

EXPLORING THE TRUE ORIGINS OF THE BAVARIAN BREWERY AND ANHEUSER-BUSCH

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Between Lynch and Dorcas Street lay, on the east side of Carondelet Avenue, a not very high hill, on which the little brewery of George Schneider, who in the early 1850s had run the Washington Brewery on Third and Elm Street, was located.¹

About the year 1850 a Mr. Schneider established a brewery on the present site of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association. It was indeed a very primitive affair – a hole in the ground, supported by neither brick nor stone wall, being the cellar, with a board shanty over it, for the brew house.²

The story is recounted in a dozen books and articles, and on countless websites around the world. Back in the early 1850s, they say, a German immigrant named George Schneider founded the Bavarian Brewery on South Broadway, anywhere from 1850 to 1852.³ It was a primitive brewery, and at some point he sold it to two men named Urban and Hammer around 1857, who tried to make it work for a couple of years, with or without a revolving door of owners, before finally in 1860 a soap manufacturer named Eberhard Anheuser bought the failing Bavarian Brewery out of bankruptcy, handing it over to his new son-in-law Adolphus Busch to salvage his investment. And the rest, as they say, is history.

It did not happen like that at all. At least, George Schneider never owned the Bavarian Brewery, and it was not founded in 1852. In reality, the Bavarian Brewery was founded in 1857 by a fascinating German physician named Dr Adam Hammer, who helped revolutionize the field of medicine in America, saving countless lives in his adopted city of St. Louis and on the battlefield during the Civil War. He also contributed critical new discoveries to our understanding of heart disease. The Bavarian Brewery did in fact end up in the hands of creditors in late 1859, and Eberhard Anheuser did emerge as one-third owner in early 1860. And Anheuser did acquire that part ownership indirectly due to an ‘unsatisfied loan’ he made to Adam Hammer, as an official history of the brewery states in 1953.⁴

But by no means was it a bad investment; Eberhard Anheuser was perhaps one of the shrewdest businessmen in St. Louis, and his investment in the Bavarian Brewery was not a bad business decision. There was a huge amount of capital being invested in St. Louis at the time, and young men were becoming astonishingly wealthy, almost like a Nineteenth Century Silicon Valley. As I will show in this article, the real story of the founding of Anheuser-Busch is far more interesting than has been understood in the past and gives us a much greater appreciation for the achievements St. Louis’s oldest brewery has accomplished since 1860. In fact, as I became more engrossed in my investigation, my respect for Anheuser-Busch only grew.⁵

First, we must deal with George Schneider, and show how it was impossible for him to have been involved in any way with the founding of the Bavarian Brewery, the precursor entity of Anheuser-Busch. Luckily for my research (but unfortunately for those doing business with him back in the 1850s and 60s), Schneider was frequently in financial and legal trouble, so there is extensive documentation of where and when he was operating breweries in St. Louis due to the filing of lawsuits and mechanic’s liens against him.

George Schneider does not command much attention in contemporary accounts of the time outside of the courts. Around 1844 he built the Washington Beer Hall and Garden, which also contained an adjacent brewery,⁶ located at the southwest corner of Elm (now Clark) and 3rd Streets, in the heart of what was then the bustling central business district of the city. While the huge influx of German immigrants fleeing the failed revolutions of 1848 had not yet arrived, already the area around Schneider’s Washington Brewery had become an outpost of Teutonic culture, business and politics. A directory of St. Louis businesses from 1848 corroborates his presence at the corner listing him as ‘Schneider, George, Washington brewery and garden, 54 s Third’.⁷



Figure 1. Entrance to Washington Hall, southwest corner of Elm and 3rd Street. Photograph by Swecosky, William G., 1940-1945. Missouri History Museum Photograph and Prints collection. Swecosky Notre Dame College Collection. Image number: N02592



Figure 2. Washington Brewery and Hall, Third and Elm Southwest Corner. Photograph by Swecosky, William G., 1940-1945. Missouri History Museum Photograph and Prints Collection, Swecosky Notre Dame College Collection. Image number: N02597

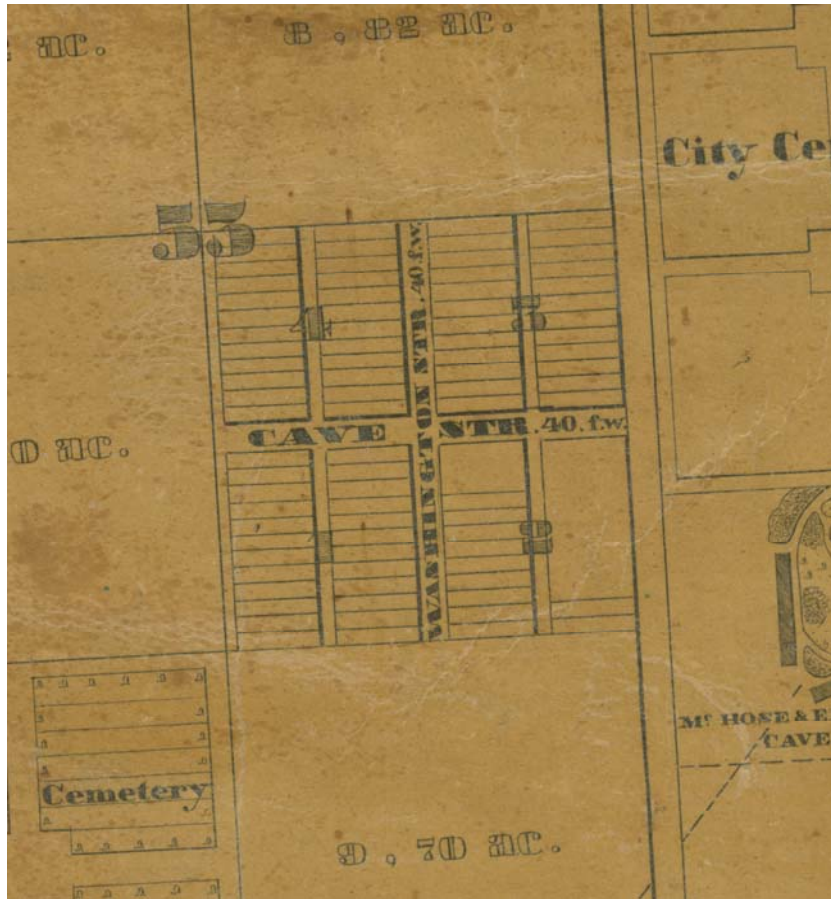


Figure 3. Detail from St. Louis and Vicinity, Compiled and drawn by Edward Charles Schultse. St. Louis: Leffingwell and Elliott, 1851. Missouri History Museum Library.

In a sign that Schneider could perhaps not stay focused on one thing at time, endangering his financial position, he also began to invest in real estate. The City of St. Louis was divesting itself of the huge swath of land to the south of the city known as the St. Louis Commons, surveyed by Charles DeWard into a checkerboard of numbered blocks that still affect the modern street grid of Benton Park and other South Side neighborhoods. Ezra English and Isaac McHose had already invested in property above their cave a decade before, and Adam Lemp had likewise already purchased a quarter of a block above his own subterranean lagering chamber, so it probably seemed logical for Schneider to follow suit.

According to a ledger kept by the City of St. Louis and a contract between Thomas McLaughlin and Schneider, the German brewer bought the northeast quadrant of Block 53 for \$676 on 17 September 1845 on an installment plan with 5% interest per annum over five years; a later addendum

states the contract's terms were paid in full on 11 September 1847.⁸ It was a tidy profit for McLaughlin; he had purchased the same quadrant only a few years early on September 6, 1841 for \$494.70, the City having passed Ordinance #766 to authorize the sale. Interestingly, the City's ledger did not hand over title to Schneider until 12 September 1849.⁹

The rest of the 1840s seems to have gone smoothly for Schneider, and as Adam Lemp also was doing to the southeast, he solidified his brewing interests by selling off individual lots of the northeast quadrant of Block 53, now rechristened Schneider's Cave Addition; the 1851 Schultse and 1853 Fischer maps show its layout.¹⁰ The east-west street was named Washington Street, and the north-south street was named Cave Street.¹¹ A visitor to this quiet corner of Benton Park might notice that modern-day Withnell and Illinois avenues are strangely narrow for two blocks; this is a relic of Schneider's platting of his subdivision when his addition was far out in the country. He was making a tidy

profit on his investment; on 21 November 1849, he sold Lots No. 22 and 23 in Block #2 for \$350 to Emanuel Bender.¹² A little more than a week later, on December 1, 1849, he sold Lots No. 21 and 22 on Block #4 to Carl Brawn for \$200. But already Schneider was taking out a loan for \$1,200 right before these sales on 12 September 1849 from a Franklin A. Dick and guaranteed by a Theodore P. Greene, using his brewery downtown and Block 53 as collateral. He would not pay the loan off until 12 April 1855.¹³

As the new decade began in 1850, the U.S. Census and a now discontinued federal census of industry painted an optimistic picture of George Schneider's life. Both contain corroborating information to each other, with the industrial census giving even more data on his operations at 3rd and Elm. Schneider was a 30-year-old brewer in 1850, had ten employees who were mostly in their twenties, nine of which listed their employment as 'brewer' while one employee worked as a 'saddler.' All eleven men's places of birth were listed as Germany, which of course was a nebulous concept in 1850, with the German Empire not formally being created until 1871. Later censuses would often list the state or principality within the future German nation-state, but not in the 1850 census, unfortunately. They most likely all lived in the brewery property as they are all recorded in the same dwelling and household in the census despite being unrelated.¹⁴ There is no evidence that Schneider was from Bavaria, as some sources have suggested. The industrial census is worth being quoted in full:

George Schneider, Washington Brewery, \$11,000 capital investment; 150 cords of wood, valued at \$600; 3,000 bushels of charcoal, valued at \$300; 7,000 bushels of hops, valued at \$1,750; 10,000 bushels of barley, valued at \$10,000; 'hand powered' [no steam engine], 9 employees with a monthly payroll of \$150; output of 3,000 barrels of ale and beer valued at \$18,000.¹⁵

For comparison with a contemporary brewer whom historians consider to be 'successful' in the same time period, we can look at Adam Lemp's Western Brewery, a couple of blocks away in the Levee district:

Adam Lemp, Western Brewery, \$40,000 capital investment; 80 cords of wood, valued at \$320; 2,000 bushels of coal valued at \$200; 6,000 bushels of hops valued at \$1,500; 8,000 bushels of barley valued at \$8,000; 6 employees with a monthly payroll of \$120; 4,000 barrels of beer and ale valued at \$24,000.¹⁶

Schneider's Washington Brewery was by no means as capitalized as Adam Lemp's Western Brewery, but it was not an underperformer. Perhaps the only major difference was that Lemp was able to produce more beer with less employees and a smaller payroll. Both Lemp and Schneider operated

adjacent beer halls on the premises of their respective breweries; Lemp hosting a raucous *Ratskeller* in the basement of his house facing 2nd Street, and Schneider creating the famous Washington Hall and [Beer] Garden, which lived on long after his tenure as owner. Recounted Ernst Kargau, years later:

Washington Hall and still more, the Washington Garden, passed through their palmy period during these years. Tony Niederwieser, Bernard Laibold, Frank Boehnz, and particularly the combination of Boehm and Felsing made this establishment one of the best amusement places. It has its origin in the Washington Brewery. There had been a demand for a place where dances and other festivals could be given. So the company built Washington Hall.¹⁷

The good times clearly came crashing to an abrupt end in 1852, the year when many historians claim George Schneider was supposedly founding a new enterprise, the Bavarian Brewery. The city directory for that year still listed him at the downtown address under the Washington Brewery name, as well.¹⁸ And a litany of legal filings show that the hapless brewer almost certainly could not have obtained the capital to found another brewery the same year as Schneider and the Washington Brewery lurched into bankruptcy. As the Lemp would do in the 1860s, Schneider had decided to move his brewing operations above a cave system in his Schneider's Cave Subdivision in the northeast quadrant of Block 53, just south of what is now Benton Park and nowhere near the current location of Anheuser-Busch. We know exactly what the building materials used in the construction of the brewery were because Schneider was unable to pay the contractor, Francis Saler, and was promptly sued on 3 July 1852 for \$1191.29, causing a mechanic's lien to be placed on the property.¹⁹

In the mechanic's lien, Saler lists a comprehensive number of bricks, feet of lumber and boxes of nails he utilized in the construction of Schneider's new brewery. Interestingly, and later corroborated by a longtime resident and a photograph in the *Post-Dispatch*, the stone for the 26 x 46-foot brewery was quarried on site, probably from the sinkhole visible nearby in Compton and Dry's 1876 *Pictorial St. Louis*. Tantalizingly, the mechanic's lien describes the brewery as being six stories tall,²⁰ but the photograph and Compton and Dry's *Pictorial St. Louis* show a three-story building, meaning that its cellars mentioned in the lien must have gone down three stories underground.²¹ The resident mentioned above said the cellars connected to caverns that split off in several different directions. On top of the lien on the new brewery in the Schneider's Cave Addition, Saler then filed a mechanic's lien against Schneider for \$4267.06½ on 31 July 1852 for a three-story, 22 x 75-foot brick house with cut stone foundation built in City Block 82, at 3rd and Elm,

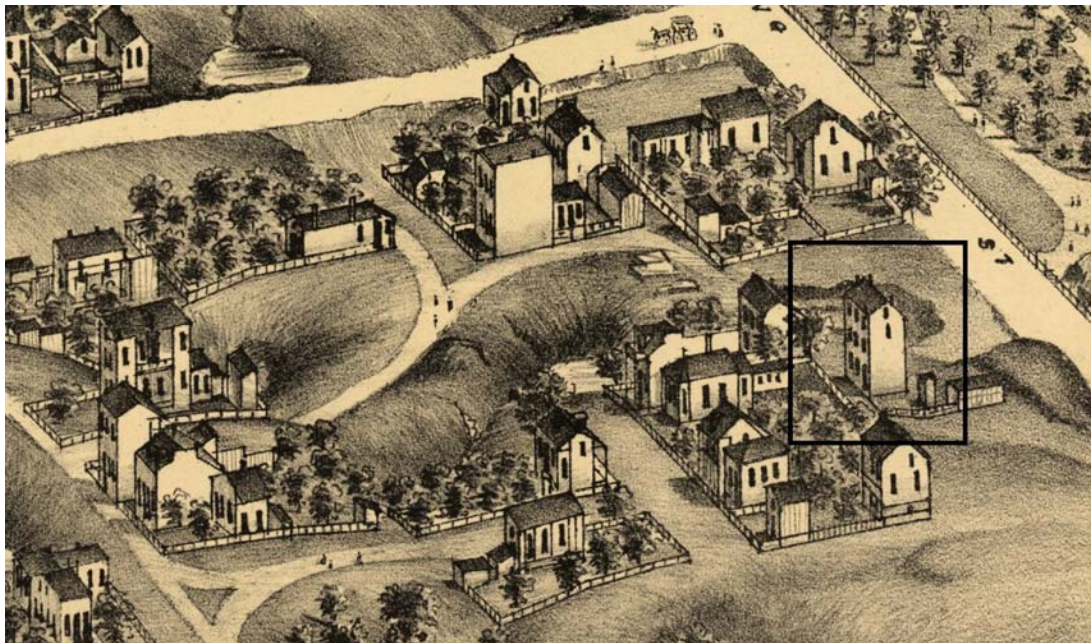


Figure 4. Detail showing George Schneider's second location of the Washington Brewery in the South St. Louis Neighborhood of Benton Park, from Compton, R.J. and Dry, C.N. (1876) *Pictorial St. Louis, the Great Metropolis of the Mississippi Valley; a Topographical Survey Drawn in Perspective A.D. 1875*. St. Louis: Compton & Co., Plate No. 29, Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division, Washington, D.C.

which was on the property of the Washington Hall and Garden. Saler was represented by attorneys Leslie and Barrets.²²

Schneider attempted to emerge from his unpaid debt to Saler and others by entering into a deed of trust with the contractor and the following people and businesses: Messrs. Angelrodt & Barth, Francis Bechler, Geroge Brauchman, Jacob Kost, Jacob Vogel, Henry F. Kuntz, Frederick B. Chamberlain & Levi Churchill, Messrs. A. & A. Wood, John W. Estel, K. M. Schmidt, John Schiffman, George Reichard, Caspar Klute, E. M. Henneberg, John Carius, William L. Ewing & Co., John N. Temple and William Holland, E. Evans & Buther. Who and what all these people and businesses were have been lost to time, but it is probably safe to say they represented a substantial roadblock to Schneider's fiscal solvency. In an attempt to save his business, Schneider placed his property at 3rd and Elm, and the vast majority of Block 53 that remained unsold, including his newly-built brewery, up as collateral. If he did not pay back his debts to all the aforementioned creditors, the properties would be put up for sale at the north door of the St. Louis County Courthouse, and the proceeds of the sale

distributed proportionally. Tallying up Schneider's outstanding debts, including Saler's mechanic's liens, the brewer was facing a total debt of \$28,358.55 when the documents were filed on 14 October 1852.²³

The following year did not look much better for Schneider, either. On 20 June 1853, Joseph Degenhart filed a mechanic's lien for \$82.17 for unpaid labor and lumber at the Washington Brewery and Garden,²⁴ where George Schneider was still listed in the city directory for that year.²⁵ Another lien, for \$76.37, had already been filed on 2 June for work on the brewer's stables downtown.²⁶ Apparently the debt was not paid until 2 February 1855. Schneider turned to renting the brewery down at the Schneider's Cave Addition in Block 53 to a Peter Lungstras on 6 August 1853 for \$1,000 paid in four quarterly installments over the next year. According to the contract they signed, the brewery was already fitted out with all the accoutrements for operation, including a 53-barrel brew kettle, a malt kiln and over 40 hogshead barrels for beer. There were even horses and wagons ready for Lungstras to use to bring the beer to market; the brewery at that time was still well out in the country, even if the English Cave Beer Garden was nearby.²⁷

Perhaps Schneider thought it best to only try and operate his original Washington Brewery downtown and earn rental income from his investment in Block 53. There is no evidence he renewed the contract with Lungstras in 1854. What is evident is that he continued to have financial trouble. A newspaper, the *Missouri Daily Republican*, published a list of St. Louisans delinquent on their taxes on 10 January 1854; Schneider appeared owing \$73.88 for his brewery on 3rd and Elm.²⁸ A contract filed between Schneider and a Charles Blattan on October 4, 1854, arranging the sale of the entire furnishings of the Washington Hall, and the 40 hogshead barrels in the cave sought to solve the continued debt to Francis Saler and the mechanic's liens for the brewery in Block 53. Apparently, Blattan helped settle the debt to Saler by acquiring the property Schneider gave him in the contract. Of course, this hardly left Schneider on strong financial footing, losing the very items (chairs, tables, beer glasses, etc.) that generated money at this ostensibly popular beer garden in the heart of downtown.²⁹

The indignity of not even being able to brew beer in the downtown location of the Washington Brewery came soon after the emptying out of the furnishings of the adjacent hall and beer garden. A debt mentioned in the previous deed from 1853, but which had been festering since 10 February 1852, came to a head on September 5, 1854, when Charles W. Henneberg forced the hand of the Sheriff Turner Maddox of St. Louis County to seize the brewing equipment of the Washington Brewery at 3rd and Elm to pay back a debt of \$356.98. The equipment, referred to as 'fixtures,' fetched \$852 on the courthouse steps when Charles F. Blattan makes another appearance, making the highest bid at Sheriff Maddox's auction on 7 September 1854.³⁰

But there had been a little bit of good news in George Schneider's life, and I suspect that he was sacrificing his brewing interests in order to hold onto what he correctly believed were his valuable real estate holdings in Block 53. On 5 October 1854, he officially acquired clear title to the lots he still owned, and the deed of trust was canceled.³¹ Judging from the prices he and Adam Lemp, in nearby Block 52 respectively, were selling individual lots in the St. Louis Commons, real estate was extremely lucrative in the 1850s (as it surely has been throughout the city's history).

For the years 1855 and 1856, George Schneider seems to have stayed out of trouble, at least from a legal perspective with only one mention in a newspaper in 1856 for a successful application for a liquor license or 'dram shop'.³² No mechanic's liens, lawsuits or other deeds of trust going into default are recorded during these years. In 1857, however, the trail picks up again, first with a city directory listing

George Schneider as a brewer on the 'east side 7th. between Lynch and Lancaster [now Dorcas]'.³³ This would later become the Excelsior Brewery. I suspect Schneider became a 'freelance' brewer, not able to own his own brewery, so he turned to working at others' businesses. An incredibly fascinating contract between Schneider and Dr Adam Hammer, a documented owner of the Bavarian Brewery (more about him below) bolsters my theory, and also offers a possible explanation for the erroneous belief that Schneider founded the precursor to Anheuser-Busch.

On 7 May 1857, Dr Adam Hammer, using the name Bavarian Brewery, contracted with George Schneider to operate the plant described as being in between 8th and 9th Streets bounded on the south by 'proposed Crittenden Street' (meaning the street was platted but never actually built), in the exact location of what is now the famous brew house in the middle of the Anheuser-Busch Brewery grounds. While there were multiple contractual points, the most important were that Schneider was not to spend or sell goods worth more than \$500 without first consulting Dr Hammer, and was to brew 'lagerbier,' which of course was the famous German style beer becoming popular in St. Louis since being introduced by Adam Lemp in the 1840s. He was to be paid \$500 a year in monthly installments and was to live on the brewery grounds. The contract was officially recorded on 22 May 1857.³⁴ The silly accounts of the Bavarian Brewery being a hole in the ground with a shack over it should not be taken seriously. There is no evidence of it ever being such a crude establishment.

Strangely, an article in the *Daily Missouri Republican* on 21 June 1857 about breweries in the city list both a Hammers' and Schneiders'-operated breweries at the same time.³⁵ A series of newspaper advertisements in the *Westliche Post*, offers an important clue about why the partnership possibly ended after one year, and why past historians mistakenly believed George Schneider owned the Bavarian Brewery. On 1 October 1857, and running for an additional sporadic eighteen days, an advertisement appeared with the following in non-standardized German,

Baierische Bierbrauerei von Georg Schneider, an der 8. und der Crittenden Straße, 2 Squares westlich von Linnenfelser's Arsenelpark. Ausgezeichnetes Jungbier³⁶ vorrätig zum Berlauf. All Bestellungen werden pünktlich ausgeführt.

Translated into English, it reads:

Bavarian Beer Brewery of George Schneider, at 8th and Crittenden Street, two blocks west of Linnenfelser's Arsenal Park. Excellent newly fermented beer available to satisfaction. All orders filled on time.³⁷



Figure 5. Baiersche Bierbrauerei von Georg Schneider, *Westliche Post*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (October 1, 1857), p.3.

Reviewing the contract between Dr Hammer and Schneider, one realizes that the former says nothing about allowing the latter to say he could advertise the business as the ‘Bavarian Brewery of George Schneider.’ Likewise, as will be explained in greater depth later, an English language newspaper lists Hammer as the public face of the brewery in 1857. The contract also stated he was supposed to produce fully brewed lager beer, not unfinished beer. One begins to wonder if Schneider’s employment was terminated at the end of the year due to his having become a bit too ‘big for his britches.’ No contract appears in 1858 between the two men of the type signed for 1857. As we will see below, Dr Hammer hired another man on 1 January 1858 to operate the Bavarian Brewery.

Then, in 1859, the city directory lists George Schneider at ‘brewery and beersaloon, es Carondelet av. b. Anna & Harper’.³⁸ It confirms that Schneider was on the move again and indeed had not lasted long working for Dr Hammer at the Bavarian Brewery (the doctor was having his own problems by 1859, as we shall see below).

The story at this point comes full circle, to that famous passage from Ernst Kargau’s *St. Louis in früheren Jahren: Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschthum*, often cited as part of the founding of the George Schneider-based story. Here is the passage, translated from German, in full:

Between Lynch and Dorcas Street lay, on the east side of Carondelet Avenue, a not very high hill, on which the little brewery of George Schneider, who in the early 1850s had run the Washington Brewery on Third and Elm Street, was located. Related with said

brewery was an Ausschank (Simple Bar, Draft Beer), and for the security of the visitors of the aforementioned on their way home, there was the small staircase leading up from the street fitted with a handrail to which those who swayed a little bit could hold on to if the necessity arose. In the hill itself was a cellar, which was honored with the name ‘Felsenkeller’ (Cellar in the Rock), although there was no trace of rock to be found. On the same side of the avenue, close to the Arsenal, was a Biergarten, which went by the name of Arsenal Park and where people went to dance on Sunday evenings.³⁹

There are several important aspects of what Kargau does and does *not* say. First, Kargau correctly states that Schneider operated the Washington Brewery at 3rd and Elm in the early 1850s; we have ample corroborating evidence to establish that. However, the first sentence about the ‘little brewery of George Schneider’ on the east side of Carondelet Avenue (modern Broadway) in between Dorcas and Lynch is important in that nowhere does Kargau say the date of when this occurred. In fact, I now have evidence that Schneider’s operation of a small brewery at this location was not in the early 1850s, was not the Bavarian Brewery precursor of Anheuser-Busch, but rather occurred in and after 1860. The first piece of evidence is the city directory of 1860, which states, ‘Schneider, George, brewer, Dorcas, ne. c. Carondelet av., r. same’.⁴⁰

Then, in 1861, a second piece of evidence appears that George Schneider operated a brewery at the Dorcas address much later than previously thought with the filing of another mechanic’s lien. This time it was John and Edward Hogan filing the mechanic’s lien against George Schneider for \$24

on 3 January 1861. The two men had installed a composition roof on what is described as a two-story wood frame building, and Schneider had not paid their bill. The legal description, Lot 1 of Block 1 of the Rock Point Addition, places the property right where it should be, according to maps held by the Comptroller's Office at City Hall. It seems that Schneider had attempted to restart his brewing career, but was again falling into financial difficulty, though with the absurdly small amount of \$24.

When the Civil War broke out, the Union Army recorded a list of men in the city not eligible for enlistment due to various reasons such as age, non-American citizenship, health, etc. George Schneider was listed as exempt due to his age.⁴¹ In 1862, with the death of an obscure man named Carl Braun, trouble arrived again for Schneider, and along with it, further proof that the brewery at Broadway and Dorcas was never the Bavarian Brewery. The details are sketchy, but from what I could ascertain from the filings of the administrator of Carl Braun's estate, Henry Kuntz, George Schneider was actually renting the Broadway and Dorcas brewery building from the deceased beginning in 1858, shortly after ending his employment with Adam Hammer's actual Bavarian Brewery in 1857. There are multiple rent payments in Braun's probate file, attesting to an ongoing lease of the brewery in Block One of the Rock Point Addition — the aforementioned building at Broadway and Dorcas. Even more intriguing, the probate file includes a description of the brewery complex: a two-story house with one room downstairs and two upstairs, an unfinished one-story brewery building with cellars below ground, and a shed.⁴² Perhaps the last item is from where the infamous 'shed over a hole in the ground' story originates. One thing is certain, Carl Braun's operation was never the Bavarian Brewery.

Then the probate record turns ominous, as Henry Kuntz sold the brewery, and as suspected, left George Schneider without a job. But we soon find his new place of business, because Kuntz subpoenas Schneider at his new place of work, Charles Stifel's City Brewery.⁴³ According to the lawsuit a certain Bernard Rowie filed in the Court of Common Pleas, Schneider was engaged in possible criminal activity with the recently deceased Braun in order to conceal his income from his creditors. But Kuntz was also being sued as well by Rowie. It is all very confusing, the handwriting difficult to read, and the lawsuit dragged on for years, until at least 1866. Finally, the judge made a ruling: Schneider, Braun and his executor Kuntz definitely had conspired to hide money by concealing their business relationship.⁴⁴ What also is certain is Schneider continued to not have any personal or monetary capital to be founding his own brewery.

After this, George Schneider seems to have faded into obscurity, or at least he succeeds in staying out of the courthouse or off its front steps. There is a family plot in Bellefontaine Cemetery with his name; the remains buried there come originally from a burial ground in South City near the Lemp Brewery. Circumstantially, it seems like it could very well be our George Schneider. He is certainly an interesting figure, but he is not the founder of the Bavarian Brewery.

Below, we will look at the evidence, through primary sources, to point to the circumstances around Dr Adam Hammer's ownership of the Bavarian Brewery, and how it came into the hands of Eberhard Anheuser.

Hammer and Anheuser

Dr Adam Hammer, who has documented primary sources to back his ownership, is who I believe was the actual founder of the Bavarian Brewery, the precursor of Anheuser-Busch. Dr Hammer led a truly fascinating life, leading up to setting up the business that would grow one day to be the largest brewing company in the world. While I often stress that by no means was every German immigrant to St. Louis a refugee from revolutions in Germany, in the case of Dr Hammer, flight from prosecution and imprisonment back in Europe really was the major impetus for his voyage to the United States. And while Adam Lemp or George Schneider seemed to have little interest in politics, Hammer's story is intrinsically linked to both European and American progressive movements in the 1840s and 1850s. In addition to his political contributions, Dr Hammer helped to revolutionize and professionalize the field of medicine in St. Louis and America, making important discoveries in heart disease when he returned to the now-unified German Empire. On top of all these achievements, which by themselves would warrant attention, his business interests would lay the foundations for what is now the largest multinational brewing corporation.

Adam Hammer was born in 1818 in the town of Mingelsheim, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, only a few years after the defeat of Napoleon. Baden would be one of the last German states to hold onto independence, only finally joining the Prussia-dominated Empire in 1871. A graduate of the famous University of Heidelberg, the young Hammer studied not just natural science and mathematics, but also literature. He graduated from the university's medical school and began his career in nearby Mannheim shortly thereafter. But revolution called, and in 1847 the Sonderbund War in Switzerland drew Dr Hammer into politics. His first foray fighting for greater representative democracy was a disaster; the doctor and his friend Friedrich Hecker fled to



Figure 6. Dr Adam Hammer, Courtesy of Bernard Becker Medical Library, Washington University School of Medicine, VC410.

St. Louis, rightfully fearing the wrath of the Prussian King Frederick William IV, who had helped suppress their uprising in Mannheim.⁴⁵ Democracy in Germany would have to wait.

Dr Hammer settled into private practice in St. Louis by 1850. The federal census of the same year provides a wealth of information about the doctor and his brothers, who had also settled in St. Louis. As should be expected, Dr Hammer was listed as 32 years old, working as physician; his brother Charles was 25, working as a 'soda manufacturer;' and his brother Philip, 20 was listed without occupation. Strangely, there was a woman, 20-year-old Elizabeth Kritz listed as living in the household; perhaps she was a servant. As expected, everyone was listed as born in Germany.⁴⁶ His wife Helena was not listed, but he was certainly married to her by 1851, because we find a contract with her name on it with her husband by that year. On 18 November 1851, Adam and

Helena Hammer signed a contract to sell a vinegar factory with all fixtures and whiskey barrels on Lot 4 of Block 29 of Soulard's Addition for \$550 to John Wm. Kaeckell, an early business partner of Adam Lemp.⁴⁷ Land speculation seemed to have been a common means of investing money, as two years later, on 27 December 1853, with William D'Oench acting as their attorney-in-fact, Dr Hammer and Helena sold a plot of land for \$800 to Eberhard Anheuser.⁴⁸ Anheuser, of course, would feature in Hammer's life later on in the decade. It should also be noted that otherwise, Anheuser did not seem to engage in much land speculation, instead focusing on manufacturing.

But in the meantime, Dr Hammer seems to have turned to focusing on the medical profession, which could be diplomatically described as slightly less than professional in St. Louis before the arrival of German physicians. In fact, a day of riots had broken out in 1843 when the public had discov-

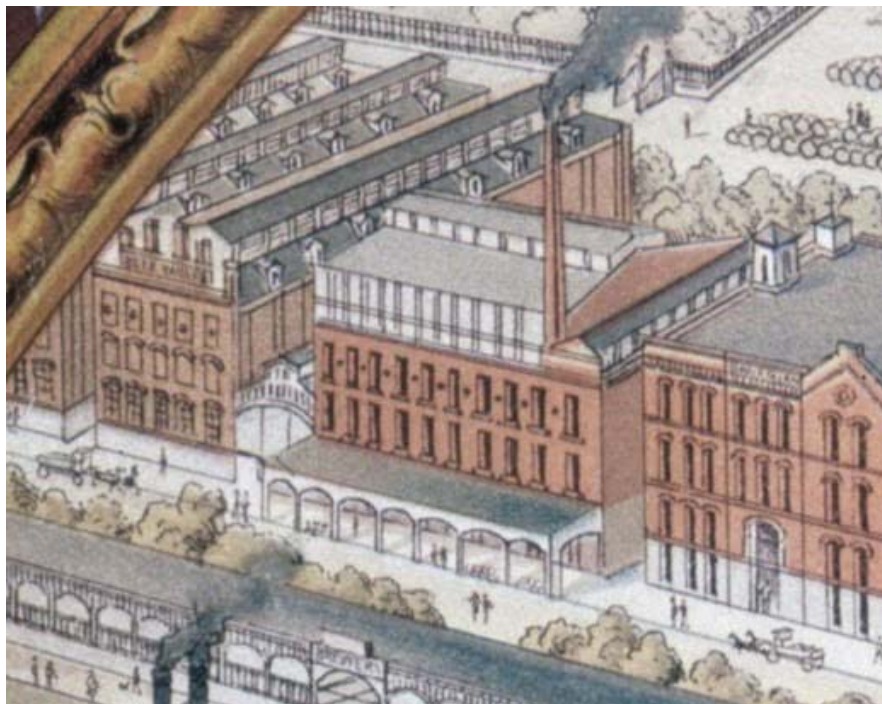


Figure 7. Detail showing earliest known Bavarian Brewery brew house," E. Anheuser's Co's Brewing Association. St. Louis Lager Beer. Chromolithograph by Winklemann Brothers, 1879. Missouri History Museum Photographs and Prints Collection. Advertising 0028a. n00028. Scan © 2008, Missouri History Museum.

ered the macabre disposal of cadavers at the two medical colleges operating at the time. In the words of one encomium concerning German medicine:

... the American people owe [German doctors] an enduring debt of gratitude not only for the first pioneers of medicine and surgery in this country, but for subsequent inspiration of true medical learning ...⁴⁹

Dr Hammer's first foray into establishing formal education for medicine came with the St. Louis College of Natural Sciences and Medicine, which opened in 1855 with a charter from the state legislature. Unlike other medical 'colleges' of the time, Hammer's new school of medicine had a real curriculum with a broad range of courses in different subjects of epidemiology and anatomy. Sadly, it closed a year later, as his professors from Germany were not able to immigrate to St. Louis as expected. But decades later, historians lauded his college, at a time when even the best American medical schools' training last four months, Hammer's proposed course stretched for over 18.⁵⁰ But the idea of a professional medical college would stay in the back of Dr Hammer's mind.

In the meantime, the doctor had ingratiated himself in the German American society that clustered along South Second Street, where the smell of hops from Adam Lemp and George Schneider's breweries surely wafted through the air. Dr Hammer was highly respected, but was also famous for his mercurial personality, as Ernst Kargau would relate years later:

He was one of the best-known German doctors, and he could have been one of the most popular, if his eccentric, domineering nature and combativeness had not been in his way. He seemed, indeed not to feel comfortable if he did not have a feud with somebody and he did not care if this somebody happened to be a colleague or not. The doctor was a passionate nimrod, a great friend of music, a connoisseur of music, a good cellist, and a still better skat player. But he often could not find anyone to play with, for whoever could not trump his rudeness, and there were only few who could, simply could not play with him. However, incredible as it may sound, he could at times be very affable, if he was at the proper humor, but this did not happen very often. In his profession he did excellent work, particularly in surgery.⁵¹

A newspaper advertisement from 31 January 1857 gives just one example of how Dr Hammer's surgical prowess turned

to philanthropy and concern for the less-fortunate residents of St. Louis. At 68 Elm Street, in between 4th and 5th Streets, he had opened The St. Louis Eye Infirmary and Surgical Clinic for the Poor, advertising eye surgery and other services, all without charge. Dr Hammer even offered free lessons to his fellow doctors who wished to come and observe his ophthalmological procedures in person. The doctor may have had some rough edges at times, but he was still a dedicated philanthropist.⁵²

By 1857, though, Dr Hammer seems to have been lured back by the prospect of the income from owning a brewery. These were clearly heady times, where even the strangest candidates for brewery ownership took the plunge. Heinrich Börnstein, a vegetarian, teetotaler former revolutionary who corresponded with Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx back in Europe, bought the old Peter Wenger Brewery because of the simple fact that there was a tavern available on the first floor of the building that held the St. Louis German radical's newspaper, the *Anzeiger des Westens*.⁵³ So perhaps it was less strange for Dr Hammer to open or buy a brewery.

This is where the story gets murky. Was there some anonymous, rustic brewery — that Hammer purchased and upgraded — on the land that now holds the famous core of Anheuser-Busch? I did not find any evidence of one. Furthermore, a newspaper article published in 1883 about Anheuser-Busch that reads suspiciously like it was written by its advertising department specifically states the brewery was founded in 1857.⁵⁴ There is no contract between the previous owners of the land and a brewery, Adam Hammer seems to have raised the capital to open the Bavarian Brewery himself in 1857. We have a newspaper article from 1858 that states the following as part of a compendium of breweries in St. Louis; 'Bavarian Brewery, Dr Hammer & Co. proprietors, established 1857 ... 1,500 barrels of lager beer'.⁵⁵

There is no contract on record of Dr Hammer purchasing the brewery from anyone else. And as mentioned before in the section on George Schneider, Hammer hired the brewer to operate the Bavarian Brewery in 1857;⁵⁶ logically, it would make sense if the doctor was setting up a brewing enterprise, he would need someone operate it. And with Schneider penniless from lawsuits, it would also seem logical that he would jump at the opportunity to regain his financial footing by using his skills without having to generate capital to open his own brewery — something I suspect would be impossible after his highly publicized failures and frequent courthouse steps auctions. And Ernst Kargau, who is fastidious about his recollections, makes no mention of Schneider previously owning the brewery when he mentions Dr Hammer's ownership.⁵⁷ City directories in 1857 list Dr Hammer's brother Philip as a cooper at 224 Carondelet

Avenue and Charles is not listed at all. A Francis Hammer, of unknown relation, was operating a 'beerhouse' at 381 Franklin Avenue. Dr Hammer himself was also the president of the now-forgotten German Institute at 5 S. 4th Street at the same time he was establishing his brewery.⁵⁸

The *Daily Missouri Republican* published an article on 21 June 1857 about the burgeoning brewing industry in St. Louis, and Dr Hammer was listed as operating a brewery at this time.⁵⁹ In his dissertation, Donald Plavchan claims Hammer advertised the formation of a partnership with Dominique Urban with an advertisement in *Börnsteins's Anzeiger des Westens* on 4 December 1858. I could not locate such an advertisement, and as mentioned before, I am very skeptical about the dissertation's citations from German-language newspapers.⁶⁰ In reality, Dr Hammer was in business with his brothers Charles and Philip in 1858, as a lawsuit with the brewer that replaced George Schneider proves. The three brothers had sued Henry Breidenbach, who had begun work as the new brewmaster on 1 January 1858, having fled from the Bavarian Brewery in fear of his life before his contract had ended in August of that year.

It seems that Breidenbach had become afraid for his safety in the lagering cave under the brewery, where he was required to go as part of his contract with the Hammers. However, the cave ceiling was unstable and Breidenbach was struck by pieces of falling rock on several occasions; he quit on 18 August 1858, violating his contract. The brewmaster had initially lost to the Hammer brothers in circuit court, but had appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri, arguing that he had not been able to submit into evidence the dangerous conditions of the lagering cave. The Supreme Court agreed with the brewmaster, finding the Hammers had made no effort to ameliorate their employee's dangerous working conditions. Breidenbach victory on appeal added just another bit of costly misfortune to Dr Hammer's operation of the Bavarian Brewery. He also seemed to realize around this time his two brothers were not good business partners.⁶¹

Thus, the partnership with Urban seems to have come in 1859: 'Hamer & Urban, ns. Arsenal bet 2nd Carondelet av. and 7th' as well as 'Hammer & Urban, (Adam Hamer and ____ Urban) brewers, ns Arsenal, b. 2d Carondelet av. and 7th' appear in that year's city directory, confirming the two men were in partnership brewing beer at the Bavarian Brewery on the future Anheuser-Busch site. There was also a listing for 'Hammer, Adam, oculist, 61 Market; (and Hammer & Urban;) r. es Menard, b. Arsenal and Crit[tenden]'.⁶² Apparently the doctor was keeping his medical career alive while venturing into the brewing business; it would be consistent with his philanthropic efforts.

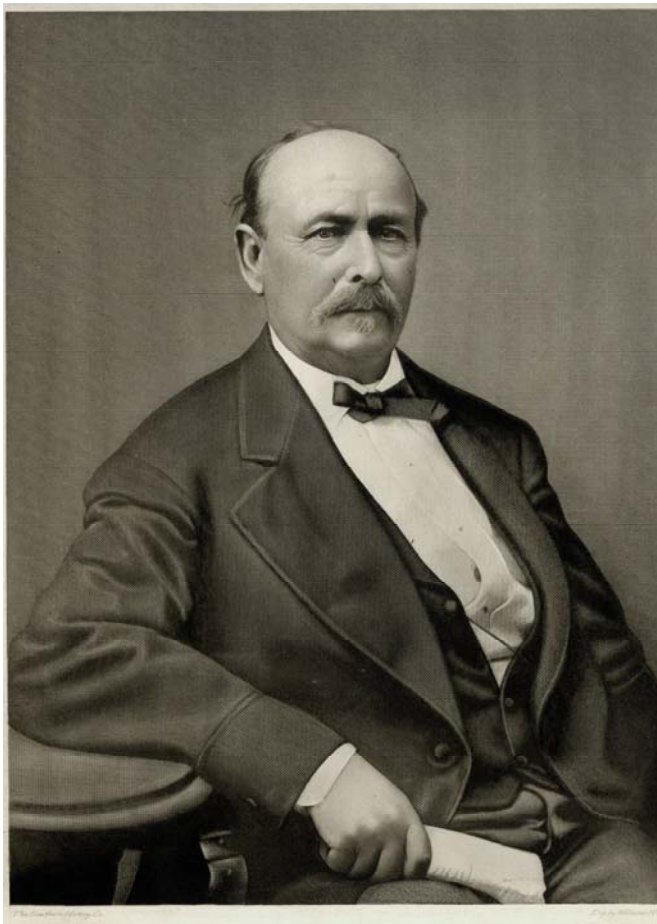


Figure 8. Eberhard Anheuser. Steel engraving by Williams, New York, 1898 Missouri History Museum Photograph and Print Collection. Portraits n11625.

What can also be documented with certainty is that on 14 September 1859, Dr Hammer and his partner Dominique Urban, as ‘parties of the first part,’ took out a huge loan with the Bavarian Brewery as collateral. With Britton Hill and Christian Schuetze as the guarantors, or ‘parties of the second part,’ a whole host of businessmen, or ‘parties of the third part,’ loaned Hammer and Urban the following amounts of money and were expected to be paid back with 10% interest: ‘\$4,725 to Charles F. Eggers; \$1,525 to Charles Berther \$2,200; to Eberhard Anheuser \$4,235; to Charles W. Gottschalk \$1,200; to Phillip Hammer \$1,533; and to Schuetze and Eggers \$250.’ It should be noted that we see the appearance of Eberhard Anheuser for the first time in the history of the Bavarian Brewery, but he was not the largest lender; Charles Eggers was. Also, Philip Hammer, Adam’s brother, was a creditor, not a previous owner, as other sources have incorrectly reported in the past. The

Bavarian Brewery and its ‘fixtures’ were the collateral, and not the land underneath it.⁶³ The land underneath was never owned by Adam Hammer — or by George Schneider, for that matter (see addendum at the end of the article). I suspect such deals were made frequently, and often revolved around lunch at a German restaurant owned by Lewis ‘Hippo’ Krug, where ‘much beer was drunk and much politics was discussed,’ according to Ernst Kargau. Frequent participants with the German language newspaper editors were ‘Papa Anheuser, [...] Charles Eggers and others. When things became really animated one could be sure that Ferdinand Fuchs and Doctor Hammer were among the disputants’.⁶⁴ Perhaps during one of these beer-fueled discussions, Dr Hammer arranged the loan with Eggers and Anheuser.

Charles Eggers and Eberhard Anheuser, the two largest lenders, were certainly the right German American business-

men to ask for a loan around 1859-60. When the Bremen-born Charles F. Eggers first appears in St. Louis at the age of 24 in the federal census of 1850 as a 'druggist,' he already possessed substantial wealth: real estate assets worth \$15,400. His business partner, 41-year-old William F. Schuetze, likewise possessed real estate assets of \$18,000. They employed four German immigrants in their drug store.⁶⁵ By the 1860 federal census, Eggers's fortunes had mushroomed; he was now 35, married to 30-year-old Elise, who was born in Hesse-Darmstadt, and had five children aged 2-9 years old; he had one servant from the southern German Kingdom of Württemberg. Now in the drug wholesale business, his real estate was worth \$14,000 but his personal estate was worth \$35,000. He had at least two employees.⁶⁶

Soap and candlemaker Eberhard Anheuser was much older and settled down into family life than his young upstarts in their twenties and thirties; in the 1850 federal census, he was already 44, married with seven children and a servant, all listed as being born in Germany except for the youngest.⁶⁷ While partnered with Lawrason Riggs in 1854, he lived on the west side of Carondelet Avenue (Broadway) in between Park and Barry.⁶⁸ His residence in a 1859 city directory was listed as 84 Myrtle Street under the old address numbering system, right in the heart of other German American businessmen's houses.⁶⁹ By that same year, Anheuser had also partnered with Nicholas Schaeffer to create a huge soap and candle factory company: Schaeffer, Anheuser & Co, located at 28 and 30 Locust Street.⁷⁰

By 1860, we have a wealth of information about Anheuser's family and business, due to the publication of both the federal and industrial censuses. He was now 53 years old, and several of his children were now working for him in the family business as clerks. We learn, due to greater specificity in census listings, that Anheuser listed his place of birth as Prussia, instead of the generic Germany. They employed one non-family member as a clerk in their household, and a servant from the Kingdom of Hanover.⁷¹

Schaeffer, Anheuser & Co., listed as a candle oil and soap manufactory, was a gigantic enterprise. The industrial census lays out statistics of what surely was one of the largest companies in St. Louis at the time, and it dwarfed all the breweries in the city. Schaeffer, Anheuser & Co. boasted of \$240,000 capital invested; around \$630,000 worth of raw materials; a 40 horsepower steam engine; 7 hydraulic presses; 100 lard presses; 6 soap kettles; 5 lye kettles; 90 employees, payroll of \$2,580 a month, 80 males, at \$2,400, 10 females at \$180; over 4 million lbs. of soap produced; and \$661,640 worth of products produced in a year.⁷² In other words, Eberhard Anheuser probably did not even break a sweat when making the loan to the Bavarian Brew-

ery; his soap and candle factory manufactured products in only *two days* equal to the amount of money he lent to Hammer and Urban.

And it perhaps would have only taken an hour for Eberhard Anheuser to generate the income to pay back the mechanic's lien that Hammer and Urban found themselves served with on 22 October 1859, one month after taking out their loan. The construction firm of Garlicks, Beck and Fisher had not received payment of \$74.50 for their work on machinery in a 'brick and frame brewery,' described in court filings as the Bavarian Brewery on the Lami Tract that would become the heart of Anheuser-Busch. Unfortunately, much of the handwriting in the mechanic's lien is illegible, but the word 'hoist' can be made out, perhaps describing a mechanism for lifting hogsheads of beer out of the cellars. Regardless, it shows that already Dr Hammer and his new business partner Dominique Urban were having trouble operating the brewery as partners.⁷³

Then, catastrophically, a notice of default on the loan from 14 September 1859 was filed on 14 January 1860, but when looking closer at the legal document, a shocking revelation is found: Hammer and Urban had already given up trying to pay back the loan on 18 October 1859, only a month later after signing the original document. The auction on the courthouse steps happened ten days later on 28 October 1859, and three bidders emerged with the highest bid of \$9,077. They were Eberhard Anheuser; John E. Schuetze and Charles Eggers, acting together as business partners; and Charles Gottschalk. The three parties each received 1/3 of the ownership of the brewery, which at the time included all the buildings, equipment, horses, wagons, 600 barrels of beer in the cellars, etc.⁷⁴ By no means was the business not producing beer.

With their business done, the guarantors of the loan, Christian Schuetze and Britton Hill, considered the matter closed. Were Christian and John Schuetze related? I do not know. The whole situation is all very strange. One thing is for certain: the three men just acquired the brewery for a fraction of the cost of setting it up all by themselves. On the surface, I think Eberhard Anheuser made a very shrewd business decision with very small financial risk to himself.

Interestingly, as Anheuser would later do with his son-in-law Adolphus Busch, he allowed his new young partner Charles Gottschalk to take the lead in running the brewery. Indeed, a *Daily Missouri Republican* article from 30 May 1860, a half year after the takeover from Hammer and Urban lists their enterprise as 'Bavarian Brewery, Arsenal between 7th and 2nd Carondelet Gottschalk & Co. 2,700 lager, 500 common beer'.⁷⁶

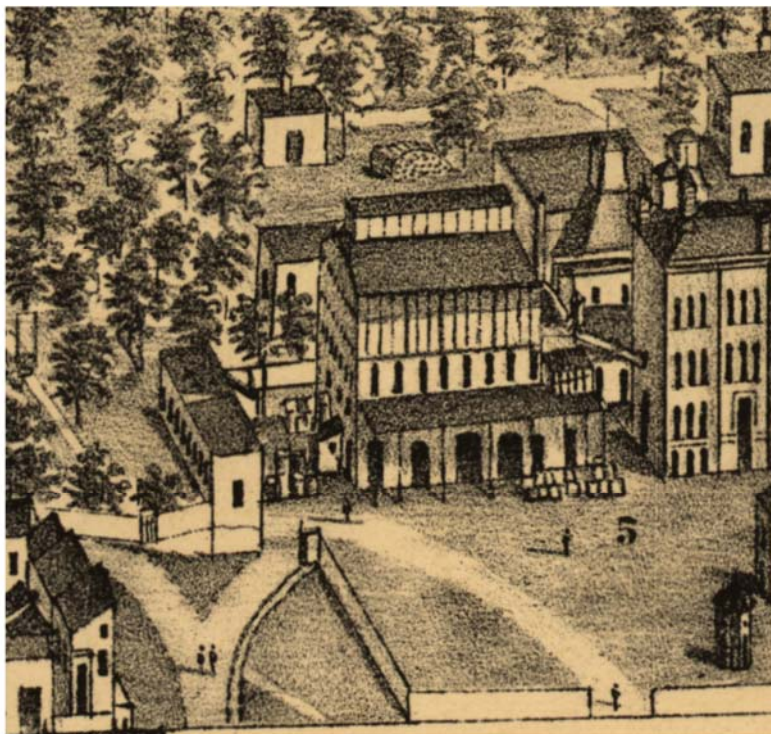


Figure 9. Detail showing Bavarian Brewery with the possible earliest brew house," from Compton, Richard J. and Dry, Camille N. *Pictorial St. Louis, the Great Metropolis of the Mississippi Valley; a Topographical Survey Drawn in Perspective A.D. 1875*. St. Louis: Compton & Co. 1876, Plate No. 10, Library of Congress Geography and Maps Division, Washington, D.C.

Anheuser, Gottschalk and their partners had begun their partnership in time to be recorded in the 1860 industrial census:

Gottschalk & Co., Beer and Brewery; \$8,000 capital and monetary investment; 2,500 bushels of barley, 3,000 bushels of hops, 1,500 bushels of coal, valued at \$2,500, \$500 and \$150 respectively; 40 horsepower steam engine; 4 male employees, payroll of \$30 a month; annual production of 600 barrels of ale valued at \$4,800, 400 barrels of [lager?] beer valued at \$2,400.⁷⁷

The common belief that the Bavarian Brewery had been falling behind its competitors at the time seems to hold true when compared to Adam Lemp's Western Brewery in the 1860 industrial census:

Adam Lemp, Brewery; \$30,000 capital and monetary investment; 10,000 bushels of barley, 10,000 bushels of hops, 5,000 bushels of b. coal, valued at \$7,000, \$1,500 and \$550 respectively; 9 male employees with a monthly payroll of \$270, annual production of 2,000 barrels of [lager?] beer valued at \$12,000 and 3,000 barrels of ale valued at \$24,000.⁷⁸

But in 1860 Charles Gottschalk was a highly respected member of St. Louis society by the time Eberhard Anheuser went into business with him to take on more successful brewers such as Adam Lemp. By the age of 34, Gottschalk had already become the City Registrar, held \$16,000 in real estate and \$5,000 in personal estate. He lived with his 24-year-old second wife, Julie, who like him, was from Prussia, and they were raising three children, two from his first marriage, and one from the second. He was also successful enough to take care of his 65-year-old father, Friedrich Abraham Gottschalk, and employ a 16-year-old servant, Marie Montag.⁷⁹ He was the first president of the Washington Fire Insurance Company, involved in singing societies and made himself available to meet with constituents at Soulard Market.⁸⁰ Kargau speaks highly of him, as well:

One of the best-known Germans of his time was Charles W. Gottschalk. In his younger years he was a watchmaker, and on Carondelet Avenue had a jewelry store between Barry and Marion Streets. In 1859 he was elected city registrar, and then represented the second ward for several years in the city council. He was a stern

opponent of all limitations of personal freedom. When he passed away in the later sixties the German element suffered a great loss.⁸¹

But life continued for Dr Hammer, as well, and I should emphasize that while he might have failed at operating a brewery, his career afterwards is one of distinction and one that he should take pride. Anheuser-Busch's roots in the historic Bavarian Brewery are not in the myriad failings of George Schneider, but instead lie in the fascinating story of a freedom fighter, abolitionist, philanthropist and medical pioneer Dr Hammer, who seems to have picked up and continued in his other pursuits after settling his affairs with his creditors. Already in an 1860 city directory, he was listed as a physician at his newly-founded Humboldt Institute on the east side of 9th Street between Market and Walnut; his residence listed as the north side of Crittenden near Second Carondelet Avenue — right where documents would state his wife sold property to the expanding Anheuser & Co. Brewery.⁸²

In the 1860 federal census, Hammer is listed 41 years old, the Proprietor of the Humboldt Institute with personal assets of \$250. His wife Helena, 34 years old, like many Germans in St. Louis, was listed as born in Hesse-Darmstadt; their 18-year-old servant, Catherine Bohmer, was born in Switzerland.⁸³ The Humboldt Institute held classes in German, illustrating the prominence of Teutonic education and economic power in St. Louis. The Institute later switched over to English language instruction and continued until 1869.⁸⁴

However, the outbreak of the Civil War gave Adam Hammer new focus in his life, and the enemies of the Union faced a formidable foe in the doctor with his famous pugnacious personality. Since the Humboldt Institute's students were German, Dr Hammer quickly enlisted their help when the fate of St. Louis hung in the balance, as pro-Union and pro-Confederate factions angled for control of the strategically important Federal Arsenal, which lay downhill from the Bavarian Brewery and the doctor's house, the latter becoming a fortified guardhouse overlooking the stockpile of weapons. The details are hazy, and are perhaps apocryphal, but Albert Faust, in *The German Element in the United States*, claims Dr Hammer and his students packed some of the Arsenal's weapons in beer barrels and whisked them to safety.⁸⁵ However, Heinrich Börnstein, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, claims in his autobiography that he saw the weapons loaded *en masse* straight onto a steamboat directly from the docks of the Arsenal.⁸⁶ Regardless, Dr Hammer certainly used his former military experience to help keep the City of St. Louis safely in Union hands in the critical early months of the war.

Dr Hammer served with distinction as a surgeon during the war first in the field, rising to the rank of captain, then set-

tled in at the Marine Hospital, which had been requisitioned by the Union Army. According to Kargau, he was the chief surgeon, and would have been able to commute easily from his house.⁸⁷ Like many German Americans, he supported the abolition of slavery, and he and his colleagues were members of the Radical Republicans, who pushed for emancipation.⁸⁸ No doubt the victory of the Union in 1865 served as personal vindication for Dr Hammer, after his earlier defeats fighting for democracy and freedom in his youth in Europe.

After the Civil War, Dr Hammer got back to civilian life. He moved to South 5th Street near Cerre Street by the 1870s and managed to get back into his old habits of interpersonal conflict in the Liederkranz Society, when many the members quit after an effort to expel him failed.⁸⁹ But fascinatingly, he was invited to the home of an old investor in his brewing venture. On 17 November 1876, the society pages of the *Daily Missouri Republican* reported that Dr Hammer had been invited to and attended the surprise 70th birthday party of Eberhard Anheuser.⁹⁰ If there had been any bad blood, and I suspect there had not been, it was certainly gone sixteen years after the doctor had defaulted on his loan.

Besides offering free medical services to poor residents in St. Louis, Dr Hammer also took the opportunity to travel back to the now-unified German Empire in 1876, where he made a critical discovery in our understanding of heart disease, an advance for which he is now largely forgotten. As Dr Arthur Gale recounts, Dr Hammer performed an autopsy on a recently deceased 34-year-old man and made a startling discovery that confirmed the German physician's earlier hypothesis. The deceased's coronary artery had completely clogged, cutting off the flow of blood to the heart and causing the man's death, in a process called *coronary infarction*, or as we usually call it today, a heart attack.⁹¹

Dr Hammer soon found himself back in the German Empire permanently, disillusioned after 27 years in America. The election of 1876 is now largely forgotten today, but when Democrat Samuel Tilden won the popular vote but lost the electoral college to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, it was too much for the aging doctor.⁹² He left St. Louis forever on 20 April 1877. After settling in Wiesbaden, our dear doctor died the next year on 4 August 1878.⁹³

So, this is where we are left. There is no evidence that supports George Schneider founding the Bavarian Brewery in 1852. There is plenty of primary source documentation that he was instead embroiled in severe financial troubles involving his Washington Brewery in 1852 and beyond. Likewise, there is no documentary evidence that anyone owned the Bavarian Brewery before primary source evi-

dence shows Dr Adam Hammer owned the small enterprise in 1857. There is a small chance it may have existed before that time, and I welcome anyone to produce the evidence for a previously unknown owner or founder before Dr Hammer — but still, the brewery certainly did not date back to 1852. The newspaper article from 1858 saying it was founded the year before is compelling evidence for a later date of 1857. Also, no self-respecting German brews beer in a shack over a hole in the ground, either!

Likewise, Anheuser-Busch should be much prouder of its true roots in Dr Adam Hammer while discarding the hapless George Schneider from its history. Dr Hammer, while perhaps possessing an irascible personality, proved to be a true leader in St. Louis history. He revolutionized the field of medicine in St. Louis. He served the poor and indigent in St. Louis, providing free medical care to those who could not afford it. He made important discoveries in the field of heart disease. He fought tirelessly, alongside his fellow German Americans, to keep Missouri in the Union. He worked diligently for the emancipation of African Americans from slavery. I think that is a legacy of a man that Anheuser-Busch can rightfully be proud.

Afterword: A note on Title Searches of Ownership of the Anheuser-Busch Property

In order to see if the title of the original core piece of property on Pestalozzi Street, where Hammer and Urban's brew house was located, would turn up any pertinent information on when the Bavarian Brewery was founded, I traced back the ownership of the property to 1812. The first known owners of the property, part of the Lami Tract, were James and Isabella MacKay, who sold it to John Long for \$250 on 27 November 1812 when the land was still part of the newly created Missouri Territory — the future State of Missouri. The transaction was witnessed by Justice of the Peace Thomas Sappington and recorded by P. LeDuc. The area was so rural at the time that the sale used trees, boulders and other natural features to define the plat of land involved in the sale.⁹⁴

The property then came under the ownership of L. Hardage Lane, who owned the land all through the 1850s. Much of the information we know about Hardage Lane's ownership comes from his last will and testament, which names the tract as now being the 'Hardage Lane Subdivision of the Lami Tract.' On 9 July 1863, Eberhard Anheuser, William D'Oench and Adolphus Busch purchased the land from Hardage Lane's estate.⁹⁵ On 15 July 1876, Adolphus and Lily Busch transferred their personal ownership of the property to Anheuser-Busch.⁹⁶ It has never left the control of the Anheuser-Busch Brewery since that date.

At no time did George Schneider, or Adam Hammer for that matter, own the property under which the historic core of Anheuser-Busch now stands. This was not uncommon for business owners to not own the land under their business; for example, Adam Lemp did not purchase the property under his Western Brewery until many years after his business was successfully established. We have other primary source documentation to prove Adam Hammer operated a brewery on the site; we have none for George Schneider. Schneider receives no help from the trail of ownership of the land under the Bavarian Brewery and later Anheuser-Busch.

References

1. Kargau, E. (1893) *St. Louis in früheren Jahren: Ein Gedenkbuch für das Deutschthum*. St. Louis: Aug. Wiebusch & Sohn, p.193.
2. Siebel, J.E. et al (eds.) (1903) [1974] *One Hundred Years of Brewing: A Complete History of the Progress made in the Arts, Science and Industry of Brewing in the World, particularly in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Arno Press, p.348.
3. Krebs, R. and Orthwein, P.J. (1953) *Making Friends Is Our Business: 100 Years of Anheuser-Busch*. St. Louis: Anheuser-Busch, p.17.
4. *ibid.*, p.8.
5. But one aspect of my research that raised my concerns as I delved deeper into my research needs to be addressed first. Many of the secondary sources which I first consulted on the history of Anheuser-Busch proved to be inaccurate, contained false primary source citations, or outright misrepresented what their sources claimed to say. Of particular concern to me were frequent citations of Nineteenth Century German language newspapers such as the *Westliche Post* and the *Anzeiger des Westens*. Both newspapers are cited frequently in a Saint Louis University PhD dissertation and Washington University Master's Thesis, and I checked every single citation in those German language newspapers at the Missouri History Museum and St. Louis Central Library. Not even one of approximately a dozen of those references could be corroborated when I examined the newspaper date in question. They also cited articles from the English language *Daily Missouri Republican*, and this time I was able to find many of the relevant articles; the content of the articles was flat out misrepresented. Likewise, city directories, which are also still available, were frequently misrepresented in secondary sources, and statements made in secondary sources citing them easily disproven by being examined at the Missouri History Museum. I do not know if these are mistakes or intentional misrepresentations, but they severely damaged the credibility of many of the secondary sources on the early years of Anheuser-Busch. Consequently, I have relied on primary sources contemporary to the 1840s and 50s for the vast majority of the following historical narrative. Where I have made assumptions, I have made such suggestions abundantly clear. This article also corrects some of my own inaccuracies I repeated about

the foundations of the Bavarian Brewery in my article 'The foundations of a great American brewery: the early architecture of Anheuser-Busch,' in *Brewery History*, Issue 167, pp.28-54.

6. Siebel, J.E. *et al* (eds.) (1903) [1974] op. cit., p.211;

Daily Missouri Republican, 15 December 1846

7. 1848 *Sloss's St. Louis Directory*

8. Deed recorded 20 October 1845, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book V3, pp.133-134.

9. St. Louis City Register, *Records of City Real Estate: Records of Sales of St. Louis Commons, 1843-1849*, Vol. 55. N.P.

10. *St. Louis and Vicinity, Compiled and drawn by Edward Charles Schultse*. St. Louis: Leffingwell and Elliott, 1851, Missouri History Museum; *Map of the City of St. Louis, Mo. and Vicinity*. Map by J.H. Fisher, 1853. Missouri History Museum Library.

n22809. Missouri History Museum.

11. There have been several streets around St. Louis over the years with the name Cave Street. The current holder of the name Cave Street is located just off of Broadway, and references the former DeMenil property's entrance to the Lemp-Cherokee Cave System.

12. Deed recorded November 21, 1849, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book G5, p.559.

13. Deed recorded September 12, 1849, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 158, p.11.

14. 'Dwelling Number 656, Family 946,' St. Louis, MO, 1850 Federal Census.

15. 1850 U.S. Census of Industry for St. Louis.

16. *ibid*.

17. Kargau, E. (1893) op. cit., pp.37-38.

18. 1852 *Morrison's St. Louis Directory*.

19. *Salter, Franz vs. Schneider, George*; 3 July 1852, St. Louis Circuit Court. Box 14, Folder 20.

20. *ibid*.

21. Compton, R. and Dry, C. (1876) *Illus. Pictorial St. Louis, the great metropolis of the Mississippi valley; a topographical survey drawn in perspective A.D. 1875*. St. Louis: Compton & Co.

22. *Salter, Franz vs. Schneider, George*; 31 July 1852, St. Louis Circuit Court. Box 14, Folder 22.

23. Deed of trust recorded 1 September 1852, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book K6, pp.299-301.

24. Mechanic's lien delivered on February 2, 1855, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 157, Pages 542-543.

25. 1853-54 Montague's Business Directory

26. *Degenhart, Joseph vs. Schneider, George*; 2 June 1853, St. Louis. Circuit Court. Box 15, Folder 38.

27. Contract recorded 6 August 1853, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book U6, pp.213-214. A Peter Lungstras is listed in the 1860 census of industry for St. Louis; it cannot be determined if this is the same individual, though it is likely: 'Lungstras & Co., \$20,000 capital invested; 15,000 bushels of barley, 20,000 bushels of hops, 14,000 bushels of coal, valued at \$15,000, \$3,000 and \$1,400 respectively; 10 horsepower steam engine; 10 employees with \$30 monthly payroll; 3,500 barrels of ale valued at \$28,000 and 3,000 barrels of beer valued at \$18,000.'

28. 'Delinquent Tax List,' *Missouri Daily Republican*, Vol. XXXII, No. 7 (10 January 1854) p.4.

29. Deed of sale recorded 4 October 1854 Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 152, pp.404-405.

30. Deed of sale recorded 7 September 1854, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 158, p.218.

31. Deed of title recorded 5 October 1854, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 158, p.11.

32. "Abstract of Proceedings of St. Louis County Court, 7 July 1856," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Vol. V, No. 173 (Monday Morning, 21 July 1856), p.2.

33. 1857 *Kennedy's Directory*.

34. Contract recorded 22 May 1857, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 185, p.486.

35. 'Local Matters – Beer,' *Daily Missouri Republican*, Vol. XXXV, No. 145 (21 June 1857), p.1.

36. 'Jungbier' in German is not easily translated into English, but is usually referred to as 'green beer,' which refers to beer that is newly fermented, and was not fully brewed. One must wonder what George Schneider was doing, and if this is from where the rumors of the poor quality of the beer arose, as well as tensions with his employer, Dr Hammer.

37. *Westliche Post*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1 October 1857), p.3.

38. 1859 *St. Louis City Directory*.

39. Kargau, E. (1893) op. cit., p.193.

40. 1860 *Kennedy's Directory*.

41. St. Louis Division, E.M.M. *A Complete List of Exempts in St. Louis Division*. St. Louis: R.P. Studley and Co. Printers, Binders and Lithographers, 1862.

42. *Braun, Carl*, Probate File #5973.

43. *ibid*.

44. *Rowie, Bernard vs. Schneider, George, Kuntz, Henry*, Administrator, and *Weyand, John Martin*; February 1866 Case 773, St. Louis Circuit Court. Box 31, Folder 14.

45. Ball, J.M. (1909) 'Dr Adam Hammer, Surgeon and Apostle of Higher Medical Education,' Lecture read on 19 May 1909 at Missouri State Medical Association, Jefferson City. p.20.

46. 'Household 543, Family 818.' St. Louis, MO, 1850 Federal Census.

47. Deed of sale recorded 29 November 1853 Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book A6, p.553.

48. Deed of sale recorded 27 December 1853 Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book T6, p.566.

49. Hemmeter, J.C. (1915) 'German-American Influence in Medicine and Surgery,' *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (September), p.291.

50. Ball, J.M. (1909) op. cit., p.158.

51. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) *The German Element in St. Louis: A Translation from German of Ernst D. Kargau's St. Louis in Former Years: A Commemorative History of the German Element*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., p.192.

52. *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Vol. 6, No. 26 (Saturday Morning, 31 January 1857), p.1.
53. Börnstein, H. trans. by Rowan, S. (1997) *Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866*. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, pp.11, 250-3.
54. 'The Anheuser-Busch, Otherwise Known as the Brewing Palace of the World,' *Mexico Weekly Ledger*, Vol. XXV, No. 30 (Thursday, 8 November 1883), p.3.
55. *The Sunday Republican* – *St. Louis*. 30 May 1858, p.1.
56. Contract recorded 22 May 1857, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 185, p.486.
57. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) op. cit., p.146.
58. 1857 *Kennedy's Directory*.
59. 'Local Matters – Beer,' *Daily Missouri Republican*, Vol. XXXV, No. 145 (21 June 1857), p.1.
60. What information that can be gleaned about Dominique Urban's life can be found in the 1860 Federal Census: 'Dominick Urban, 29 years old, City Assessor, personal assets, \$200, birthplace listed as France; "Household 1019, Family 1656." Wife Caroline, 23, born in New York; Julia, 2, born in MO; Adelia, 9 months, born in MO; servant Julia Schlate, 24, born in Denmark.'
61. Hammer, Charles et al. vs. Breidenbach, Henry, 5 December 1860, St. Louis Circuit Court, Missouri Supreme Court.
62. 1859 *St. Louis City Directory*.
63. Deed recorded September 24, 1859, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 220, pp.534-535.
64. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) op. cit. pp.12-13.
65. 'Dwelling 402, Family 576,' St. Louis, MO, 1850 Federal Census.
66. 'Dwelling 1285, Family 2848,' St. Louis, MO, 1860 Federal Census.
67. 'Dwelling 968, Family 1494,' St. Louis, MO, 1850 Federal Census.
68. *St. Louis Directory*, 1854-55.
69. 1859 *Kennedy's St. Louis Directory*.
70. *ibid*.
71. 'Household 717, Family 993,' St. Louis, MO 1860 Federal Census.
72. 1860 U.S. Census of Industry for St. Louis.
73. Garlicks, Frederic A.H; Beck, Nimrod; Fisher, George W. vs. Hammer, Adam and Urban, Dominique; 22 October 1859, #782, St. Louis Circuit Court. Box 25, Folder 55.
74. Notice of loan default, January 14, 1860, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 235, pp.332-333.
75. The claim that Eberhard Anheuser extended a \$90,000 loan is clearly apocryphal. See: Krebs, R. and Orthwein, P.J. (1953). op. cit., p.18.
76. *Daily Missouri Republican*, 30 May 1860.
77. 1860 U.S. Census of Industry for St. Louis. The monthly payroll of \$30 is too low and must surely be a mistake.
78. 1860 U.S. Census of Industry for St. Louis.
79. 'Dwelling 7321, Family 1518,' St. Louis, MO, 1860 Federal Census. The 1850 Federal Census for Charles Gottschalk lists his first wife, business partner and profession: 'C.W. Gottschalk, 24, Jeweler; Carolina, 22; Kossuth, 8 months; Edward Peyenghaus, 30; all born in Germany except child, born in MO; "Dwelling 147, Family 296."'
80. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) op. cit. pp.109, 145, 158-9.
81. *ibid*. p.133.
82. 1860 *Kennedy's Directory*.
83. 'Dwelling 1476, Family 3610,' St. Louis, MO 1860 Federal Census.
84. Ball, J.M. (1909) op. cit., pp.159-160.
85. Faust, A. (1909) *The German Element in St. Louis*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909. p.531.
86. Börnstein, H. trans. by Rowan, S. (1997) op. cit., p.287.
87. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) op. cit. p.141.
88. Streckfuß, W. (1998) 'Adam Hammer, 1818-1878: ein badischer Achtundvierziger'. Sinsheim: Heimatverein Kraichgau, p.87.
89. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) op. cit. p.172.
90. 'A Surprise Party,' *The St. Louis Republican*, No. 17, 011 (29 September 1876), p.5.
91. Gale, A. (2016) 'Adam Hammer, MD, The St. Louis Physician Who Made the First-Ever Diagnosis of Coronary Thrombosis and Acute Myocardial Infarction in a Living Patient,' *St Louis Metropolitan Medicine*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (April/May), pp.21-22.
92. Kargau, E. and Tolzmann, D.H. (Eds.) Bek, W.G. (trans.) (2000) op. cit. p.192.
93. Ball, J.M. (1909) op. cit., p.20.
94. Deed recorded 24 September 1859, Recorder, Louisiana Territory, Book D, pp.92-93.
95. Deed of sale recorded 9 July 1863, Recorder of Deeds Office, City of St. Louis, Book 278, pp.216-217.
96. Transfer of Property on 16 July 1875, filed by Recorder in Book 570, pp.37-38.