhausen until the beginnings of the nineteenth century had played a minor role in copper mining, but had lost that role on account of the poor quality of the local ores. These were now reworked by better modern methods, and as a result the borough grew beyond its former bounds. It was now officially

designated as *Berg- und Rosenstadt* ("Mining and Rose City"), and its population almost tripled.

The new motto indicated that the responsible authorities also directed their attention to the *Rosarium* and its research institute, whose value they realized. The rose beds were reworked, and a number of large cement receptacles for special plants were put up. Memorial plaques for Professor Gnau and Albert Hoffmann were installed. The entrance space was expanded by filling in one of the original three ponds of the municipal park, and an open air theater was added to the garden's attractions. When the seventy-fifth anniversary of the *Rosarium* came around in 1978, a colorful new guide became available for the visitors, and the treasures of the garden were also displayed on television.²⁴ There was, of course, no longer room for a bust of Empress Auguste Victoria, and the poetic inscriptions on Mrs. Vogel's benches had already disappeared during the time of the Nazis. Unfortunately there was no longer a painter in existence who had mastered the difficult art of lettering in Gothic script.

Still, the *Rosarium's* place in the wider cultural community was not yet fully regained. At the international Rose Congress at Baden-Baden in the summer of 1983 rose breeders from the German Democratic Republic were not represented. In the eyes of at least one West German reporter this lack took away some of the meeting's lustre, since in East Germany "the greatest and most famous *Rosarium* was waiting for friends from the German West."²⁵ Such a remark in an article written three quarters of a century after Auguste Vogel's demise only underscores the fact that she did contribute to an institution to last. We do not know what became of her portrait, which was sent to the borough hall. But at least her name was not forgotten, and her important legacy of 7,000 marks was still recorded in the most recent guide book to the *Rosarium*.

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Notes

¹ A detailed history of the borough by Friedrich Schmidt (*Geschichte der Stadt Sangerhausen*) was published in two volumes in 1903 under the auspices of the borough council. I also used articles by Werner Stück and others about "Sangerhausen, die Rosenstadt" in *Heimatbilder der Hallischen Nachrichten*, Nr. 60, 10 March 1928.

² The Sangerhausen railroad station was opened in 1866 as an important stop of the Halle-Kassel line. The Sangerhausen-Erfurt line was added in 1880, and the Sangerhausen-Berlin line in 1881.

³ Ewald Gnau was born on March 1, 1853 at Hückeswagen near Lennep on the Sieg (where his birthplace now is marked) and studied the sciences before he came to Sangerhausen on April 1, 1884. After many years of successful teaching he was awarded the then customary title of Professor in 1902. (In later times a *Gymnasium* teacher acquired tenure as "Studienrat," and the title "Professor" nowadays always means a university professor.) He retired from teaching in 1922, but continued his services to the Rose Garden until 1933, when disagreements with the National Socialists made him give up his work. An inscription in Professor Gnau's memory can be found on an erratic block ("Finding"),

the transport of which to the *Rosarium* he arranged. The yellow rose variety "Professor Gnaue" was created by the M. Tantau nursery in 1928.

⁴ This dump was known as *Scherbelberg* ("Mount Shard") and became the basis for a rock garden. In its neighborhood one can find memorial plaques for the gardeners Albert Hoffmann and Max Vogel.

⁵ Joyously enter our shades, and joyously greet us in parting
Should you pass by without stop, may you be blessed by the Lord

Artemis-Ausgabe, vol. IV, p. 21

Translation by the author. Actually, Goethe's distich was a translation of Latin verses which the aging poet found at the entrance of one of the Dornburg castles.

⁶ The history of the Sangerhausen City Park and Rose Garden ("Stadtspark und Rosarium") was written by Ewald Gnaue himself and published in the *Sangerhäuser Zeitung* from 12 June to 21 June 1935. An earlier article of 1 July 1933 ("Unser Rosarium") was based on an interview with him. The latest guidebook contains 88 pages and was published under the title *Rosarium Sangerhausen. Der Welt bedeutendster Rosengarten*, 6th revised ed. (Sangerhausen: Rosarium der DDR, 1982). Some data were also supplied by an earlier guide of 14 pages printed by the publisher of the *Sangerhäuser Zeitung* (*Der Sangerhäuser Stadtspark mit dem Rosarium des Vereins deutscher Rosenfreunde*. Sangerhausen: Druck von August Schneider, 1926). Mr. Scharf, the *Gymnasium* drawing teacher, signed as its author, but I have it on good authority that it too was written by Professor Gnaue, who in self-denying modesty suggested to his colleague to sign as author. Page 13 of that publication contains a list of all the American trees and shrubs planted by Professor Gnaue. Since most of their seeds came from the American East, they easily took root in the comparable Sangerhausen climate. One therefore finds such coniferous trees as the hemlock, the douglas fir, the balsam fir, the black spruce, the bald cypress, and such deciduous trees as the quaking aspen, the black birch, the hickory, the tulip tree, the buckeye, the dogwood, and the devil's walking stick. Of the bushes I merely mention the honeysuckle, the leadplant, and the staghorn sumac, which is erroneously described as poisonous. All of the plants are listed under their Latin names, some of which are nowadays no longer in use.

⁷ After the Second World War Paul Täckelburg carefully replanted as many of the foreign trees and shrubs of the *Rosarium* as possible, and he also added to their number. In 1982 he listed *Die Bäume und Sträucher im Rosarium Sangerhausen* together with short scientific descriptions, practical hints for their cultivation, and instructive photographs. The excellent pamphlet of 56 pages can be obtained from the *Rosarium* office.

⁸ See Friedrich Schmidt, *Geschichte . . . Sangerhausen*, II, 188. Although Mrs. Vogel's first name is sometimes given as *Augusta*, she used it in its German form *Auguste* in all official documents.

⁹ For acquainting me with the details of Mrs. Vogel's biography I owe a great deal of gratitude to the generous help of Professor Frederick J. Olson of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and to Professor Doris S. Guilloton of New York University. Most of these details can be found in the biography of Mrs. Vogel's son August H. Vogel included in G. Gregory's *History of Milwaukee* (Chicago, 1931), III, 198-205. A short biography of Auguste's husband Frederick Vogel Sr. is contained in the *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1960), 362-63. A short history of Frederic Vogel's firm was published by the Pfister & Vogel Tanning Company of Milwaukee in 1948: "To Commemorate 100 Years of Service."

¹⁰ See Friedrich Schmidt, *Geschichte . . . Sangerhausen*, II, 188. The medieval northern gate of the borough was torn down in 1880.

¹¹ Since this building was financed by a butcher and a cattle dealer the borough wits referred to it as the *Ochsenpalast* ("Ox Palace").

¹² See *Sangerhäuser Zeitung* of 13 June 1935. Without Auguste Vogel's help the *Rosarium* "would have remained a torso," according to the exact words of Professor Gnaue.

¹³ These *Rosenlieder* were very popular and belonged to the repertory of all the borough's amateur singers.

¹⁴ Gladly given park, enjoy it,
But check roughs bent to destroy it.

and:

Kyffhäuser Mountain from this bench you see.
How beautiful thou art, oh Germany!

¹⁵ Still later it was replaced by the Berlin *Rosenjahrbuch*.

¹⁶ Cf. *The American Rose Annual* for 1932 (Harrisburg, Pa.: The American Rose Society, 1932), 157-63. I am indebted to Professor Clifford Bernd of the University of California at Davis for a copy of this rare article.

¹⁷ The facts given here are taken from Professor Gnau's articles of 1935 and the *Rosarium* guide of 1982 (p. 21); both are described in note 6. No such gift is mentioned in Auguste Vogel's probated will of 29 May 1909 or in its codicil of 23 May 1909. The pertinent records of the Sangerhausen *Rosarium* were lost or destroyed during the turbulent end of the Second World War. Fred Vogel Jr. and August H. Vogel were the executors of their mother's last will and probably sent the money in fulfillment of an oral wish expressed by her. Professor Gnau in his articles mentions their continued interest in the *Rosarium*. On page 12 of the *Rosarium* guide I found a reference to a *Frau Auguste Vogel-Stiftung* ("Mrs. Auguste Vogel Foundation"). This probably consisted of moneys left over after the purchase of the additional *Rosarium* acres. But any such accounts were wiped out by the German inflation of 1922-23. I found no confirmation of a rumor that Mrs. Vogel in 1923 (i.e., 12 years after her death) presented the *Rosarium* with \$1,000; during the inflation time this would have been exchanged into an astronomical number of marks.

¹⁸ One of my Sangerhausen correspondents saw Mrs. Vogel's portrait, an "oil painting," as late as 1945. It seems to have disappeared during the first occupation months.

^{18a} Cf. Alfred Rehder, *Manual of Cultivated Trees and Shrubs*, 2nd ed. (New York: McMillan 1951). Paul Täckelburg states on p. 32 of the 1982 *Rosarium* guidebook (see note 6): "Die augenblicklich allen Erfordernissen am meisten gerecht werdende Systematik hat 1949 ALFRED REHDER vom Arnold-Arboretum (USA) erarbeitet."

¹⁹ The botanical name of the Japanese cling rose is *Rosa multiflora*, of which our crimson rambler (created by Turner in 1894) represents a variation.

²⁰ Professor Hans Wenke, a Sangerhausen native, and later the influential Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Hamburg, portrayed his former teacher in a eulogistic article entitled "Das Bild des Lehrers" in the *Sangerhäuser Zeitung* in 1943 (?).

²¹ A detailed description of this rose festival was given in a special edition of the *Sangerhäuser Zeitung* of July 1933.

²² An article on "Das erste Rosenforschungsinstitut der Welt" appeared in the *Sangerhäuser Zeitung* of 21 September 1933. The first botanist working at this institute was Dr. Harald von Rathlef, who in 1937 published his monograph *Die Rose als Objekt der Züchtung* (Jena: Fischer, 1937). Hugo Tepelmann, a son-in-law of Professor Gnau, was the author of *Die Rose als Objekt der Inzucht* (1955). He was originally a mechanical engineer, but roses were his hobby, so that Professor Gnau could bring him to Sangerhausen in 1934, where he worked at the Rose Research Institute. About August Jäger's and Paul Täckelburg's contributions to rose botany see note 24.

²³ On page 22 of the *Rosarium* guide (6th edition of 1982) it is claimed that valuable parts of the rose files ("wertvolles Material der Rosenkartei") were destroyed by the American occupation forces. The Russians, on the other hand, abducted the institute's library as a reparation payment. And some German caretakers sold part of the institute files as waste paper!

²⁴ The communist authorities even published the *Rosenlexikon*, which the dedicated amateur August Jäger in the lonely village of Ufrungen had laboriously printed on his handpress. (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1960; rpt. 1970.) It lists 17,000 varieties which were known up to 1936. For later varieties cf. McFarland's *Modern Roses* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1958, 2nd ed., 1969.) Of all the rose varieties listed 6,500 can be viewed at Sangerhausen. Cf. Paul Täckelburg's *Rosenverzeichnis, Rosarium Sangerhausen*, 3rd ed. (Artern: Druckerei Möbius, 1977). The author retired from his position as horticultural engineer ("Gartenbauingenieur") at the Rose Institute in 1983. I am indebted to him for copies of his lists.

²⁵ According to Ingrid Zahn, "Madame Hardy, altes Schätzchen mit grünem Auge" (*Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*, Nr. 28, 15 June 1983, p. 23), the visitors of the Baden-Baden Congress came "aus aller Herren Länder [sic], nur aus der DDR nicht, obwohl dort das größte und das berühmteste Rosarium in Sangerhausen auf Freunde aus dem Westen wartet."

