



A PORTRAIT IN SEPIA

To absent friends

A PORTRAIT IN SEPIA

The Wöhlers of Gotland

by

Michael Dunev Wöhler

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The photograph	1
The beginnings	9
Johann Wilhelm Mathias and his descendants	13
Hellmuth Wöhler: The founder of the Gotland line	21
Willy Wöhler: The conservationist heir	33
Mexico: German commercial traders in Sinaloa	39
The Wöhlers in Mexico: Alfred and Alfredo Wöhler	51
Helmuth Wöhler: The Agronomist	73
Children of Helmuth Wöhler: Helmuth and don Carlos	79
The daughters of Carlos Wöhler and Elsa Lindqvist	89
Marie, Julie, Charlotte & Emil Wöhler	101
Helga's letter to don Carlos	111
Proclamations by King Rudolph	121
Translations of Revolutionary Broad­sides, 1849	123
The Wöhler Family	129
The Störzel Family	149
The Passow Family	169
The Herlitz Family	175
The Gerle Family	183
The Hellman-Gerle family	197
The Lindqvist Family	203
Boris Dunev and the origins of Robert Dunev	207
Epilogue: A tree in Gotland	231
The Wöhler Chart	235
Bibliography	239
Index	255



Standing, left to right:

*Emile Wöhler, Marie Wöhler Altsmann, Hans Altsmann, Maria Herlitz Wöhler,
Wilhelm 'Willy' Wöhler, Otto von Bonelli*

Seated, left to right:

*Alfred Wöhler, Charlotte Wöhler Giese, Helmuth Wöhler, Emilie Störzel Wöhler,
Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler, Julie Wöhler von Bonelli*

THE PHOTOGRAPH

My grandfather, don Carlos Wöhler, passed away in December 1982 at the age of ninety-four; my grandmother died the following month. Their Madrid home of fifty years was kept open as a pied-à-terre by my aunt until 1986 when following her husband's retirement from the Diplomatic Service they returned to Spain and settled in. Eighteen years later, they too, had passed away and I was summoned to clean out the flat and try to salvage any personal items that might be of interest to the family. I arrived and took stock of what there was. Although my aunt and her husband had lived there for many years, the flat still retained much of the look it had when her parents were alive. Some of the furniture had been replaced, but other items, wall hangings, tables, and couches remained just as they were during my grandparents' time.

Hanging in the sunlit parlour was an elegantly framed sepia-toned photograph that showed a family of comfortable means seated and standing before the painted backdrop of a photographer's studio. It had been taken in 1882 by Augusto Baroni, a prominent nineteenth century photographer based in the Italian Alpine lakeside resort of Riva del Garda. I grabbed the photograph and placed it in a box containing other family portraits, my grandfather's photo albums, and the notes he had kept, research into his ancestors' lives, painstakingly compiled throughout his life. A year later, I decided to put some order into my grandfather's files and retrieved the box from storage. First to emerge was the framed photograph that had hung in his Madrid flat, behind which, my grandfather had identified each of the subjects with his small, precise handwriting. But apart from their names, I knew very little about them.

Who were these people? Where did they come from? What happened to their lives and who were their descendants? Hellmuth Wöhler, the respectable paterfamilias with his legs crossed and arm comfortably draped over the back of the chair was only sixty-two years old when the photograph was taken, but he had lived a full life. Rising through the ranks of the postal service as a young man, he then entered into politics to serve in his country's first democratic parliament. Its revolutionary ideas, however, gave rise to a brutal repression that drove him to exile and he had to start again from scratch in his adopted Gotland, building a business to unimagined success. Sitting to his right, his wife looks away from the camera, perhaps temporarily distracted the moment the shutter clicked. Beside her sits her stepson, Helmuth, ramrod straight and looking directly at the camera. He was an agricultural engineer, deeply committed to farmers' causes, who led a crusade for better conditions that earned him the respect of the community. To his left is his sister Charlotte, who married an eminent judge in Rostock and had four children: three daughters and a son, a member of the Nazi party, whose wife and three daughters all died within 24 hours of each other during the final hours of Berlin as it fell to invading Soviet troops. Alfred, the second son, sits at end. He made his life in Mexico, establishing, with his cousins, one of the most successful and profitable commercial houses on the Pacific Coast. But his success came at a price. His first wife and child died shortly after childbirth, and the son he had with his second wife took over the family business during times of extreme political uncertainty: first the Mexican Revolution, then the hardships imposed by commercial blockades during World War I, and finally, to the loss of everything during World War II.

Standing behind them is Emil, the youngest of the brothers. He would die young in Mexico leaving no descendants. His sister Marie stands close to her husband, his arm tucked into his coat, Bonaparte-style. Her left hand on his shoulder, they have made a life of their own and stand apart from the others. Next, a young lady rests an affectionate hand on the old man's shoulder while her husband stands somewhat apart, gaz-

ing away from the camera with the arrogant confidence of an heir. Willy took over the family estate and became a pioneer in land conservation and wildlife preservation before losing it all to auction in 1897. Beside him, a major in the uniform of Emperor Franz Joseph's army, his left hand on his sabre, stands over Julie, his young fiancée.

It was a family destined to disperse. At the time the photograph was taken only two Wöhlers, Willy and his brother Helmuth, remained in Gotland. The others had all left. Alfred and Emil had departed for Mexico, and the patriarch's three daughters would soon be married and settled in Germany and Austria. None of them left surviving Wöhlers. Julie, who had married the dashing Major-General, had two children, but their descendants vanished in the tumultuous war-torn decades of twentieth century Europe. Marie married a Jewish businessman and had two boys: one died aged nine and the other perished at the front during The Great War. Willy had seven children, but only two preserved the surname; Guimo emigrated and had five surviving sons, each with a long list of descendants in Mexico, and Karl Helmuth had two children—his son Karl-Vilhelm is the last in the twenty-first century to carry the surname of Wöhler in Sweden.

As with all families, this is a story of heroes and villains, winners and losers, a tale compiled over a lifetime by my grandfather, don Carlos Wöhler, whose keen interest in history and the peripatetic vagaries of his ancestors impelled him to gather this material and put it to record. Perhaps it was his life as an expatriate in Spain, as a stranger in a strange land, what sharpened his desire to strengthen the ties with his people. Or maybe it was his keen interest in history and his engineer's training what gave him the intellectual curiosity and discipline to put into order the various assorted facts and documents that give shape to this story.



Don Carlos Wöhler, ca. 1931

But there remained significant lacunae in his files. Missing amongst his papers was information on the lives of those that came before his great-grandfather, the personal details of his own grandfather's life in exile, or those who left for Mexico. Intrigued by these gaps, I continued his research, using tools available to me that did not exist in his lifetime. The internet has enabled me to track down church records, travel documents, newspaper articles or photographs, and the copious written material available online has provided me with much additional information. Yet perhaps its greatest value has been the ability to locate and connect with long-lost family members, many of whom have added significantly to the tale. And a trip to the Harz Mountains in Germany revealed a long and detailed genealogy of the Wöhlers going back to the sixteenth century, people of whom don Carlos knew nothing.

Wondering about the fate of Alfredo Wöhler, don Carlos's cousin in Mexico, I contacted Jorge Antonio Wöhler, Guimo's youngest son. He replied that, to his knowledge, his father had helped Alfredo liquidate his estate after the war and that he had moved to the US. Unconvinced, I continued to search, eventually tracking down a news item on the accidental death in a car crash of Alfredo's adopted daughter. A deeper look revealed her death certificate, and through it, the name of her son. Following this lead, I sought out her son, sending out numerous emails and letters to the places he had worked over the years, all of which remained unanswered. Finally, one day I received a reply. I had found him, but he knew nothing of his grandparents' lives. Nonetheless, he had been storing boxes of documents for years, uncertain of what to do with them, and our communication had sparked his curiosity.

The material that emerged from those boxes was an historian's dream. Filled with political minutiae and business correspondence, the files revealed a snapshot of the activities of German commercial houses in Mexico going back to the 1840s. Prussian consular files itemised exports to San Francisco and other ports, listing products, quantities, fair market values and the names and origins of the ships that carried them

as well as those of their masters. They also included complaints, such as the one filed against the Mazatlán harbour master by Prussian and other ship owners for the loss of their vessels at his orders during the United States invasion in 1848, or the one against government authorities for the deaths that November of the head stevedore and his crew, attacked on the beach by an armed party “of some forty riders” after salvaging the cargo of the stricken Prussian-owned brig ‘Hawaiian Carlota,’ hard on the rocks off Isla Santa María. Or the reports of the five sailors found drifting in a boat, deserters from the Prussian frigate ‘Emma Stein,’ allegedly guilty of some crime for which they were apprehended and turned over to the authorities, or the report of the death of Michael Brenner in October 1861, a twenty year-old seaman from Winterthur, Switzerland, who perished of the injuries sustained after falling from the mast of the steamship ‘Sirena’ during manoeuvres casting off from Talcahuano harbour in Chile. And there was more. Documents uncovered in those boxes brought his grandparents back to life, fleshing out in extraordinary detail, with letters, legal documents and a large photographic archive, the lives they shared and the heartbreaking difficulties they faced during their final years.

Who were the dozen individuals gathered that day in 1882 at Augusto Baroni’s studio in Riva del Garda? In the search for answers I have added data gleaned from historical archives, ships’ manifests, border crossings, census data and on-line genealogical sites to my grandfather’s files, unravelling, string by string, the complex web of circumstance that places them together in that space and time. But much still remains a mystery. Although we know little of their dreams and disappointments or their loves and disaffections, their stories remind us that the trials we experience in the course of our lives change little from century to century.

CHAPTER ONE



GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS

The Wöhlers of Gotland can be traced directly to a family of farmers that for generations lived in a few villages on the northern slope of the Harz Mountains, in the ancient Duchy of Braunschweig, predominantly in the villages of Wasserleben, Suderode (today Wülperode), Wernigerode, and Stapelburg.

THE BEGINNINGS

In April 1934, shortly before she died, Marie Alstmann (née Wöhler) sent her nephew don Carlos several documents she had received from her great-niece Irmgard von Bonelli. Irmgard's father, the Viennese notary, Dr Helmuth Bonelli, had passed away the prior year, and amongst his papers were documents unearthed by him in the archives of Eger (modern Cheb, in the Czech Republic). One was a proclamation issued in 1290 by Rudolf, the first Habsburg king of the Holy Roman Empire, that gave Konrad and Franz Höfer the villages of Hart and Kötschwitz with their respective mills. In another, from 1385, Niklas de Walther von Hof is granted a mass to be sung in his name in perpetuity for donations given to the Church, in particular to the Order of the Holy Cross with the Red Star (*Kreuzherren mit dem Roten Stern*).



What relevance do these documents have to the family history? Relics from the Holy Cross were common throughout mediaeval Europe when returning Crusaders, having picked them up as souvenirs in the Holy Land, gave them to their local churches. Although the original documents probably perished in the last years of WWII—don Carlos's papers being photocopies of photographs—other documents pertaining to Niklas de Walther remain extant in the archives of the Waldsassen Cloister, the powerful Cistercian abbey from the Přemyslid dynasty of Bohemia (ninth to fourteenth centuries) that saw the consolidation of German Christian culture around Eger. It is unclear what connection Bonelli found between this fourteenth century citizen of Eger and the rest of the family, perhaps he was an ancestor of the Von Hofes of Wasserleben.

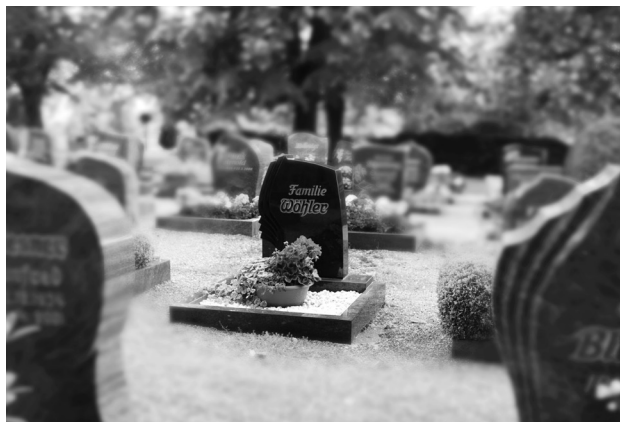
Regrettably, many direct links these individuals may have had with the family have been erased by the passing of time and the destruction wrought by centuries of wars. Nonetheless, the beginnings of the Wöhler family can be found in the south of the ancient Duchy of Braunschweig, in central Germany, where spread out along the northern flank of the Harz Mountains a group of small towns and villages snuggles beneath the forested slopes of a range that spreads over a hundred kilometres with elevations reaching 1000 metres above sea level. Once, the entire area was covered by old-growth forest, but in the centuries since the collapse of the Roman Empire the inhabitants have gradually cleared the land for agriculture, and to the villages they settled they added the toponymic *rode*, indicating where a clearing of the forest had taken place. It is in the villages of Suderode (today Wülperode) and Wernigerode where the Wöhlers first appeared and it is almost certain that all the Wöhlers are of the same origin.

The earliest recorded entry for a Wöhler occurs in 1560, where in the ancient monastery town of Drübeck, Joaquim Wöhler's birth is registered. By 1589, at age 29, he was living six and a half kilometres away in Wernigerode, marrying a 25 year-old local girl named Gertrude on 10 September with whom he came to have five children. Wernigerode saw the birth of three successive generations of Joaquim Wöhlers: Joaquim and Gertrude's second son, Joaquim, was born in 1601 and by the time he'd reached the age of 26 he had married Margarethe Heidecke from Minsleben, aged 24, who gave him five children, the eldest of which, called Joaquim, was born in 1628. This one married the 16 year-old Anna Heinecke in 1648 and also had a son called Joaquim, born in 1664, who in turn married Ilse Christine Schrader in 1692 and moved to Wasserleben, where he became the village *schafmeister*, or sheep farm overseer, a profession that, by managing the flocks of different breeders, offered substantial financial benefits.

Joaquim and Ilse Christine had six children, none of which was called Joaquim, ending thus four generations of Joaquim Wöhlers. Their

youngest, Johann Michel, was born in 1711. A *schafmeister* like his father, by the age of 33 he had married Anna Lucia Müller and moved to the neighbouring village of Stapelburg, where her family owned property. A month after their wedding Anna Lucia gave birth to a daughter and the future seemed bright, but two years later she had succumbed to illness and died unexpectedly at the age of 35. Their young daughter, Anna Catherina, needed a mother, so Johann Michel returned to Wasserleben to court the wealthy Catharina Sofia von Hof, the daughter of an illustrious family of smiths who for many generations had been armourers to the Royal Court. Johann Michel and Anna Catherina were married in Stapelburg and over the next sixteen years she would give birth to five children. In 1756 their third child, Johann Wilhelm, was born. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was the village *schafmeister*, marrying the 21 year-old Maria Elisabeth Bartels who gave him eleven children, the second of which, Johann Wilhelm Mathias, was born in 1786.

It is with Johann Wilhelm Mathias that our story begins to take shape.



Wöhler family gravestone, Suderode, Germany

Johann Wilhelm Mathias Wöhler And His Descendants

The French Revolution had unnerved many European monarchs, concerned that the growing unrest in France would infect their own countries. But it was Napoleon's brilliant military tactics and the seemingly unstoppable victories in the battlefield he enjoyed after crossing the Rhine what alarmed his neighbours into taking a united action. Despite the combined efforts of the Third and Fourth Coalitions (Britain, Saxony, Sweden, Prussia, and Russia), by 1806 Napoleon had defeated the Prussian army at Jena and was advancing through Saxony on his way to Berlin. His Grande Armée, over half a million strong, swept through the countryside like a swarm of locusts, devouring everything in its path. To feed an army this size required constant requisitions, and men of military age faced obligatory conscription into the ranks.

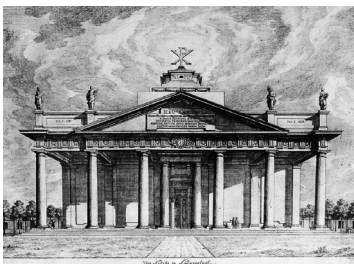
In Stapelburg, Johann read the news with increasing apprehension. His family enjoyed the comfortable life of prosperous landed burghers and he was completing his musical studies in Wernigerode. But the prospect of induction into Napoleon's army hung over him like a shadow, and that year the twenty year-old Johann made a decision that would change his life forever. He fled Stapelburg, leaving the Harz Mountains of his ancestors to make his way north to Stralsund, on the Baltic coast of Mecklenburg, which together with the adjacent Isle of Rügen had since 1648 been a part of Swedish Pomerania. Although likely apocryphal, since regular ferry services linked the island to Stralsund, family lore tells the story of his diving into the sea and swimming to Rügen, only a few hundred metres from shore, where he found refuge from the advancing French forces.

Impressed by Johann’s musical abilities, the Evangelical Seminary of the Lutheran Church secured a position for him in Gingst, a small village of low lying houses set amongst gently rolling fields in central Rügen. At one end of a broad, open plaza sits the fourteenth century church of Sankt-Jacob, a soaring gothic building built of brick, set within a large park of centuries-old trees adjacent to the village graveyard. Appointed organist and cantor at Sankt-Jacob, Johann moved next-door into the Kantorhaus, built in 1730, where he would develop his talents while performing at church services and special holidays on the magnificent baroque organ that Christian Kindten had installed in 1790.

On a spit of land fourteen kilometres to the north lay the Posthaus Wittow, to which the weekly packet boats from Sweden regularly delivered the mail. Johann fell in love with the Royal Swedish Postal Inspector’s granddaughter, the twenty year-old Marie Charlotte Peters, and in 1811, when Johann was 25 years-old, the two were married. For the next nine years they would live at the Kantorhaus in Gingst and have six children, of which only four survived infancy.

The Prince of Putbus, Wilhelm Malte I, was of a noble family that for centuries had ruled over Rügen. A keen melophile and aesthete, he is remembered for his extensive building activity—the town of Putbus still retains many of the neo-classical buildings he erected. Sharing an intense interest in music and both being approximately the same age, it is likely the Prince and Johann would have met. In 1820 the position of Musical Director of Ludwigslust, the capital of the Duchy of Mecklenburg-

Schwerin, had recently been left vacant, and that year, at the Prince’s recommendation, the Grand Duke Friedrich Franz I appointed Johann to the post of Musical Director and Court Cantor at the Ludwigsluster Hofkirche, on the palace grounds. Johann took his family to Ludwigslust and by 1824 had



Ludwigsluster Hofkirche

been promoted chief organist at the Hofkirche, remaining there for nineteen years whilst teaching at the Ludwigscluster Seminary, a post he held until 1853. An active contributor to the 'Latin School' in Ludwigslust, he is remembered for composing musical textbooks such as *Melodies and Hymn Books of the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin*.

Johann died in 1873 at the age of 87. Marie Charlotte would pass away seven years later, at 88. Together they would have ten children. Six left records of their lives, two died in infancy in Gingst and of two more no trace remains. Their lives are sketched below:

1. Maria Carolina Wöhler was their first, born within a year of their marriage; she died before her fourth birthday.

2. In 1814 their second child was born. Named Johann Wilhelm Wöhler, he was six years old when his family moved to Ludwigslust. In 1836 he began his studies at the University of Rostock, and four years later, at the age of twenty-six, was appointed Deputy Director in Ludwigslust, earning his doctorate in Kiel the following year. By 1842 he was a teacher at the Schwerin Preparatory School, moving to Malchin two years later to take the position of pastor at the church, later becoming its rector. He married Cordula Maria Banck, daughter of a merchant from Stralsund, with whom he had five children.

Their first child, Cordula Maria Augusta, was born in Malchin in 1845. In August 1864 she traveled with her family to Thuringia, Bavaria, Tyrol, and Switzerland, seeing the splendour and sacrality of the Catholic worship for the first time, an experience that deeply impressed the 19 year-old Cordula. After another holiday to southern Germany with her parents in 1868 she decided to convert to the Catholic faith, and the following year Cordula declared her emancipation and converted to Catholicism. Her father, a Lutheran pastor, reacted violently to her



Cordula Peregrina

decision and evicted Cordula from the family home. She left Malchin and entered into service on a farm in Tyrol. Later, she worked in a bakery and a shoe-maker's. In May 1870, under the pseudonym 'Cordula Peregrina,' she composed her most famous poem, *Blessed Mary, Bless Me, Your Child*. That July she joined the Catholic Church in the Black Forest town of Freiburg im Breisgau, where three days later she received Holy Communion and was confirmed into

the Church. Returning to the Tyrol in March 1871, she worked with the priest Lukas Tolpeit at the parish of Eben am Achensee. She then moved in with a young couple on the Freundsberg in Schwaz, where she worked in a pastry shop for five months while she revised her book of poetry, *What the Eternal Light tells: Poems on the Most Holy Altar Sacrament*.

This first volume saw twenty-five editions printed, assuring her widespread recognition as a religious poet. Under the spiritual leadership of the Franciscan priest Arsenius Niedrist, she published other books of prose and poetry. In 1876, Josef Anton Schmid from Oberstaufen in the Allgäu wrote to the poet asking for a 'devout poem' for a plaque he wanted to dedicate to the Jesuit Father Jakob Rem at his birthplace in Bregenz. In the intensive correspondence that followed they discovered the depth of their mutually shared beliefs and, despite never having personally met, became engaged to be married. Schmid and Cordula married in Riezlern in Kleinwalsertal and moved to Bregenz. In 1881, they moved to Schwaz, where they acquired a house on Innsbrucker Strasse and later adopted two orphans. Throughout her life Cordula continued her work as a religious

poet and she and her husband were both devoted activists in the Catholic parish. She died on 6 February 1916; her husband followed her on May 25 of the same year. Both are buried on the south wall of the parish church of Schwaz. According to her epitaph she was the recipient of the Papal Cross of Honour *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*.

Johann Wilhelm and Cordula had four more children, three of which died as infants.

Sophia, born in 1847, died as a toddler aged two. A year later her four month-old brother Carl died, followed the next day by his two year-old brother, Johannes. Two years later, in 1852, Clara Marie was born. She would survive infancy but would die a year after her wedding at the age of nineteen.

Perhaps turning to his religious convictions by these tragic losses, in 1852 Johann took the post of second pastor in the town church of Ribnitz, and in 1856 he became the pastor in Lichtenhagen, where he worked until 1879. In 1867, together with Willi Pitschner, a music teacher at the Ludwigsluster Seminar, he published a book of his father's choral works, *Melodies to the hymnals in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, for school and domestic use*.

3. Maria Dorothea Wöhler, Johann Wilhelm Mathias and Marie Charlotte's third child, was stillborn in 1815.

4. The following year Caroline Christine Wöhler was born in Gingst. At the age of twenty-nine Caroline married Johann Peter Hermann Dabis, the pastor at Bobbin, in Rügen, with whom she had three children: Wilhelm, Anna, and Therese Dabis.

Notorious during his university days for duelling with sabres, Wilhelm, the eldest, worked as a librarian in Berlin until 1869,



St. Pauli Church, Bobbin, Rügen

emigrating to the United States sometime around 1872. Anna, born circa 1847 (the 1901 Census Returns give her date of birth as 1850-51), moved to Britain sometime before 1881, where she worked as a teacher. She also studied sculpture under Édouard Lantéri at the National Art Training School, South Kensington, in the mid-1880s, earning a silver medal for her sculpture 'Caryatid' in the National Competition of 1885. The following year she exhibited a bronzed figure on a frieze and between 1888-95 she showed at the Royal Academy. Her known works include a bronzed plaster bust of Frida Mond, in the collection of King's College London (the sculpture was gifted by Lady Gollancz in 1930). Dabis and Frida Mond were both members of the English Goethe Society and the Folklore Society. At Frida Mond's death in 1923, Anna Dabis received a lifetime annuity of £300 per annum (which under the terms of the will was to be transferred on Dabis's death to a Dr. Heinrich Hirtz in Ellenberg, Germany). A committed suffragette, in 1889 Dabis signed the *Declaration in Favour of Women's Suffrage*. She also published a translation of a selection of the fairy stories collected by Ernst Moritz Arndt, under the title *Fairy Tales from the Island of Rügen* (published by

D. Nutt, London, 1896). The volume is dedicated to Frida Mond. Anna's sister Therese, born 1853, also moved to England. According to her obituary, prepared by Newnham College, the women's college at the University of Cambridge, both her parents died young and she and her siblings were raised by an aunt and uncle. She read Classics at Newnham College from 1880 and was Lecture/Professor in Classics at Royal Holloway College from 1887 to 1899.



*Bust of Frida Mond
by Anna Dabis*

Alfredo Wöhler wrote in 1941 of having met the sisters at his mother's home in Hamburg, describing them as "unattractive old spinsters... Anna Dabis visited us several times, much to my regret, because she was rather awful. She lived most of the time in London and was an amateur-sculptress; during one of her visits she made a very poor clay-relief of my father, which possibly exists still in my mother's home."

5. Gotthard Wöhler, the fifth of Johann Wilhelm Mathias and Marie Charlotte's children born in Rügen, followed his father's musical interests to become a composer renowned for his *lieden*. As a music teacher he moved to Hungary, becoming Director of the Conservatory of Music of Budapest, a position he held for life.

6. The last of the children born in Gingst was Hellmuth Friedrich, born in 1820. He would grow up to be the bearded patriarch of the Riva portrait and his life will be explored in the next chapter.

In Ludwigslust, Johann Wilhelm Mathias and Marie Charlotte had four more children—three girls and a boy—but little is known of their lives.

7. The eldest, Sophia Maria Elizabeth Wöhler, married in Ludwigslust on 10 October 1845 to Adolph Leberecht Schulz from Perleberg, a city north of Wittenberg, who became a pharmacist in Berlin. They had a daughter (name unknown), another daughter named Gertrud, and a son, named Johannes, who owned a copra plantation in the German New Guinea which he lost during World War I. He visited Mazatlán in 1886 and in 1905 was in Hamburg. In 1920 he corresponded with his cousin Alfred Wöhler in Mexico requesting money for a partnership scheme in a new plantation in New Guinea. He later married a Malay woman.

8. Next came Therese Luise Augusta Wöhler, born 1831. At age 23 she married Phillip Theodor Christoph August Ockel in Greifswald, having a son who was military doctor for the 'Dragoons of Lüneburg.'

Two more children were born in Ludwigslust, but they left no trace:

9. Emilie Marie Henriette Wöhler (b. 1834)

10. Gustaf Adolf Wöhler (b. 1836).

CHAPTER THREE

Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler: The founder of the Gotland line
(Gingst, Rügen, 28.3.1820 – Sterzing, Tyrol, 21.8.1899)

Seen sitting in the family portrait with legs crossed and a mourning button on his lapel, Hellmuth Wöhler was only a few months old in 1820 when his father moved the family from Gingst, in the isle of Rügen, to Ludwigslust, having been appointed by the Grand Duke Friedrich Franz I to the post of Musical Director and Court Cantor at the Royal Chapel. He grew up in Ludwigslust surrounded by members of the Court until 1837, when the Grand Duke Paul Friedrich succeeded his grandfather to the throne and moved the capital to Schwerin.

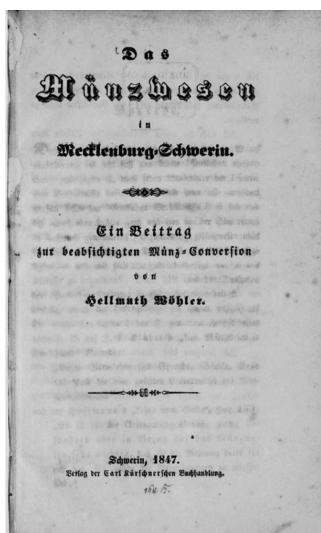


*Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler
Riva del Garda, 1882*

Little is known of his early schooling, but by 1837 Hellmuth was completing his studies at the Gymnasiums of Parchim or Ludwigslust, and that year he moved to Schwerin, where he enrolled at the Schwerin Hochschule, graduating in 1843 at the age of twenty-three.

After graduation, Hellmuth began his professional career as a postal clerk in Schwerin. Carl Georg Störzel, who would make his career in the Postal Service, was the son of the Finance Minister for the Grand Duke, and he worked as a clerk at another office. Although six years older than Hellmuth, the two became friends and he introduced Hellmuth to his 19 year-old sister Henriette. The two fell in love and began what would be a four-year courtship. In 1845 the book dealer C. Kürschner of Schwerin published *Two Love Songs*, a suite of poems by Hoff-

mann von Fallersleben transcribed by Hellmuth Wöhler in counterpoint with piano arrangement for the left hand, a gift of love to his betrothed that demonstrated he had inherited from his father his musical abilities.



The Coinage of Mecklenburg-Schwerin by Hellmuth Wöhler

But Wöhler had political ambitions. In January 1847 he published *The Coinage of Mecklenburg-Schwerin: A contribution to the projected coin conversion*, an 88-page treatise analysing the projected monetary changes with an incendiary rhetoric that foreshadowed his career in Parliament. Later that year he was promoted to Postal Auditor for the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, a post of significantly greater authority that offered the financial and professional stability to allow him and Henriette to bring their courtship to an end and finally celebrate their marriage.

Known as the ‘Year of Revolutions’, 1848 was a difficult time to start a family in Europe. The industrial expansion of the late 1840s and the rising food prices resulting from a succession of poor harvests had wrought economic depression across the continent. On 24 February King Louis Philippe of France was overthrown and the new technology of the telegraph quickly spread the news. One of the first responses came from Mannheim, 20 kilometres east of Freinsheim, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where a *Badische Volksversammlung* (Baden People’s Assembly) adopted a resolution on 27 February demanding a bill of rights. Similar resolutions were adopted in Württemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and other areas. In Munich, the capital of Bavaria, thousands of citizens agreed on a list of demands which they presented to King Ludwig I on 3 March, prompting the monarch to abdicate three days later in favour of his son, Maximilian II.

Frankfurt Parliament then retired to Stuttgart, where from 6-8 June, they sat as a *Rumpfparlament* (Rump Parliament). This parliament's inflammatory demands sparked the Baden and Palatinate Uprisings, disturbances that led Maximilian to ask Prussia for military help in suppressing them. The Prussian Army promptly intervened and dissolved the Parliament, inciting further armed uprisings by workers, farmers, artisans and students in the Rhineland, Westphalia, Saxony, the Palatinate, and Baden. But they too, were suppressed by the military, and leaders and participants, if caught, were executed or sentenced to long prison terms.

The harsh Prussian retaliation for the May and June uprisings in Baden had other consequences. On 5 June the Cabinet Council Minister Karl Prosch (whose brother was married to Ida Störzel, the cousin of Hellmuth's wife Henriette) dismissed Wöhler from public office. Together with Reinhard, Hellmuth filed a protest against the Mecklenburg State Government for what he considered an illegal dismissal of his mandate for his progressive convictions. It also cost him his job at the Postal Service. He was fired from his post in 1850 and charged with criminal sedition. Protected by his father-in-law, the Finance Minister Georg Störzel, he retired to an estate in Warin belonging to the Grand Duke, where he worked as administrator to his large agricultural properties while waiting out the results of his upcoming trial.

The trial concluded in the spring of 1852 with a conviction for high treason and Hellmuth was sentenced to prison, a term he did not have to serve, having secured a pardon from the Grand Duke Friedrich Franz II. Although many members of the dissolved Parliament had fled to exile in Switzerland or the United States, Hellmuth's position seemed secure under the Grand Duke's aegis. Nonetheless, the Prussians continued to persecute him—a poor hapless wine merchant in Schwerin with the same name was jailed by mistake—and it became increasingly clear that life in Mecklenburg had become unsustainable. Hoping to build his future elsewhere, Hellmuth moved his pregnant wife and children to Denmark.

In January the following year Henriette's term was coming due and they returned to Schwerin, where she could be attended by her family's doctors. But complications followed, and after giving birth to Helmuth, their fourth child, Henriette passed away. Her loss was a terrible blow to the 33 year-old Wöhler, out of a job, with four young children in tow and few prospects before him.



Henriette Störzel

For over a century the Donner family had cornered much of the shipping and trade in Gotland, having seized the opportunities that arose when trade to and from the island was deregulated. Although originally from Lübeck, the family had settled in Visby, where under the direction of the indefatigable widow, Greta Donner, the company grew into a sizeable commercial empire. By the time of her death in 1774 the Donners controlled the ports of Visby and Klintehamn, had built a considerable fleet, and owned extensive properties throughout the island. Over the next seventy years the family expanded its reach to cover the entire western Baltic, but by 1845 Greta's descendants found themselves overextended and the business went into bankruptcy.

One of the Donner properties in Gotland was Donnerhov, in Klinte Parish. Originally purchased by Jacob Niclas Donner in 1777, it consisted of 300 hectares (739 acres) of partially cultivated land and a forest of aspen and linden trees with a large stone house on a meadow. On 28 June 1853, Donnerhov was put up for public auction along with all its agricultural implements, horses, bovines, and sheep. Hellmuth Wöhler might have learnt of the Company's difficulties through his mother's connections in Rügen, where the Donner ships regularly called at the Posthaus Wittow, or perhaps it was through the Donner's own extensive family links to Lübeck and Schwerin, where many still lived. Whatever the



Klintebys farmhouse, Gotland, Sweden, 2005

case, Hellmuth put in the winning bid and took possession of the property, followed the next month by the acquisition of adjacent lands from the rector J. N. Cramér.

Taking his sister-in-law Emilie as governess, Hellmuth moved to Gotland and installed his family in their new home, which he renamed Klintebys. On 7 August 1854 he placed a notice in the local paper announcing his marriage to the daughter of the Cabinet Minister of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Emilie Störzel. His daughter Julie was born a year later, and over the next four years Emilie would give birth to two more children: Emil and Charlotte.



Emilie Störzel, ca. 1910

Ambitious and entrepreneurial, his first efforts went to the management of the land, opening new fields to cultivation and the installation of a sawmill to harvest his extensive forests. He cultivated friendships with prominent members of the community, including several of the Donners, his neighbours Lars Cramér and Karl Wilhlem Herlitz, the

General Manager of Donner & Ibres Co., whose daughter Marie would later marry Hellmuth's eldest son, Willy.

In 1856 Wöhler announced the opening of the 'Klintebys Brewery,' offering Bavarian-style beer produced with newly-hired imported German brewers. The local press reviewed it the following year with praise for its combination of "clarity with strength, and lack of an exaggerated bitterness," listing the brewery's prices as follows:

Swedish beer: 6 SK per bottle

Light beer: 8 SK, per bottle

Strong beer: 9 SK per bottle

Fat beer: 10 SK per litres

The success of the brewery was soon followed by the opening of a distillery, producing much-lauded *aquavit*, brandy distilled first from his own grains and potatoes, and later with those purchased from local farmers. Wöhler's entrepreneurial efforts were well received by a local community grateful for the job opportunities they offered, and during the early years he was favourably depicted in the local press. Over time, Wöhler introduced new techniques for the preparation of butter and cheese, demonstrated how sugar beets could produce syrup comparable to commercially available cane syrup, stimulating the cultivation of this crop in the area. In 1858, together with Cramér and Herlitz, he campaigned for and established a medical station in Klinte. The next year he hosted H. R. H. the Duke of Östergötland at Klintebys, a connection that soon had him on the board of directors of numerous agricultural and banking associations, including the National Maritime Association and the Gotland Mortgage Association. His enterprising



Klintebys brewery, ca. 1870

spirit during these years earned him a considerable fortune and soon he began to look for other businesses. In 1862 he auctioned off the brewery to his employees and, two years later, the entire agricultural inventory of Klintebys, keeping for himself the distillery, a steam mill for grinding grain and the steam-powered sawmill. With Karl Wilhelm Herlitz, he opened a bath house on a piece of property in Klintehamn, offering accommodations to the summer visitors that arrived on the twice-weekly stage coach from Visby.

But the tide turned following the Second Schleswig War of 1864, when Wöhler's pro-Prussian stance was perceived as treasonous to the Swedish cause, which had favoured Denmark. In January 1866 spurious accounts aimed at discrediting Wöhler's business activities appeared in the *Visby-Post*. A letter to the editor by a certain 'Klintebo' alleging problems at the sawmill prompted an indignant reply from Wöhler, who called it a "complete falsehood, published either to damage an institution that does all to protect our forests and prepare Klintehamn's lumber exports for the better, [...] or to unfairly blame my former manager of the mill, a man who has always excelled in his work". On the 3rd of August a letter in German by Hellmuth Wöhler—signed 'a former Member of the Frankfurt Parliament'—was published by the *Gotland Läns nyaste Tidning* in which he wrote, "[to] all Germans living in Sweden who are of the opinion that the victory of the Prussian weapons must finally lead to the unification and rejuvenation of Germany, I ask for a gift of love for the wounded of the brave Prussian Army," requesting they send wine, cigars, fruit, and the like to their overcrowded barracks in Berlin. The following day the paper issued an announcement arguing that, while it had held the long-established principle of assisting every form of charity, they took issue with 'the former member of the Frankfurt Parliament,' whose appeal had been directed only to Germans living in Sweden who had neither bothered to acquire a Swedish citizenship or adopt its liberal viewpoints, reminding readers that while Swedes were renowned for their charity, they had "never waved a penny at the wielders of swords or despots". This was

followed by a flurry of columns in the press angrily criticising Wöhler's fundraising proposals, voicing complaints that large parts of the harbour area in Klintehamn were partly owned by 'the German,' and mentioning Mecklenburg landlords who were warning their boys against the harsh conditions awaiting German workers in Gotland.

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Wöhler's campaign to raise a collection for Prussian soldiers and war victims was met with considerable opposition. After their defeat of the Danes in the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1864 the Prussians were viewed unkindly by the Swedes who, with their Bernadotte monarchy, were actively in favour of the French. The 'Association for Voluntary Healthcare of Wounded and Sick in the Field' (a predecessor of the Red Cross) endeavoured to raise a collection in the kingdom's churches for all victims, regardless of the side they fought on, prompting many angry citizens to demand a boycott, asking instead for a separate collection for France. After considerable wrangling Wöhler got his booth, but local sentiment towards him had turned hostile and xenophobic.

Sensing his welcome in Sweden had run its course, in 1876 he turned over the family enterprises to his newly-married eldest son, the 28 year-old Willy, and retired to Wiesbaden with his wife and daughter Marie. Two years later, after seeing Marie married to the businessman Hans Altsmann and increasingly dissatisfied with conditions in the now unified Germany, Hellmuth and Emilie moved to the Austro-Hungarian town of Riva, on Lake Garda (Italy today), where they purchased a villa on the shore and lived surrounded by European aristocracy until 1890, when he sold the property to his neighbour, Dr Christoph Hartung von Hartungen, who two years earlier had arrived in Riva to open his sanatorium.

The doctor rehabilitated the villa, adding a large adjacent structure to accommodate his patients, and renamed it Villa Cristoforo III (or Miralago), opening it in 1895 as part of his sanatorium complex. Dr von Hartungen treated his patients with the latest homeopathic tech-



Hellmuth Wöhler's villa ca. 1890

niques, diets, exercise regimens, and 'nature cures,' and found among his frequent guests were many illustrious members of European literary and intellectual circles, including the writers Franz Kafka, Rainer Maria Rilke, the brothers from Lübeck, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, as well as Max and Otto Brod, Sigmund Freud, Max Oppenheimer, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Rudolf Steiner.

In 1915, at the start of The Great War, von Hartungen closed the sanatorium and retired to the Austrian Tyrol, selling the property to the politician, historian, and archaeologist Luigi de Campi da Cles. Two years later Campi was dead and the buildings became the property of his widow Costanza, née Baroness Sweine. After the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire Riva reverted to Italy, and in July 1949 the property was purchased by the provincial administration of Trento. Since 1976 it has belonged to the Commune of Riva. With the transfer of ownership, most of the records involving citizens of Riva during the Austro-Hungarian Empire (except for those of political or economic interest) ended up in Vienna and nothing is known of Hellmuth's activities in Riva during the two decades he and Emilie lived there, nor where they resided after selling their lakefront property. But with his sons squarely settled in their careers and all his daughters married off by 1883, it is likely that he and Emilie simply decided to live out their retirement in the comfort of their villa in a fashionable resort.

On 21 August 1899, whilst travelling, he took ill in the Tyrollean village of Sterzing (Vitipeno today) and passed away. He was buried in the local cemetery. Emilie returned to Schwerin to live out her final years in the company of her large extended family.



Hellmuth Wöhler's lakeside villa in 2018



Warfsholm, Klintehamn, 2005

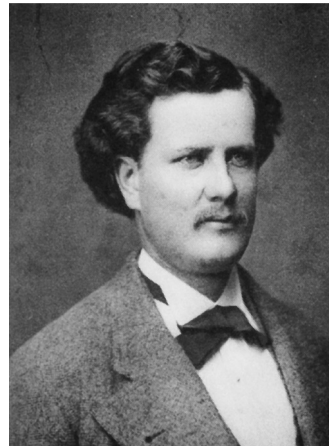
CHAPTER FOUR

Willy Wöhler: The conservationist heir
(Schwerin, 22.2.1848 - Klintehamn, 12.11.1927)

“He was tall, skinny and straight, with a rather distinguished appearance. One of the most choleric and singular persons I have ever encountered, he not only talked but actually did what he said and he brought about one of the finest tasks of the protection of Nature that there has ever been in the province of Gotland.”

Professor Richard Steffen

Affectionately known as Willy, Hellmuth Friedrich's eldest child was only five years old when his father took the family to Gotland. During a family outing to the small offshore island of Stora Karlsö two years later, the seven year-old boy found himself profoundly moved by the stark beauty of the island. Its flora and fauna, and in particular its unique bird life, threatened to extinction by overgrazing and unrestrained hunting, awakened in Willy that day a keen desire to protect the environment. As a result he dedicated his life to the creation of a nature preserve on the island of Stora Karlsö—the second in the world after Yellowstone Park—that earned him the nickname of ‘The King of Stora Karlsö’ and the honour of being the first ever to be awarded the Swedish Society for the Conservation of Nature’s ‘Starbäck’ medal for his work in the protection of Sweden’s natural environment.



Willy Wöhler, 1880

He was an unremarkable student. After attending primary school in Klintehamn, he was sent to Visby for his secondary education before enrolling at the University in Uppsala, where no record remains of his having graduated. By the time he was in his mid-twenties he was helping his father run the various family businesses—in particular, the distillery and the grain mill—while courting Marie (Eva) Herlitz, the young daughter of one of his father’s partners, the Consul Carl Wilhelm Herlitz, who had been the director of the Donner shipping firm and, with Willy’s father, had opened a bath house in 1862 on a small spit of land he owned opposite the Donner lumber docks in Klintehamn.



Willy and Marie, 1882

Midsummer’s Day of 1876 saw the celebration of the union of the two families, when Willy and the nineteen year-old Marie were joined in matrimony. Following the festivities, Hellmuth and Emilie departed for Germany, entrusting Willy with the family estate at Klintebys. At the age of 28, Willy was now the official head of the family with the responsibility of seeing the Wöhler enterprises prosper. Fourteen months after their

wedding, Eva gave birth to the first of their seven children.

Willy took an active interest in community affairs and for a time was president of the local government board. He was an avid outdoorsman and hunter, but had little interest in agriculture and depended on the help of his agronomist brother Helmuth to keep the estate profitable. Meanwhile, he dedicated his time to breeding horses and kept a large stable of Gotland *russ* ponies as well as an Arabian stallion with which he aimed to improve the breed. Willy had a reputation for a fiery temperament and a taste for lavish entertaining who enjoyed making jokes, as the County Police Superintendent Justus Jakobsson noted in 1959:

“Klintebys, earlier known as Donnershov, was a great house and Willy enjoyed playing the host and having many people around him. Although he didn’t have a grand piano in the house like the one in Selma Lagerlöf’s novel, *Ekeby*, many prestigious couples visited his estate, enjoying themselves to the extent that they often repeated their visits. There was much merry-making and Willy enjoyed preparing surprises for his guests. It is said that during a sleigh trip, bandits attacked the guests, taking off with all the ladies’ jewels and other objects of value. Actually they were employees dressed up as robbers, and at the end of the party all their belongings were returned.”

Stora Karlsö soon became the focus of Willy’s attention. His childhood memories of the island impelled him to build Spanghytte, a cabin near the shore where he could take his family for long extended summer stays. On one of his visits to the island he noticed how the grazing of sheep and the plundering of eggs from the birds’ nests were endangering its flora and fauna. Deeply distressed, he gathered nine like-minded people to launch a campaign to protect the island’s natural habitat, founding



Willy Wöhler and family in Stora Karlsö, 1888

in 1880 the limited liability company, *Karlsö Jagt-och Djurskyddsförenings AB* (The Karlsö Hunting and Animal Welfare Association), issuing a call to Gotland's notables to join. In the first year a total of forty-nine people had subscribed as partners; Willy had himself subscribed for two shares. The first to join was HRH Duke of Gotland Oscar Carl August Prince Bernadotte. The Duke of Västergötland, Oscar Karl Wilhelm, followed suit, and soon governors, city officials, and others—primarily Royal Huntsmen—had subscribed.

The notion of protecting the natural fauna with hunters was a novel idea, and Willy was aware that the duality between hunters and other nature lovers could contain the seed for its own destruction. Although its primary purpose was to hunt hare, it considered equally important the protection of bird life, endangered as it was by predatory hunting and the picking of eggs by visiting Gotlanders. Through the acquisition of the land, controlling its access, husbanding its resources, and keeping a strict watch during breeding season, Willy felt that some rescue work could be accomplished. By 1887 the company had acquired most of the land, expelled the sheep and embarked on a campaign to replant native flora on the once-depleted hillsides. That year Willy discovered a vast Mesolithic repository in the Stora Förvar cave and brought in archaeologists, who over the next five years extracted over 7000 items. Soon, near-extinct native breeds of birds were returning to nest, and in a few years the natural habitat of the island was restored. He turned over his cabin in 1889 to build a hunting pavilion so that the shareholders would have a place to gather and dine during hunting season, and was honoured the following year by a visit from King Oskar II.

All of this cost a lot of money. His spendthrift ways, his penchant for sumptuous entertainment and the generosity with which he treated his employees drove him to bankruptcy and he finally lost the Klintebys estate at public auction in 1897. His mother-in-law offered them to come and live with her, but they declined her offer. Left destitute, Willy took his wife Marie and six youngest children to the small cabin that, thirty-five

years earlier, his father and father-in-law had built as a bath house on the islet opposite the Donner shipyards in Klintrehamn.¹ Willy then became an ambulant butcher, selling meat to the families that for years had been guests in his house.

In 1899 Marie's brother Nils died, leaving Hallfreda, his farm in Follingbo, to his four surviving siblings. The sale of Marie's share, and the timber Willy was able to extract from the property, enabled him to begin construction of Warfsholm, a glamorous hotel on the plot where their cabin had once been.² Designed as a resort for the Stockholm 'society' who would summer in Gotland each year, it enjoyed considerable success during the years Willy lived on Warfsholm. In 1901 Willy transformed the Klintebys distillery into a potato flour factory and in 1915 started a canning factory. Later, he opened an insurance agency that he maintained until he died.

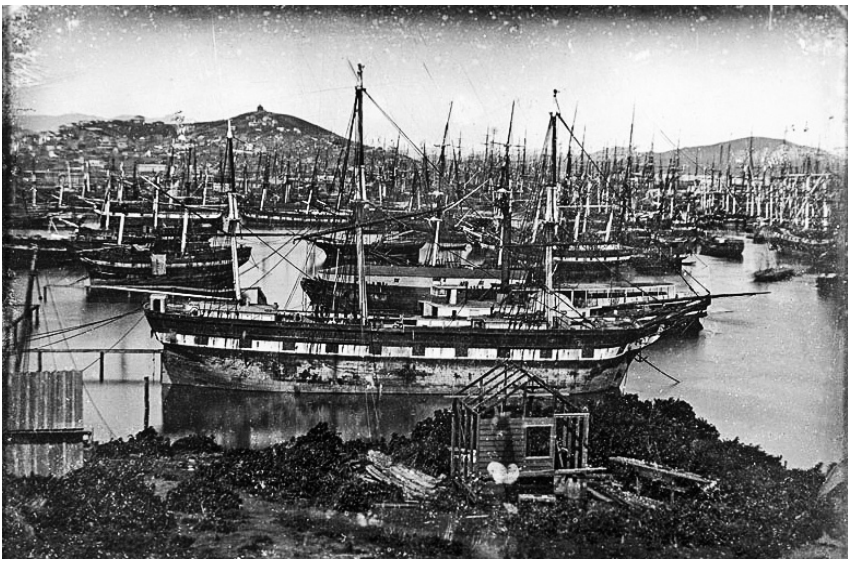


Willy Wöhler, 1924

Willy passed away in 1927 and lies buried in the Klinte churchyard along with his wife Marie and daughter Wera, both of whom died in May 1946.

1 Willy, his eldest, had joined the Navy, and Guimo, aged fifteen, was soon to leave to join his uncles in Mexico.

2 Since Willy's death the hotel has changed hands several times and was recently owned by his great-great-granddaughter Marie Modin who, with her husband Göthe, converted it into a restaurant, hotel and youth hostel with cabins to let. In 2010 they sold the property to Staffan Fritz and Maria Bryntesson who have restored it as the Pensionat Warfsholm.



Abandoned ships in San Francisco Bay, ca. 1951

CHAPTER FIVE
MEXICO

Nineteenth century Europe was convulsed by a series of constitutional and parliamentary revolts that spread like wildfire across the continent. From Italy to France, Austria, and Germany, the Revolutions of 1848 threatened the very existence of monarchies and the repression that followed brought political disillusionment and serious economic uncertainty, forcing many to seek their fortunes in the Americas. Moreover, gold was discovered in California in 1849, drawing enormous numbers to the state by ship round Cape Horn, and by 1851 hundreds of schooners, barques, and brigantines lay rotting in San Francisco Bay as their crews deserted in search for the gold of the Sierra foothills. Later, as steam replaced sail, a shorter route from New York was offered through the jungles of Panama—the Canal would not be inaugurated until 1902—though many vessels continued to use the southern route, a journey that took between three and six months, re-provisioning in Talcahuano, or Valparaiso, Chile, and Acapulco, Mexico.

Mazatlán, with its new Customs House, completed in 1823, its deep-water harbour and geographic location—midway along the Pacific Coast—offered ships on either route an ideal port to stop and re-provision. Furthermore, in an effort to counter the disadvantages of transporting goods around Cape Horn and edge out the competing harbours of Guaymas, San Blas or Manzanillo, the local government viewed foreign investment as a means to raise the country out of endemic poverty, exploit Sinaloa's vast mineral deposits and develop its long-ignored infrastructures. The Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce signed in June 1827 between Mexico and the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Lübeck and Hannover offered German merchants opportunities for trade that had hitherto been denied them, and with Spanish, French, British, and

American firms firmly established in other parts of the country, the coast of Sinaloa offered a chance to start from scratch without competition from other firms. It seemed an ideal place to go into business.

It was not without risk, however, since Sinaloa at that time was an ungovernable chaos of successive uprisings. In 1848, following the Mexican-American War, US naval vessels occupied Mazatlán harbour, and the 1860s saw two violent invasions by French forces during Emperor Maximilian's short reign. Despite the endemic turbulence, many foreign companies were invited to set up in business with offers of reduced customs and excise taxes, and by the 1840s trading posts were being set up in Mazatlán by Spanish, French, and American companies. But it was the Germans who monopolised trade, and the majority of all trade and investment in northwestern Mexico was controlled by a handful of Hanseatic families who for nearly a century acted as banking houses, represented major American firms, and controlled virtually all the mining and import-export trade in the area. Their ships did cabotage trading from San Blas to Guaymas, La Paz, Hawaii, and San Francisco, importing mining machinery, tools, agricultural implements, clothing, kitchenware,

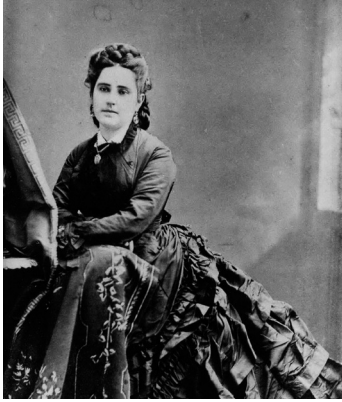


Mazatlán, undated photo from 1926 postcard

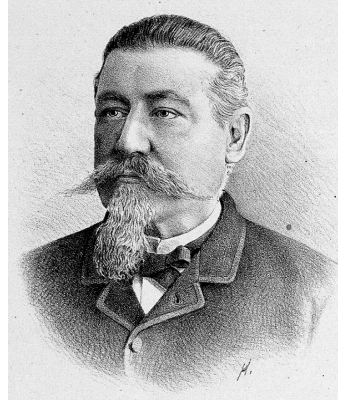
furniture and other household items, which they sold to the large expatriate community and the well-heeled creole citizens of Sinaloa. They exported brazilwood, hides, and agricultural products, although their principal exports were gold and silver, which were in plentiful supply in Sinaloa and Durango. The central government taxed bullion exports heavily, allowing only for minted gold and silver to be shipped free of duties. The German merchants, many of whom served as consuls and enjoyed diplomatic immunity, were able to overcome this obstacle and prosper through contraband, avoiding export duties and fiscal obligations by bribing customs authorities and loading their cargo onto ships offshore, away from the central Customs House.¹

These conditions favoured the German merchants who married into the Redo y Balmaceda and the De la Vega families, powerful clans that dominated the political scene in Sinaloa and whose extensive holdings included over 150,000 hectares (1500 square kilometres) in Sinaloa before 1910, the vast sugar plantations of Eldorado and La Aurora, and the textile mills of El Coloso. Of the thirty-seven governors that ruled Sinaloa between 1831 and 1926, no less than seven were from the De la Vega family, a powerful oligarchy of landowners, descendants of Christopher Columbus, who for several decades controlled elections, the public treasury, and administered justice according to the interests of the family, all whilst accumulating enormous wealth through bribes and kickbacks. Rafael de la Vega y Rábago was the most politically skilful of them all, but his tenure as governor was wrought with violence, and a year after the American invasion Rafael died of a heart attack. When his brother, the 35 year-old Colonel Francisco de la Vega y Rábago, took over as governor three years later and endeavoured to implement reforms, his first move was to send in the tax collectors. However, on 5 May 1852 the dominant foreign merchants impeded their work with a popular riot and

1 In 1870 the trading houses in Mazatlán petitioned the Central Government for the elimination of export duties on bullion, arguing that by its suppression the state would benefit from the resulting increase in imports, the duties of which would do much to further the economic development of the area.



Alejandra de la Vega



Joaquín Redo y Balmaceda

a series of violent clashes that resulted in the detention of the governor, requiring the intervention of the militia for his release. After several unsuccessful attempts to recover Mazatlán, Francisco and his militias were finally defeated in 1853 at El Balácachi, near El Fuerte, and he abandoned politics, retiring with his family to the sugar plantations of Eldorado.

Family commercial enterprises in Mexico

In 1840, Georg Störzel, the Minister of Finance for the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin met with his brother-in-law, Julius Adolf Passow, to discuss their sons' interest in seeking their fortunes in America. Heinrich Störzel, Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler's brother-in-law, was preparing to leave for Mexico to join T. R. Möller's commercial trading house. He had shared his enthusiasm for the opportunities offered overseas with his cousin, the sixteen year-old Carl Passow, who had been talking to the Melchers brothers from Bremen and agreed that things in Prussia did not show much promise. By the following year the twenty-two year-old Heinrich had landed in Mexico and joined other German partners in Mazatlán to found the firm Störzel, Goeben y Möller. His journey followed a pattern described by Brígida von Mentz in her 1982 book, *Los pioneros del imperialismo alemán en México*, where a German trader

would arrive in Mexico very young, as an employee of one of the German parent companies in Hamburg or Bremen. Through family connections or because he had already been employed for some years as an apprentice at the head office, he was offered the opportunity to gain experience overseas. Often he came alone and, as a member of the family, was allowed to live on the premises. Aside from his salary, he was usually given a stipend to cover personal expenses, such as food, lodging, clothing, or even a horse and personal servant. As such, a junior partner could save nearly his entire salary and over the course of just a few years would have enough to start his own firm or retire with his earnings to his homeland, where a relative, likely a brother, nephew, or cousin, would be in position to replace him at the firm in Mexico.

By 1847 Heinrich had moved to the adjacent state of Durango, adopted the Spanish name of Enrique, and married the seventeen year-old María Ramona Redo y Balmaceda, whose brother, Senator Joaquín Redo, was married to Alejandra de la Vega, of the powerful family of oligarchs. Five years later we find the young couple had returned to Germany with their baby daughter, Lita. In March 1852 Enrique was in Schwerin attending Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler's trial for treason and that June Ramona gave birth to their second daughter in Grabow, near Ludwigslust. While their stay in Germany would last some years (their youngest was born in Hamburg the following year), Enrique kept his



Enrique Störzel



Ramona Redo y Balmaceda

hand in the Mexican business. A document in the municipal archives of Mazatlán shows that in 1863 Störzel, Goeben y Möller had become the principal agents for distant cousins of his mother's, the wealthy land-owning Delius family of Tepic, Nayarit. The following year he joined a Mexican partner to form Bustamante y Cía., appearing in the 1867 *Business Directory of the Mexican Empire* published by Eugenio Maillefert as the owners of lingerie stores. On 1 September 1869 he joined his Bartning nephews to form Störzel Bartning y Cía., one of the most successful of the German houses in Sinaloa. He also served for some years as Consul General of Hamburg and Mecklenburg-Schwerin in Mazatlán before retiring to Hamburg with his family.

Although the precise date of his arrival in Mexico to join the Melchers brothers from Bremen is unclear, Enrique Störzel's cousin, 'Carlos' Passow first appears in the Prussian Consular files of Mazatlán in 1855, when he was thirty-one. In his 2017 book, *Treacherous Passage: Germany's Secret Plot against the United States in Mexico during World War I*, Bill Mills writes that Melchers Sucesores, founded by Heinrich Melchers in 1846, grew to become "the largest and most powerful of the foreign firms that controlled commercial trade in Mazatlán". They were shipping agents, the primary exporters of gold and silver ores from over a dozen mines in western Mexico as well as agricultural produce from across the region, and they are credited with importing the first automobiles to Mazatlán.² The company also provided generous commercial credit to mining and farming interests throughout western Mexico that placed orders for equipment exclusively through Melchers Sucesores, offering financial services that included "buying and selling notes, holding cash reserves, financing commercial transactions, and transferring funds between companies and foreign banks around the world".³

2 Lozano, Jorge Luis, *Cuando el automóvil llegó a Mazatlán*, El Debate de Mazatlán, 6.1.2016

3 Mills, Bill, *Treacherous Passage: Germany's Secret Plot against the United States in Mexico during World War I*, p 21



Almacenes Melchers, Mazatlán, ca. 1865

Casa Melchers prospered for over seventy years with offices in Mazatlán and Honolulu, regularly serviced by a private fleet of ships that occasionally put the firm's activities in the crosshairs of the customs authorities. A scandal involving the Bremen-flagged brig 'India' belonging to Melchers Sucesores caused a considerable ripple in diplomatic relations. In international waters en route to the Sandwich Islands, it had been boarded by Mexican naval vessels and escorted to San Blas, where its cargo was impounded. The investigation that followed determined the cargo had been loaded illegally, resulting in the detention of customs officials for collusion in a contraband scheme.⁴ Yet by financing the construction of the musical kiosk in the main square and contributing to the construction costs of the Military Hospital and the City Hall, the Melchers were able to earn the sympathy of the locals, who allowed them to continue dealing in contraband.⁵

4 Prussian consular files of Mazatlán, 3 December 1854, pp. 196-199. Complaint filed against the military authorities by the Melchers and the French Consul representing the French captain of the vessel.

5 Aguilar, Gustavo, *El crecimiento de la economía sinaloense y el papel que desempeñaron los empresarios extranjeros 1840-1910* p. 104

In 1864 Carlos married Emmy Charlotte Anna Markwart and by 1871 had become managing partner of Melchers Hermanos y Cía. Four years later, in 1875, he returned to Germany, where his wife gave birth to four children.

In his essay, *El crecimiento de la economía sinaloense y el papel que desempeñaron los empresarios extranjeros 1840-1910*, Gustavo Aguilar cites the firm Störzel, Redo y Cía. as one of the principal merchant houses in Mazatlán during those years, identifying Joaquín Redo and Adolfo Störzel as partners between 1860 and 1866. Enrique Störzel had an older brother named Adolf Friedrich, who, according to the Wunderlich genealogy, was a doctor in Schwerin. While two of his sons left for America in the latter decades of the nineteenth century—Arthur Störzel moved to Port au Prince, Haiti and Carl Otto Störzel moved to Guadalajara, Mexico— there is no evidence of him having gone to Mexico. Enrique's nephew, however, Adolf (Julius Karl) Störzel, the son of his brother Carl Georg from Güstrow, *did* travel to Mexico, but in 1860 he was only seven, so Aguilar must have mistaken him for Enrique Störzel, who after all, was Joaquín Redo's brother-in-law.

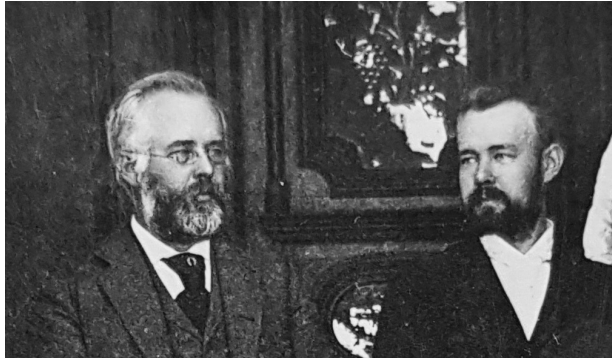
By 1867 the fourteen year-old Adolf had already departed for Mazatlán, as the Güstrow census of that year indicates, and over the following years he appears on various shipping manifests travelling between Germany and Mexico: to New York in January 1876 aboard the steamer 'Frisia', and again on 20 October 1884 aboard the 'Wieland'. In 1882 he was clearly engaged in the family business, joining his cousins Julio Bartning and Alfred Wöhler to form Bartning Hermanos y Cía. and appearing three years later as a partner in the 'San José de las Bocas' mine in Cosalá, Sinaloa.⁶ By 1890 the thirty-seven year old Adolf had earned enough to return to Germany and settle in Doberan, though he maintained his business interests in Mexico. The following year he once again

⁶ Román Alarcón, R. Arturo, *El crecimiento de la economía sinaloense y el papel que desempeñaron los empresarios extranjeros 1840-1910*, and Aguilar, Gustavo, *La participación de comerciantes extranjeros de Mazatlán en la economía regional, 1877-1910*.

returned to Mexico, boarding the 'SS Normannia' on 9 October for New York, and two years later is listed partner in the reorganisation of Wöhler, Bartning y Cía. (renewed in 1905). In 1896 his twin daughters were born in Hamburg and the Doberan census of 1900 registers Adolf living with his wife, three children, and four servants in the same house. In June of 1904 he makes one final trip home from Mazatlán, sailing on the steamer 'Acapulco' to San Francisco for the train ride east. Finally, the Doberan census of 1919 shows a sixty-six year-old Adolf living at home with his wife and their daughter Margaret.

Next to arrive in Mexico from Schwerin were Enrique's Bartning nephews, sons of his sister Justine Störzel. On 23 August 1858 the nineteen year-old Adolf boarded the Hamburg-based brig 'Emma' in Liverpool for the four-month journey round the Horn to the port of Mazatlán. By December 1860, Adolf Bartning and his 23 year-old brother Otto were both working for Enrique Störzel, and their names are registered in the consular files for that year. In September 1864 the Prussian Consulate of Mazatlán shows them issuing their uncle, Dr Adolf Friedrich Störzel, power of attorney to handle their recently deceased father's estate. Their brother Enrique (Heinrich) Bartning soon followed (the Schwerin Census of 1867 shows the fourteen year-old Julius as still living at home with his widowed mother), and by 1869 the three had joined their uncle Enrique in founding Störzel Bartning y Cía. The fourth Bartning brother to join the firm, Julio (Julius), would arrive the following year.

Several of Enrique Störzel's nephews would follow his example and marry into powerful Mexican families. In 1871 Enrique Bartning and Margarita Lacarra of Hermosillo were joined in matrimony and in a few years his cousin and two of his brothers would each marry in San Francisco to young women with connections to Mazatlán. In 1879 Alfred Wöhler wed Rosario de la Vega—the sister of Alejandra, Enrique Störzel's brother-in-law's wife—and in 1881 his cousin, Adolph Bartning, would marry Fanny Lemmen Meyer, followed a year later by the wedding of his brother, Julio Bartning, to Fanny's sister Pepa. Fanny and Pepa were the



Enrique and Julio Bartning, Los Angeles, ca 1890

daughters of the wealthy Hamburg-born Theodor Lemmen Meyer of San Francisco, one of the original investors in the Santa Cruz Island Company and president of the San Francisco Copper Mining Company who, with his Mexican wife, Marianita Belderraín, had deep roots in Mazatlán.⁷

Over the years, the family firm was restructured numerous times with the different participation of partners reflected in its various incarnations: Störzel, Goeben y Möller, 1841; Störzel, Bustamante y Cía., 1864; Störzel, Bartning y Cía., 1866; Bartning Hermanos y Cía. in 1882; Wöhler, Bartning y Cía., 1893; and Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores, 1905. In addition to the properties itemised above, they owned La Voz del Pueblo, Mazatlán's premier department store, and the coffee plantation El Manacal, in Chiapas. They also were agents and principal shareholders of the largest mines in northwestern Mexico, representing such companies as the blanket factory 'Janja' (property of Barron, Forbes & Co., Tepic, Durango), the Compañía Minera del Progreso in Baja California, the Anglo-Mexican Mining Co. in Sinaloa, the Compañía Minera La Purísima in Sinaloa, Ventanas Consolidated Mill and Mining Co. Ltd.

⁷ Their son Eduardo would marry Mariana Osuna and have a son, Teodoro Lemmen Meyer, who would play an important role during the Mexican Revolution as the right-hand man of General Juan Banderas, 'El Agachado'. *Lemmen Meyer*, Lemmen Meyer, Arturo (Ed.) 2016.

in Durango, San Fernando Mining Company in Durango, Sinaloa Gold Milling Co., La Cumbre Mining Co. in Sinaloa, the Compañía Minera del Aopolote in Tepic, as well as and the sugar mill La Primavera in Culiacán, the most important in the country.



German warehouses in Mazatlán, ca 1880



*La Voz del Pueblo and Wöhler, Bartning Suc., Mazatlán
Photo: Wm Zuber, ca 1880s*

The Wöhlers in Mexico: Alfred and Alfredo Wöhler

At the time the family portrait in Riva was taken Alfred Wöhler had been working in Mazatlán for eighteen years. He had left the Klintebys family estate in Gotland in 1865, at the age of sixteen, to seek his fortune as a commercial trader in Mexico, travelling in the wake of family members who had gone before him. His uncles, Enrique Störzel and Carlos Passow, had been in Mexico for a decade or more, and his cousins, the Bartning brothers, had themselves been in Mexico only a few years.



Alfred Wöhler, 1882

Arriving in Mazatlán, Alfred joined his Bartning cousins in their uncle Enrique's firm, founded the year before as Störzel, Bustamante y Cía. In 1869 Enrique and his nephews created Störzel, Bartning y Cía., and Alfred stayed on as a trainee, learning Spanish while studying the intricacies of managing a trading company in Mexico. By the following year Julio Bartning had arrived, and all four of Alfred's cousins were in Mazatlán working with their uncle at the firm. But in 1874 Enrique Störzel retired and moved with his family to Hamburg, and Otto Bartning returned to Germany to marry a famous theologian's daughter. Alfred and the three remaining Bartning brothers then restructured the firm, renaming it Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores. The cousins built on the extensive client base created over thirty years by Enrique Störzel and his partners, becoming "one of the most important commercial houses in Sinaloa" with offices in Hamburg, San Francisco, Mazatlán, and Culiacán, as cited in 1898 the edition of *El Estado de Sinaloa*, the official state paper.



Joaquín Redo y Balmaceda

Enrique Störzel's brother-in-law, Senator Joaquín Redo y Balmaceda, was one of the richest and most successful businessmen in Mexico, with commercial houses in Durango and vast sugar plantations in Sinaloa. He had married the wealthy Alejandra de la Vega of Culiacán, whose uncles, Rafael and Francisco de la Vega y Rábago, had been governors of Sinaloa during the 1840s and 1850s; their sons, Diego and Alejandro, would serve as governors in 1910 and 1925 respectively.

In addition to his extensive properties, Redo owned a shipping fleet, the *Compañía de Vapores Joaquín Redo*, which regularly transported goods and passengers between Mazatlán and San Francisco, whence connections could be made to Panama, the Far East or New York. His steamers were able to edge out the competition—mainly the Pacific Mail Steamship Company—through preferential treatment from the Mexican government, a sweetheart deal that dispensed him from paying lighthouse taxes, pilot fees or mooring charges in Mexican ports, whilst offering US exporters a 2% reduction in import duties for goods shipped aboard his vessels.¹

Alfred had been making trips on Redo's steamers to the firm's San Francisco office for several years, and by the end of the 1870s Wöhler Bartning had consolidated its ties to the business and mining communities of San Francisco, to which it exported gold and silver in exchange for tools, mining materials, and explosives.²

1 Lerma Garay, Antonio, 'La Compañía de Vapores de Joaquín Redo' *Mazatlán Decimonónico IV*, citing 'Our San Francisco Letter,' *The Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu. 2 September 1889, P. 2

2 *Oakland Evening Tribune*, 9 September 1876 announces the arrival of Alfred Wöhler in San Francisco.

On a personal level, Alfred had also cemented relationships with the dominant families in Mazatlán, and now, at age thirty, he was ready to marry. He had met and fallen in love with Alejandra's younger sister, the 23 year-old Rosario, who was living in San Francisco at the time. The 2 August 1879 edition of the *California Advertiser* announced the wedding in San Francisco on 28 July 1879 of Alfred Wöhler and María del Rosario Elena de la Vega.³ After their nuptials, the newlyweds returned to Mazatlán and settled into their new home at Calle del Oro, 27. That autumn Rosario knew she was pregnant, but she feared their marriage before a judge in California might not be recognised by the Catholic Church and she wanted her child to be born a Catholic. The following spring her pregnancy was coming to term, and in an effort to reconcile their religious differences—she was Catholic and Alfred was Lutheran—on 24 June 1880, with Alfred's cousin, Julio Bartning, serving as witness, the 8-month pregnant Rosario had their marriage ratified at the Parroquia del Puerto de Mazatlán with neither blessing or ceremony, the Sacramental Communion issued to her alone. Three weeks later, on 16 July, Rosario gave birth to a son. But immediately following, a deep infection took hold and she died an agonising death six days later. Alfred then took their 10 day-old son to City Hall and registered him in the Registro Civil as Alfredo Hellmuth Wöhler. But little Alfredo had been infected by his mother's illness and two days later he, too, passed away. Dr Benjamin R. Carman, the Philadelphia-born physician, businessman, and US Consul Emeritus in Mazatlán who treated both mother and son, reported in the death certificates that Rosario died of tetanus and Alfredo Hellmuth of 'infantile trismus', or neonatal lock-jaw, a condition deriving from his mother's tetanus. Stricken with grief, Alfred returned to Europe in 1882, travelling to Lake Garda to see his father and stepmother and join his siblings for the family portrait in Riva.

³ The wedding also appeared in a general registry as having taken place in Monterey County, erroneously citing Rosario's age as 20—she was 23.



Mathilde Schwahnke de Wöhler

Three years later he was back in Europe to marry the twenty-two year-old Anna Maria Mathilde Schwahnke in Schwerin on 9 September. On 9 March 1888 their son, Alfred Johann ‘Alfredo’ Wöhler, was born in Rostock. Alfred then purchased a house on Abteistraße 49, in the elegant Hamburg district of Harvestehude, where Mathilde would live with their son and oversee his education.

Over the next decades Alfred would travel back and forth between his Mazatlán and Hamburg offices, occasionally accompanied by Mathilde. Other times, during school holidays, Alfredo would join his parents on their trips to Mazatlán or San Francisco, where many of the firm’s clients were located, and their presence at the Palace Hotel on Market Street was often noted in the society pages of the *San Francisco Call* or the *San Francisco Chronicle*. These trans-Atlantic trips showed a remarkable endurance. Until the completion in 1909 of the Ferrocarril Sud Pacífico line linking Mazatlán with the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad (later the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad), travel to Europe involved taking a ship to San Francisco and connecting with the Transcontinental Railroad (completed in 1869) that would take him to New York and the passenger terminals offering ships to Liverpool or Bremen. But on some occasions he was required to make the journey from Mazatlán to the connecting line in Arizona overland, a three week-long stagecoach trip through the deserts of Sinaloa and Sonora before crossing into the US at Nogales and continuing to the train terminal in Tucson. Nonetheless, shipping manifests show Alfred making frequent crossings, alone or in the company of Mathilde, appearing on their books for voyages taken in 1876, 1879, 1883, 1886, 1897, 1889, 1893, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1909, and 1922.

Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores would see fundamental changes over the following years. Of the four Bartning brothers with whom Alfred had been partner in Mexico, Otto was the first to leave, returning to Germany in 1874. Seven years later, following his marriage in San Francisco to Fanny Lemmen Meyer of Menlo Park, California, Adolph Bartning and his young wife had moved to Germany. His brother Julio married Fanny's sister Pepa in 1882, and a decade later the couple had returned to Hamburg, settling in the Harvestehude district and leaving the business of Wöhler, Bartning y Sucs. to their cousin Alfred Wöhler. But Adolph died in 1887 and his brother Julio ten years later, so in 1902, with Enrique, the last remaining Bartning brother living mostly in Los Angeles, Alfred assumed full control of the firm. In a document signed before a notary in 1905—extended in 1908 for three more years—Alfred restructured Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores, assuming a majority ownership (80%) with the remaining shares to be divided between his cousin Adolf Störzel and Johann Japp, a German merchant long-established in Mazatlán.

In 1903 Alfred's nephew, the fifteen year-old Guimo Wöhler—Willy Wöhler's son—arrived in Mexico to work with his uncles. He joined the firm in Mazatlán and enrolled in Law School. A few years later his brother Curt followed, joining the merchant marine in San Francisco, where on 12 December 1918, he registered for the Draft. In 1920 Curt and Guimo started the merchant company, K. W. Wöhler, S. en C., in Mazatlán with a working capital of 6000 pesos. Curt served as an officer aboard the ships of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company (later the Pacific Mail Steamship Company) on their monthly voyages between Mazatlán and San Francisco, and for nearly a decade kept homes in both cities. In 1926 he attained the title of Captain and by 1930 had settled permanently in San Francisco, where he lived as a bachelor for the rest of his life. Guimo would marry María Inés Lucinda Saucedo Andrade and eventually move to Mexico City, open a practice and raise six children. On 19

October 1919, at age 37, Guimo was baptised into the Catholic Church in Tlaxoapán, Hidalgo, presumably at the request of his betrothed's family (Guimo was Lutheran, María Inés was Catholic).

At the end of 1904 bubonic plague struck Mazatlán, and many of the wealthy citizens who could afford it, fled. As *The Washington Times* reported on 14 December 1904, "Malaria and starvation continue to devastate this part of Mexico. Some of the dead are buried, but there are not enough well people to inter all the decedents, and in many cases bodies are thrown in out of the way places to become food for vultures". On 5 January, Alfred Wöhler, together with the merchant bankers P. Eche-guren and the Banco Nacional de México, invited the rich who remained in the city to meet at the residence of the owners of the Melchers trading house. The next day they informed the governor that the Charity Board would cover half the expenses to combat the epidemic, enabling them to expand the hospice and build barracks to isolate the families of the sick.

During the tumultuous years of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) the firm suffered serious setbacks. Alfred Wöhler saw his agricultural plantations in the south destroyed and, with the majority of their owners having abandoned Sinaloa, the mines they operated were gradually closed. Many foreign traders, frightened by the political instability, liquidated their businesses and returned to their home countries. The arrival of the train line connecting Sinaloa with the US in 1909 now allowed for mineral and agricultural exports to be shipped by rail, and the result was the diminishment of the port of Mazatlán's strategic importance, further crippling the local economy. Politically, things were no better. In an effort to depose Governor Diego Redo de la Vega, in power since 1909, the Madero revolutionary forces took Culiacán and burnt down Alejandro Redo's home, part of the family's sugar mills of Eldorado and La Aurora, and the textile mill of El Coloso. The governor was arrested and sentenced to death. However, President Madero intervened and allowed him to depart for Europe as Porfirio Díaz's private secretary on the condition he renounce his post. Diego departed for Europe in 1911, leaving



Joaquín Redo and Alejandra de la Vega's home in the capital, constr. 1903

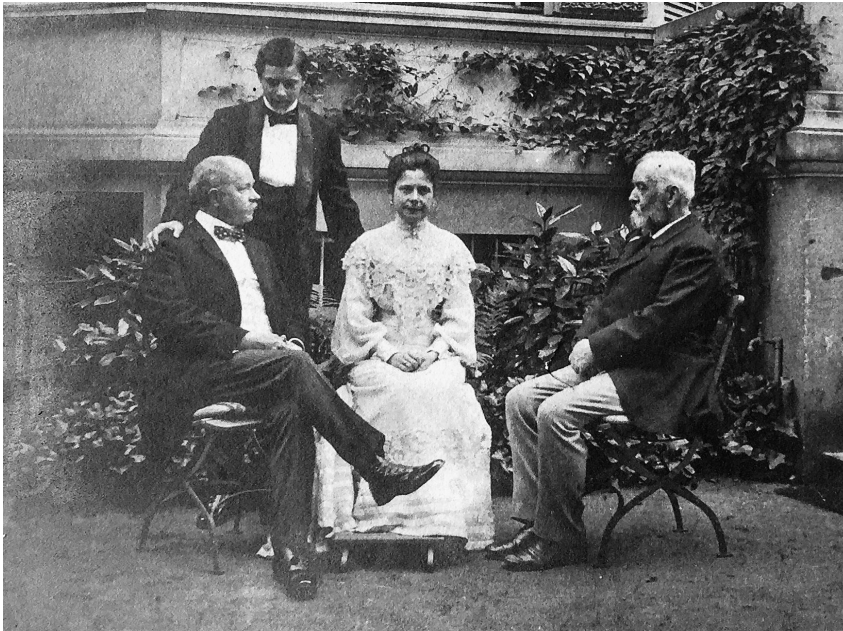
the family businesses in the hands of his mother Alejandra de la Vega and his brothers Joaquín and Alejandro, who retired to their home in Mexico City.⁴

The Redo and de la Vega families had lost control of Sinaloa, but Alejandra, Alfred's sister-in-law, still held power, and her family fortunes would eventually recover. With her help, Alfred, who since 1900 had been one of the principal shareholders of the Banco Occidental de México, was able to secure the survival of the firm by redirecting his business away from international commerce to banking, filling the credit vacuum generated by the absence of banks between 1914 and 1924.⁵

World War I was another nail in the coffin for the firm. On 11 December 1917 The *El Paso Herald* put merchants on notice, blacklisting Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores amongst those alleged 'Enemy Traders' proscribed from trading with American merchants. The following spring *The Commonwealth of Australia Gazette* published 'The Trading With the Enemy Act of 1914-1916', extending the prohibition of all commercial

4 He was eventually allowed to return from exile by permit of President Obregón in 1924. Mander, Nicholas, *Brodermann of Hamburg*.

5 Aguilar Aguilar, Gustavo, "El crecimiento de la economía sinaloense y el papel que desempeñaron los empresarios extranjeros 1840-1910"



*Alfred and Mathilde, with a 16 year-old Alfredo
and guest at their home in Hamburg, 1904*

transactions with German firms in Latin America to the Commonwealth countries and their allies, identifying by name the firm Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores. The firm's channels of communication with the home office in Germany were severed, terminating their ability to conduct financial transactions with companies in the various capitals of Europe. Moreover, the English naval blockade had eliminated all possibility of receiving goods, so to make up for the loss of European imports, they increased purchases from America. But when the United States declared war against Germany the firm's funds in American banks were confiscated by the US Government, and all conduits to American business partners were severed as well. Nonetheless, despite these hardships, by 1920 Wöhler, Bartning Sucesores still owned several mines, La Voz del Pueblo department store in Mazatlán, and several large agricultural properties, including the coffee plantation El Manacal, near Tapachulas, in Chiapas.

In Germany, Alfredo had passed his two juridical examinations (referendar—or trainee—and Assessor) and in 1915 had earned his degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence. He then entered the Civil Service in Hamburg and was posted as a cavalry officer of the reserve during the Great War of 1914-1918. In the spring of 1920 Alfredo was thirty-two, with a law degree under his belt and fluent in Spanish and English. World War I and the demands mobilisation had required of him had interrupted a carefully nurtured career, but



Alfredo Wöhler, ca. 1915

he was now ready to take his place in the family business. He resigned his commission from the army and the Civil Service and boarded a ship to Mexico. Landing in Veracruz on 9 May, he proceeded to Mazatlán, where on 30 June 1920 he joined the firm as partner, succeeding his father to the position of General Manager of Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores.

Alfredo had fallen in love. For several years he had been courting the young Isabella Charlotta ‘Lieselotte,’ Baroness von Lieven and the two were engaged to be married. Descended from ancient Baltic German-speaking nobility, Lieselotte’s father, Eduard, Baron von Lieven, was born in Tukums, Latvia, and he worked as a professor in Bavaria; her mother, Louise Katterfeld, was from Mittau (modern Jelgava, Latvia), both under Prussian suzerainty at the time. While it is unclear whether Lieselotte travelled to Mexico with Alfredo or if she arrived later, on her own, on 29 September 1920, with the groom’s parents attending as witnesses, she and Alfredo were married before a judge in Mexico City. After the ceremony, the couple retired to Mazatlán and installed themselves in the upper floor of La Voz del Pueblo, on Calle Constitución 111.

But Lieselotte was unhappy in Mexico. According to legend, as described by Osés Cole Isunza in his book, *Las viejas calles de Mazatlán*,



*Mexico, 1920. Alfred Wöhler, standing left, Mathilde seated at right,
Alfredo standing in light suit.*

“The young bride, coming from a much cooler part of the world, greatly resented the prevailing temperatures in the city, when to endure them there were only ceiling fans. Given the oppressive heat, she refused to leave the house and was unwilling to take part in the social life that corresponded to the high position of her husband. Wöhler tried to convince her in countless ways but could not overcome her resistance. Originally from a country of much more liberal customs than those of Mazatlán at the time, the lady would spend the day naked inside her house. Some indiscreet servant commented on the case and the news soon became known throughout the city. From then on it was common to see groups of loaders from La Voz del Pueblo, the Elorza House, or the Mercería Alemana, as well as simple onlookers, standing outside the building of the Banco Occidental looking up towards the windows of the upper floor of the house, trying to catch a glimpse of the show the naked young lady must have provided.”

On 22 January 1922, just sixteen months after her marriage, the young baroness died from causes unknown. She was not yet twenty-five.

Alfredo's parents were in Germany when they received the terrible news, having returned to Hamburg after the wedding. On 11 October they boarded the 'SS George Washington' in Bremen for New York, arriving in San Francisco on 3 November, where they checked in to the Palace Hotel. Reporting on their arrival the next day, *The San Francisco Chronicle* wrote that Wöhler, whose "firm had been in Mexico for more than seventy-five years," lamented the failure of the US to recognise President Obregón as "the only thing standing in the way of a big business boom in Mexico [where] business conditions had never before presented as cheerful a picture." Wöhler urged the US to recognise President Obregón, predicting "a boom in Mexico immediately following his recognition by America," adding that conditions in Germany are "getting worse every day".⁶ Continuing on their journey, Alfred and Mathilde took the steamer to Mazatlán and settled into the family home on Constitución Street.

Alfredo had been in Los Angeles the prior month and was away again, reviewing some properties in Tampico, on the east coast of Mexico,



Alfred Wöhler ca 1922



Mathilde Schwahnke Wöhler, ca 1922

⁶ "Mexico Needs Recognition by US Says Importer", *The San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 November, 1922

when he received the news a few days later that his father had suddenly passed away of arteriosclerotic heart disease at the age of 73. Coming on the heels of the loss of his wife earlier in the year, this must have been a terrible blow, for he now faced the complicated task of running Wöhler, Bartning Suc. on his own. Learning that his father's remains were to be sent to the Angelica Lutheran Church in Los Angeles, California for inhumation on 11 December, he rushed to the border, reentering the US at El Paso on 8 December to take a train west and join his mother for the services.

After the funeral Alfredo and Mathilde travelled to New York and sailed to Hamburg, where on 1 March they met at the solicitor's office to ratify the will Alfred and Mathilde had drawn up in April of the year before. That September Alfredo returned to Mexico, boarding the 'SS Albert Ballin' in Hamburg for New York, followed two months later by his mother, who on 3 November boarded the 'SS München' in Bremen for her trip to Mazatlán. The following year Mathilde returned to Schwerin, where she met with her nephew, Dr Carl Ludwig Wunderlich (her sister-in-law Charlotte Wöhler's son-in-law), and agreed to finance the publication of the Störzel genealogy that he was compiling. By the end of November 1924 she was once again in Mazatlán.

Mexico was still reeling from years of revolution and civil unrest and the firm was struggling to recover from the crippling embargoes imposed upon the firm by the US blacklist. But Alfredo found opportunities in these turbulent times, and he consolidated his father's efforts to turn the firm's focus toward international commerce banking to considerable success, appearing with the Melchers in the 1925 Public Registry of Property as the principal investors and lenders in Sinaloa.⁷ A financial report filed on the last day of 1924 shows Alfredo and his mother were now the sole owners of Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores, reporting assets of over 23M of today's dollars with branches in Mazatlán, Culiacán, Guamuchil, San

⁷ Aguilar Aguilar, Alfredo, *Crecimiento económico e intermediación financiera en Sinaloa: 1914-1926*, p. 55

Blas, Navojoa, and Hamburg, Germany (Bartning Gebruder). It also listed the clear ownership of the Chametla Salt Works and Plomosas Mines, several silver and gold mines, numerous real estate holdings, including La Voz del Pueblo store in Mazatlán, the coffee plantation El Manacal, and several properties in Germany, while retaining the exclusive representation of the US companies, John Deere Plow Company, the Pierce Oil Corporation, the Giant Powder Company, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Co.

On Tuesday, 24 March 1925, Alfredo crossed into the US at Nogales and took a train to Washington, DC. The following Monday he married Antoinette Margaret Montgomery (née Schwartz). They had met five years earlier, when the 27 year-old Antoinette (known affectionately as Tui, or Tooe) had arrived in Mazatlán with her husband, the wealthy American mining impresario, Ernest A. 'Bob' Montgomery and their seven year-old daughter, Peggy, to look for property investments and mining opportunities. Bob's business was principally in California, to where he and Tui had moved after their wedding in New York on 23 September 1912. But by 1925 the marriage had failed and Bob and Tui divorced. Tui and her daughter had returned to New York, and over the years had maintained a steady correspondence with Alfredo, following the sad news of his young wife's demise.



Alfredo Wöhler, ca. 1925

Following the ceremony, Alfredo legally recognised Peggy as his own, and that September, after seeing Peggy settled into the Tenacre School in Wellesley, Massachusetts, the newly-weds departed for Europe, where they spent a few weeks in Hamburg with Mathilde. Over the next years they maintained a life of travel: Bermuda, Seattle and Canada in 1926; a month in Hawaii in 1927; Guatemala, then Chiapas and a tour of the El Manacal plantation in 1928; the following year Tui flew a mail



Peggy, Tui, unknown employee, and Alfredo at the Hacienda El Manacal coffee plantation, Chiapas, 1928

plane across the continent, receiving the bronze Charles Lindbergh commemorative table medal; Europe again in the summer of 1930 with Tui and Peggy, and that December, a holiday at the Circle Z Ranch, a dude ranch in Patagonia, Arizona. In the Mazatlán Census of 15 March 1930 Tui and Alfredo are listed as permanent residents of Mazatlán. Yet despite Mazatlán's undeniable charms, as an urbane and sophisticated New Yorker Tui was understandably reluctant to sever all ties with her native Manhattan and since 1928 she had kept a 'permanent' residence at the luxurious Madison Hotel (Madison Avenue and 58th Street), dividing her time between New York City and their home in Mexico.

Numerous records during these years show Alfredo taking yearly trips to Germany alone, or in the company of Tui or his mother Mathilde. Like his father before him, Alfredo continued to develop the mining potential of Sinaloa, and he appears in the 12 May 1934 issue of the *Finan-*

cial Chronicle as having set up a Nevada Corporation (Sinaloa Premier Mines Co.) in 1930 with two American partners to raise \$542,103.00 for the purposes of extracting silver and gold from Mexico. He also held diplomatic posts. On 29 November 1923 Alfredo was appointed Vice-Consul for Sweden, and in September 1928 was made Honorary German Consul in Mazatlán. He was also Consular Agent for Nicaragua, a post he renounced on 8 October 1930. Six years later he received from the King of Sweden the Order of Vasa cross for meritorious services. However, unable to reconcile his position as consul for both Germany and Sweden, on 15 July 1939 he resigned from his post as Swedish Vice-Consul, arguing that as a German-born majority owner of a German firm, he felt duty bound to relinquish his consular ties with Sweden.

In August 1936 mother and daughter met at the Hotel Gladstone in New York before Tui sailed to Mexico on the ‘SS Siboney.’ It would be the last time they would see one other.

With the advent of WW II in the following decade, Alfredo’s situation deteriorated. He was listed in *US Council for Pan-American Democracy* and spuriously identified as a Nazi agent in the port of Mazatlán and owner of the newspaper [sic] *La Voz del Pueblo*. Adolf Berle, Assistant US Secretary of State, wrote a State Department document which made indiscriminate statements labelling many Latin American German groups as subversive, indicting German commercial firms as “indispensable media for the operation of the Nazi system,” and asserting that “... virtually all the Reichsdeutschen [Germans born in Germany] in Latin America are sincere supporters of the Nazi regime” and that “virtually every non-Jewish German citizen belongs to some branch of the Nazi hierarchy.”⁸ The United States then implemented three programs to identify, imprison, and repatriate civilians considered a threat to the country during the war years; the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the Enemy Alien Control Program, and a State Department program called the Special War Problems Division in Latin America. In all three, both legal

⁸ Council for Pan American Democracy, *5th Column in Mexico*, NY, 1941, p. 30.

resident aliens and naturalised citizens whose ethnicity was suspect, were targeted. Under pressure from the US, Mexico followed suit and ordered the closure of all German consulates. Germans, Italians, and Japanese residents and their families were relocated to an internment camp in El Perote, in the state of Veracruz, to be held until the end of the war.

On 30 August 1941 Alfredo renounced the German citizenship he had held since the age of 20 and resigned as Honorary German Consul in Mazatlán. The following day, in compliance with the US Government blacklist, *La Voz del Pueblo* was intervened by the Mexican authorities and he was forced to resign as president and general manager. On 18 December 1941 he began the process of acquiring Mexican nationality, but a week earlier a presidential decree had frozen all naturalisation proceedings and Alfredo's legal status would remain in limbo for the duration of the war. On 26 September 1942 the remaining Wöhler, Bartning properties in Mexico were expropriated, including the coffee plantation *El Manacal* and *La Voz del Pueblo*, whose management he was forced to turn over to a Mexican partner and deposit in the Bank of Mexico offices of Mazatlán the 98% of the shares he owned. Of these, 23% were owned by Tui, who in 1930 had contributed to the firm the \$11,000 (\$160,000 today) she obtained from the sale of her California property to the Congregational Mission of Southern California, and who, as a US citizen, was exempt from these obligations. But the Mexican authorities disregarded her exemption and forced Tui to surrender her shares to the Bank of Mexico. Additional funds owned by Alfredo Wöhler, Preferred Stock Certificates covering 114 shares in the California Produce Company, funds held in a US bank, were also intervened by the Mexican government. *La Voz del Pueblo*, the principal department store of Mazatlán for nearly seventy years, closed its doors one final time.

During this time Mathilde lived alone in Hamburg with her sister Hedwig. Long-suffering from poor eyesight, she had been nearly blind since the end of the 1930s and was now wholly

dependent on her sister to manage her household. Moreover, the United States embargo against German-owned companies in Latin America had seen her economic situation deteriorate, and with all revenues blocked from the Mexican business, she was forced to live from the sale of her jewels, heirlooms and paintings, often swindled by unscrupulous middle-men. In 1939 her niece, Helga Chlebowsky (née Bonelli), wrote to don Carlos that “Tante Mathilde is doing very poorly financially. She no longer receives any money from Mexico ... the two



*Abteistrasse 49, Hamburg.
Interior, 1930*

old ladies live off the sale of their jewels and their paintings and they're aren't doing too well, since these things cannot be spoken of in public”.

On the morning of 10 December 1942, Mathilde found her sister Hedwig dead in her bed. On 3 May the following spring she wrote to her nephew don Carlos Wöhler in Madrid lamenting that she had heard nothing from her son since November 1941, and for years had received no revenues from Mexico, suspecting that, at least since July 1942, Alfredo had been held in detainment as German Consul. Despite the intervention of his business, Alfredo had nonetheless managed to have his name removed from the blacklist and avoid internment, and although he and Tui were permitted to remain in at their home on Calle Constitución in Mazatlán during the war years, all correspondence to Germany was seized by the censors and he was unable to communicate with his mother. Two months later, on 27 July, the RAF bombardment during Operation Gomorrah flattened entire neighbourhoods in Hamburg, described by Rob Hopmans in WW2 Gravestone as follows:

“The tornadic fire created a huge inferno with winds of up to 240 kilometres per hour (150 mph) reaching temperatures of 800 °C (1,470 °F) and altitudes in excess of 300 metres (1,000 ft), incinerating more than 21 square kilometres (8 sq mi) of the city. Asphalt streets burst into flame, and fuel oil from damaged and destroyed ships, barges and storage tanks spilled into the water of the canals and the harbour, causing them to ignite as well...A large number of those killed died seeking safety in bomb shelters and cellars, the firestorm consuming the oxygen in the burning city above. The furious winds created by the firestorm had the power to sweep people up off the streets like dry leaves. Hamburg was hit by air raids another 69 times before the end of World War II. In total, the RAF dropped 22,580 long tonnes of bombs on Hamburg.”

Mathilde survived the bombing but the damage to her house was considerable. She opened her home to those whose properties had been destroyed and those neighbours left homeless settled in as best they could. Gravely concerned, her nephew Carlos sent a telegram from Spain, but her reply did not go through. From a retired frigate captain in Berlin, Herr Johann Bernh. Mann, who forwarded her letter, Carlos learned two weeks later that her house had suffered serious damage to the second floor and was being repaired “because all around me there are breached houses and terrible destruction, despite Harvestehude having suffered the least, while other neighbourhoods have completely disappeared from the earth. We are without water, gas, and electricity and cut off from the outside world.”

On 4 November 1943, Mathilde suffered a heart attack and drowned in her bath.

With all his income seized, Alfredo embarked on a quest to recover his intervened properties, a tireless pursuit that would occupy him for the rest of his life. Over the following years he would write repeatedly to the US and Mexican authorities requesting a revision of his status, but

his efforts met with little success. News from Germany were equally dispiriting. A letter from a friend in Bremen dated August 1946 reported the destruction of 60% of the dwellings in city, where “every man and woman from 18 to 65 years has to work a week helping to shovel away the debris and cleaning the bricks so they may be used again.” The survivors have to live on rations that are “too little to live, too much to die,” with monthly allotments of only 400 g of meat, 250 g of sugar, 1 egg, 1/2 lb. of cheese, 1/2 lb. of fat, 1 litre of milk, and three slices of bread a day. Written in English—German or Spanish wouldn’t pass the American censors—the letter also supplied news of several descendants of the original merchant houses in Mexico, families with whom the Wöhlers had long associated. The Melchers’s home in Bremen was bombed out; their son Fritz had died in Russia of typhoid fever after being taken prisoner at Stalingrad; another son had died in France; one of Otto Bartning’s nephews perished in the war, as did two of the Delius sons. In Hamburg, the elegant and soignée home his mother had lovingly created over a lifetime was only partially damaged, but since the surrender it had been requisitioned by the authorities.

On 16 October 1947, after waiting nearly six years, the Mexican government finally granted Alfredo citizenship. Four months later, with his papers in order, he travelled to the capital one last time to meet with his lawyers, who had assured him this time his requests would immediately be granted. Arriving in Mexico City on the overnight train from Guadalajara on 13 February 1948, he checked into the Hotel Guardiola, where he was met by a young man sent to arrange a meeting with the lawyers for that afternoon. Later, he sat down and wrote Tui a letter, telling her the young man had made a “very good impression, professionally as well as otherwise and he seems to be quite hopeful that he can arrange for the desintervention [sic] of the firm”. But the process had taken its toll. The same letter relates how he was “feeling pretty rotten, [that] this time the altitude has affected me badly and I have once and a while [sic] heart-trouble and breathing difficulties”. Two days later Alfredo suffered

cardiac arrest and died of a broken heart in Mexico City without having secured the release of his properties. He was fifty-nine years old.

That letter was the last news Tui would receive from her husband. Two years later, on 29 July 1950, she passed away in Mazatlán at the age of fifty-seven of acute bacterial heart failure stemming from a lingering illness that had prevented her from following through on Alfredo's efforts to settle the estate. When in October of that year Peggy and her husband Bill travelled to Mexico to retrieve Tui's ashes, they found most of their possessions (including Alfredo's personal items) had been stolen by house staff and their properties and holdings confiscated by the Mexican Government. As sole heiress and executrix of the estate, Peggy retained various Mexican lawyers to seek a settlement, all of whom offered assurances that the estate would be resolved to her satisfaction. But their efforts were unsuccessful, and she was informed that much of her parents' property had already been 'liquidated' by judicial order. The Wöhler patrimony in Germany was also affected: evidence of having paid off a mortgage on the family home on Abteistraße 49 in Hamburg had mysteriously disappeared from their solicitor's files in London.

In 1955 Peggy and her husband Bill returned to Mexico City to meet with more lawyers and seek restitution for her father's seized properties, but the effort bore no fruit. The firm that had been in the family since its founding in 1841 by Alfredo's great-uncle, Heinrich Störzel, the banking, mining, agricultural and commercial enterprises that for a century had contributed to the development of the West Coast of Mexico and had overcome every obstacle imaginable—from military invasion and naval blockades to revolution and the destruction of their property, from epidemics of bubonic plague and yellow fever to the blacklisting in the First World War—was forever lost, collateral damage to the cruel vicissitudes of a world at war.



Wöhler, Bartning and La Voz del Pueblo, Mazatlán, ca 1890

Helmuth Wöhler: The Agronomist

(Schwerin, 7.2.1853 – Klintehamn, 30.12.1950)

Helmuth Wöhler was Hellmuth Friedrich's third son born in Schwerin. Complications with childbirth took his mother when he was two days old and by his third birthday the family had moved to Gotland and his aunt Emilie had become his stepmother. Growing up on the family estate of Klintebys, with its mills, forests and vast agricultural plantations, he decided to dedicate his life to agronomy. After completing high school in Visby, he enrolled at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences at Ultuna, Uppsala, graduating on 22 October 1874 with a degree in Agricultural Engineering. Following his graduation, Helmuth moved to Hägeby, a municipality of Uppsala, where for the next decade he would work as an agronomist and agricultural inspector, holding various positions as a manager of major agricultural properties.

In 1885 he married the 24 year-old Eva Hellman. Eva's mother, Mathilde Gerle, had married the military officer, Lars Frans Hellman, from Köping in 1857. She was Lars's second wife; two years earlier, his first wife, Anna Sophia Heljkorn, had died in childbirth, leaving him with five orphaned children in need of a mother. Over the next four years Mathilde gave birth to three girls: Marta, who died an infant,

*Helmuth Wöhler, 1882**Eva Hellman Wöhler, ca 1886*



*Mathilde Gerle Hellman,
date unknown.*

Fannie, born two years later, and Eva, in 1861. Their marriage, however, ended in divorce when Mathilde left Lars in 1867. Five years later she emigrated to California, taking the three-month voyage by steamer to Sacramento by way of Cape Horn. She would be joined in 1874 by her daughter Fannie; her youngest daughter, Eva, would stay behind with relatives in Stockholm for reasons that remain unclear.

Mathilde's brothers, Charles and Chris Gerle, had emigrated to California in 1851 and 1854 respectively, seeking their fortunes in the Gold Rush. By the early 1860s the brothers had settled in the neighbouring towns of Uniontown and Coloma, in the California Gold Country, and had purchased from Indians a ranch in the high sierra of El Dorado County, where they raised hogs and cattle which during the summer months they'd drive to Virginia City and sell to the miners. The Gerle Ranch became a very important way-stop on the road to Lake Tahoe from Georgetown in the 1860s, remaining so well into the twentieth Century after the ranch property was sold off in 1889 to the California Water Company. Gerle Creek and Gerle Reservoir in the El Dorado National Forest are named after them.

In Sacramento, California, with her brother Charles William signing as witness, on 24 February 1873 Mathilde married the forty-one year-old Irishman, John O'Neill. Mathilde and Fannie's life in California with John is hard to trace. At some point they were in San Francisco, where in 1876, the seventeen year-old Fannie married Henry Boucher. It is likely Mathilde and John spent some years in the Bay Area, although by 1889 they were living in Los Angeles.

In 1889 Helmuth Wöhler and Eva had been married four years and had two boys, Helmuth, aged three, and Karl (don Carlos), of five

months. Receiving the news that Mathilde was gravely ill, Helmuth and Eva took their children and set sail on the steamer 'Romea', landing in the East Yorkshire port of Hull on 17 May 1889, and continuing by train to Liverpool, the principal port of embarkation for vessels sailing to the United States. Ten days later they arrived in New York and proceeded to California by rail, a journey that with the Trans-Continental Railway now took just over a week.

Eva and Helmuth arrived in Los Angeles to find Mathilde on her deathbed. After sixteen years of marriage her relationship with her husband had soured, and fearing to die intestate—in which case he would inherit her worldly goods—she summoned urgently for a solicitor to draw up her will. But when Helmuth returned with the lawyer he was met at the foot of the staircase by O'Neill, a six-shooter in each hand, warning that "whoever goes up those stairs will get a bellyful of lead". The attorney returned to his office and Helmuth and Eva stayed on to look after her mother, who succumbed to her illness and died on 15 August 1889 at the age of 54. Mathilde was buried at the Angelus Rosedale Cemetery in Los Angeles.

Mr O'Neill returned to Ireland and was never heard from again.

Helmuth and Eva remained in the United States for some time after Mathilde's death. Don Carlos's notes indicate the family returned to Sweden that autumn, when Helmuth began his work as administrator of the family estate at Klintebys. Yet the 4 February 1943 edition of *Gotlands Allehanda* celebrating his upcoming 90th birthday mentions that Helmuth's stay in America lasted several years, during which he was actively involved in agriculture. Eventually, the young family returned to Gotland and purchased a farm in Väskekinde named 'Västkind's'.

Västkind's prospered under Helmuth's ownership, though he also assisted his brother Willy in the management of the family estates in Klintebys, keeping it profitable for a number of years. Keenly interested in the various problems of agriculture, Helmuth served as a long-standing and active member of the Housekeeping Society's Administrative Committee



Helmuth Wöhler, ca 1935

and was a champion of workers and peasants' rights, leading over 5000 Gotland workers and farmers during the uprisings in the early part of the twentieth century.

Eva died in 1904 at the age of forty-three. She was buried at the Väskinde graveyard with the inscription "En god kvinna är det bästa Gud har skapat" (A good woman is the best that the Lord can give) engraved on her gravestone, a phrase that displeased the local clergy, but was in time eventually accepted.

Thirteen years later, on 5 August 1917, Helmuth married Sigrid Carolina Lindahl (born in Aspö, Blekinge, Sweden on 14 October 1886) in Väskinde. In 1924 he sold his farm and withdrew from agriculture, moving to Visby, where he worked, among other things, as the County Administrative Board's representative on the lease estimation of vicarage on Gotland. For several years he lived in Fårösund, on the northern coast of Gotland before moving to Klintehamn, where he built a home on Björkvägen 14, planting many fruit trees in the garden. The *Gotlands Allehanda* article adds, "Mr Wöhler, despite his advanced age, is spiritually and physically vital and, at times, takes a bicycle for a ride. He has shown

particular interest in horticulture, and in his retirement it is his dearest job to be allowed to work in his beautiful garden, which contains a variety of berries and fruits". Helmuth lived in Klintehamn the rest of his life, dying in 1950 at the age of 97. He is buried in the churchyard in Väskinda together with his first wife. Sigrid survived him by some years.

Postscript

The San Francisco Censuses of 1860 and 1865 first lists a John O'Neill (born 1832) as a 'Bar Keeper' and later as a dealer in wholesale liquor. While this connection is only circumstantial, given that John O'Neill is a common name, family lore tells of O'Neill returning to Ireland after Mathilde's demise to open a bar. For several years in the 1950s and 60s, prior to building their own home in Torreblanca, Mike and Bea George and their four children would spend their summer holidays with the Dunevs at the Wöhler family residence in southern Spain. Mike George, director of Pan American Airways in Paris and Istanbul, had been the personal assistant to the US Ambassador Hayes in Madrid during the war and knew Robert Dunev from his days in the OSS. Ninus Dunev and the Irish-born Bea George, née O'Boyle, had both given birth to children in Madrid only a week apart and they had grown very close. Bea's relationship to the Wöhler family was discovered by accident one day over lunch, when don Carlos related this story to her. Bea recalled that her grandmother's uncle in Ireland was called John O'Neill, and that he had returned to Ireland from California at the end of the nineteenth century after the death of his wife. Don Carlos remembered he had a photo of Mathilde somewhere, which he would look for and show Bea the following year, when the Georges return for their holidays. A year later Bea was able to recognise the photo of Catharina Mathilda as the same one she'd seen years earlier in her grandmother's home.

The Rock, a well-known pub in Belfast was founded in 1901 by a Mr O'Neill, plausibly the same man who had married Mathilde Gerle in 1873.



*Eva and Helmuth Wöhler pose with their sons
prior to embarking for America, May, 1889*

CHAPTER EIGHT

Children of Helmuth Wöhler and Eva Hellman

During the years Helmuth worked as an agronomist in Hägeby Eva gave birth to two boys, both of whom would marry sisters.

(Lars) Helmuth Wöhler

(Hägeby, Uppland, 27.7.1886 – 29.8.1975)

Named after his father and grandfather, Helmuth would grow up on the family farm in Väskinde, moving to the mainland to attend university, where he studied engineering. After completing his studies he worked at The Singer Company in Stockholm, rising to the position of general manager of industrial machinery, a post he held until his retirement.

On 27 June 1916 he married the 29 year-old Alfild Bernhardina Lindqvist, the Goteborg-born daughter of the Saltsjöbaden builder, August Lindqvist, whose sister Elsa would marry Helmuth's brother Carlos four years later. Helmuth and Alfild had no children of their own, but they raised their niece Nena, the Barcelona-born daughter of their respective brother and sister. The reason given for Nena's removal to Sweden was that because of her 'frail constitution', Spanish doctors had advised her parents move her to a colder climate, prompting Carlos and Elsa to settle her with her aunt and uncle.

Alfild passed away and in 1951 Helmuth then married Olga Wiktorina Wöhler (Stockholm, 12 March 1904 – 18 June 1988) also without issue.

(Karl Alfred) 'don Carlos' Wöhler

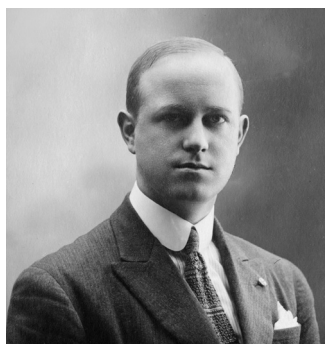
(Häggeby, Uppland, 19.9.1888 – Madrid, 18.12.1982)

The kernel that sprouted into this family investigation, Carlos Wöhler spent his childhood on Väskinda, the farm his father owned on the island of Gotland. A hyperactive youth, he enjoyed sports, often seen skiing in winter, or playing tennis, competing in track and field or sailing during the summers. In 1908 he graduated from high school and moved to Stockholm,

where he continued his studies at the Stockholm Superior Technological School, graduating in January 1914 with a degree in Civil Engineering.

Thirty kilometres to the east of Stockholm, a twenty-minute train ride away, is the resort-like suburb of Saltsjöbaden. Surrounded by densely forested islands, it is the brainchild of Knut A. Wallenberg, the wealthy bank director who envisioned a Swedish version of Montecarlo, complete with a casino and tony waterfront properties. To realise his dream, he brought in August Lindqvist from Göteborg, the builder who, during the years between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries put up the elegant Saltsjöbaden Grand Hotel, an assortment of mansions along the water's edge, and Saltsjöbaden's *Uppenbarelskyrkan* Church.

Lindqvist's eldest daughter, Alfhild, was seeing Helmuth Wöhler, and during Carlos's university years in Stockholm he would frequently accompany his brother on his visits to the Lindqvist family in Saltsjöbaden, spending weekends and holidays at their home. Alfhild had two younger sisters, the twins Elsa and Maggie, who often played with Carlos during his visits, sitting on his lap and calling him 'Uncle Kalle'.



Don Carlos Wöhler, ca. 1920

Mobilised on 2 August 1914 during the First World War, he spent the winter of 1914-1915 on ski patrol in Lapland and the Russian-Finnish border. Falling ill in the spring of 1915, he was hospitalised and discharged from military duty. That May he was offered a job overseas, at the Spanish offices of ASEA, the Swedish industrial firm specialising in the production of generators, motors and electrical transformers. He liked Madrid. With its open and relaxed lifestyle, it was worlds apart from his native Gotland. Moreover, his gregarious personality and natural curiosity endeared him to his colleagues and he took easily to Spanish customs, dropping his Swedish Christian name of Karl to replace it with 'Carlos'.



Elsa Lindqvist, 1919

In June of 1918, he was promoted and sent to open a Barcelona branch of the firm. Leasing a large second-storey flat on the corner of Rambla Catalunya and the Gran Via, he moved in, dividing the floor into office space and living quarters. Responsible for the firm's activities in the Mediterranean littoral, his work included the sale of marine engines to the fishing fleet in Cartagena and the introduction of electricity to the island of Mallorca with the sale of thirteen power plants.

The following year he returned to Sweden. Carlos and Elsa's old playful friendship had blossomed into something more. He asked for her hand and she accepted. They were married on 8 February 1920 at the Swedish Church in Paris. After a brief honeymoon, they settled into their new home in Barcelona, where, over the next four years Elsa would give birth to three daughters.



Baby, Ninus and Nena, ca. 1930

Offered the position of General Manager to the 'Worthington Pump and Machinery Corporation' in Madrid, in 1926 he returned with his family to the capital. Two years later, on 31 December 1928, he founded the Spanish division of the 'De Laval Steam Turbina Co.' of Stockholm, taking the firm to the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, where he met King Alfonso XIII.

The military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, in power since 1923, was overthrown in 1930. The following year Spain became a Republic and King Alfonso XIII went into exile. The fledgling democracy of the early thirties were heady times in Spain, as all shades of political factions struggled for hegemony in a confusing mix of half-baked ideologies and utopian dreams. Carlos would travel extensively during these years, driving his Ford Model A to every corner of the peninsula, getting to know his customers and learning of their needs. Although usually made alone, Elsa and the girls sometimes would accompany him on these trips, and the family travelled together to Andalucía in 1931, the Levant the following year, and the Basque Country in 1935.



Don Carlos refuels his Model A on the road, ca. 1932

In July 1936 General Franco rose up in insurrection and the Civil War broke out, ushering Spain into its darkest days since the Inquisition. The siege of Madrid lasted nearly three years and Elsa and the girls were despatched to Sweden, away from the danger and the chaos of the capital, whilst Carlos stayed behind to look after his business. His company was one of only two Swedish firms that elected to remain in Republican Madrid, the rest having moved their operations to the Nationalist side in Andalucía. For three years the inhabitants of Madrid suffered under constant bombardments and the destruction wrought upon the city was considerable. Nevertheless, Carlos was able to continue with his work, keeping import operations functioning through the few Republican ports that had not been blockaded by Franco's forces. He also continued to travel, a dangerous undertaking in those days, given the number of roadblocks that were common on Spanish roads. When the militia stopped him he reminded them that he was a citizen of Socialist Sweden; at the Falangist roadblocks he reminded them that Sweden was neutral, replies that invariably allowed him safe passage. The Swedish Embassy in Madrid was virtually unstaffed, and he was often requested to perform auxiliary diplomatic and administrative duties for the Swedish Legation.

Madrid fell to the Nationalist forces in late March 1939 and Franco sent in his Moorish troops to sack the city. Gabriel Jackson, in his 1967 book *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939* reports that "many of the Republican defenders of Madrid were among the up to 200,000 people who were executed or died during imprisonment by Franco's regime between 1939 and 1943". But some of these troops met with opposition. Pedro, an old doorman in don Carlos's building, revealed to this author in the early 1970s that after the fall of Madrid two of Franco's Moorish troops burst into don Carlos's flat, looking for loot. Don Carlos surprised them, and in the scuffle that followed, tossed them both off the balcony onto the street below.

On 1 April 1939 Franco issued a terse declaration from Burgos stating, "Today, with the Red Army captured and disarmed, the national-

ist troops have reached their military objectives. The war is over.” The war had left a country impoverished, disheartened, and discouraged, filled with rancour and distrust. But the destruction wreaked upon the land enabled Carlos’s company to profit from the demand for infrastructure as the country struggled to rebuild. He opened an office in Málaga and purchased a farm in Cartagena, and in 1948 he built a house on the beach in Fuengirola, opposite the one his daughter Baby and her husband Juanito owned on Spain’s Costa del Sol, that was to become the locus of family gatherings and holidays.

Carlos remained deeply involved with the Scandinavian Community in Madrid. He founded the Swedish Library and was a founding member of the Swedish School, as well as an active member of the Scandinavian Circle, a kind of cultural institution and chamber of commerce all rolled into one. In 1950 he purchased from its Swedish headquarters the company he had been running for twenty years, changing the name ‘De Laval’ to ‘Robur S.A. de Maquinaria.’ Over the following years he received recognition and honours from institutions ranging from local administrations to chambers of commerce and business associations, to the governments of Sweden and Spain. He was elected president of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce in Madrid; Knighted (First Class) into the Order of Vasa on 29 March 1955, and on 17 January 1957 was inducted Commander into the Agricultural Merit Order, an award issued by



Centro Escandinavo, Madrid ca 1940

General Franco himself, for his work in opening the arid lands of Andalucía to irrigation.

But Carlos also enjoyed the good life. Together with like-minded friends, he founded two gastronomic societies, The Grand Order of Eaters of Lamb ('La Corderada') and The Grand Order of Eaters of Crab ('La Cangrejada'), whose regular meetings, marked with mock seriousness and histrionics, became pivotal in the activities of Madrid's international business elite. Fredrik Tusklind, Grand Master of the Order of Eaters of Lamb (2001-2014) describes its origins best:

"The story of La Corderada cannot begin without mentioning D. Carlos Wöhler, a native of the island of Gotland, where sheep abound. Recently examined as an engineer he arrived in Madrid in 1915, employed by the company ASEA (now ABB). He was transferred for a few years to Barcelona and then was back in Madrid as representative of the company De Laval, where he remained the rest of his life in Madrid, the birthplace of this Illustrious and Ancient Order.

The life of D. Carlos was enormously rich and colourful, thanks to his entrepreneurship, curiosity and fondness for the customs, gastronomy and traditions of the people of his host country. His successful business activity took him to the confines of the entire national territory. He remained in Madrid throughout the Civil War, maintaining his business as he could, managing to move between both sides of the war front, a sure sign of his willpower, courage and 'savoir-faire'.

Near the Swedish Embassy, the house of Elsa and Carlos Wöhler on Zurbano Street became 'the anchor' for not only Swedish but also Scandinavian communities, since the expatriates of the Nordic countries felt a greater affinity toward each other at that time. The generosity and hospitality of Elsa and Carlos was highly appreciated by the Scandinavians who were passing through or coming to settle temporarily or permanently in the country. This social activity led, under his initiative, to the creation in 1940 of the Scandinavian Centre and

in 1944, of the Swedish School for Rosales, now the Scandinavian School.

Postwar Spain, as we all know, was very precarious at the social level; there was hunger and a lot of hardship, as well as a country in economic ruin. It had to be rebuilt with very few means and the money only trickled in. One of the formulas devised by the economists of the time was to create import quotas for each type of merchandise and for each country, according to its capacity and willingness to absorb Spanish exports, all in order to balance imports with exports. A tremendously slow and tedious process with the administration and the civil servants of the time.

The business of D. Carlos depended on obtaining the highest possible import quotas. As it was logical, the activity of D. Carlos was directed towards the dairy farmers with the De Laval milk separators. He therefore benefitted of the privilege of obtaining suckling lambs in his visits to client friends in the countryside. With the boot of the car loaded with magnificent raw material, he would arrive at the (then) humble hole-in-the-wall, 'La Casa Franco', on the outskirts of Madrid, located now on the central street of Bravo Murillo near Plaza Castilla. They would prepare a great feast to which he'd invite his friends and business associates. Little by little La Corderada, which had started spontaneously and informally in the years after the Civil War, developed and grew. During years of famine we imagine that it was not difficult to tempt the key officials of the Ministry of Commerce with a succulent lamb. It was a simple, friendly and enjoyable formula to promote relations and the 'goodwill' of both countries!"



Carlos Wöhler, Grand Master

At the end of 1963 Carlos sold his business and retired. Despite living most of his life in Spain, he never severed his ties with his native Gotland. In the 1950s he had paid for the fencing and reforestation of a number of areas on Stora Karlsö, the nature preserve founded by his uncle Willy, and he had been a major contributor to the building of its museum. In 1972 he made a considerable donation for archaeological explorations on the island and two years later donated his vast collection of Gotlandica and Karlsöläna books to Stora Karlsö, forming the foundation of the island's library. Additional endowments followed in 1978 and 1981, which funded science classes at the library. Never idle in retirement, Carlos and Elsa spent their final years travelling the world, with extended visits to Iceland, Sweden and Gotland, Peru, Brazil, the Caribbean and the US, maintaining throughout his life the active interest in ornithology, botany, history and archaeology, earning him the nickname of 'the walking encyclopaedia.'

He died in December 1982, followed, a month later, by Elsa.



Don Carlos, Stora Karlsö, 1955



Ninus and Baby delight a Stockholm audience performing as the Hermana Sisters, 1942

CHAPTER NINE

The daughters of Carlos Wöhler and Elsa Lindqvist

Baby

Carlos and Elsa's first child, Eva Carmen Elisabeth, affectionately known as Baby, was born in Barcelona on 15 February 1921. Moving to Madrid at the age of five, she attended the German School until 1936, when the Spanish Civil War broke out. Determined to look after his business in Madrid, Don Carlos shipped his wife Elsa and their daughters to Sweden, away from the dangers of war. In Stockholm, Baby completed her baccalaureate studies and took her confirmation in Visby on the isle of Gotland.



*Baby attends a bullfight,
Madrid, ca. 1944*

Returning to Spain, in 1943 she was hired as a designer by Ana de Pombo for her prestigious fashion house on the Avenida Generalísimo (now called La Castellana), later revealed to be a cover operation of Colonel Heymann's, the Director of the *Abwehr* (the German Armed Forces Intelligence Service) in Spain. Don Carlos was briefed by his son-in-law, Robert Dunev of the OSS, but he was unable to persuade Baby to leave the firm, convinced as she was of Ana's innocence. Ana de Pombo and her lover Armin Schmidt were eventually exposed (for financial misappropriation rather than political affiliation) and both fled Spain in 1944.

In 1947 Baby wed Hans 'Juanito' Hoffmann (Berlin, 1916–Málaga, 1998), an officer in the Condor Legion who had participated in the bombing of Guernica on 27 April 1937. During WWII he was an airforce *Sonderführer* (special leader) and a member of the Gestapo high command attached to the German Embassy in Madrid. A personal friend of

Hitler's, he was his official translator during his encounters with Franco's military commanders and was sent to the Eastern Front as Liaison Officer with the División Azul (the Spanish contribution to the German war effort), working with General Muñoz Grandes and, after his replacement in 1942, with General Esteban Infantes. He is also credited with having worked closely with Hitler's foreign minister, Joaquim von Ribbentrop, in launching 'Operation Werwolf' and in the implementation of the Ogre Organisation, whose mission was to repatriate German nationals contrary to the Nazi regime for their removal to concentration camps.



Baby and Juanito Hoffmann, ca. 1947

Protected by Franco from Allied efforts to bring Nazi officers to justice after the war, in 1947 Juanito took his young wife to the Costa del Sol, where they built their home in Fuengirola. In the Civil Registry of 1949 Baby appears as the purchaser (for 15,000 pesetas) of the 'Finca



Hoffmann translates as Hitler awards General Muñoz Grandes the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves at the 'Wolf's Lair', 12 December 1942

Santa Amalia,' a large seaside property next to Fuengirola's Sohail castle. The following year the property was registered for the same amount to María Josefa Larrucea Samaniego, the wife of José Antonio Girón, Franco's Falangist Minister of Labour. Its owners, humble farmers, had been told by the then-mayor of Fuengirola, Salvador Sáenz de Tejada, that their property was about to be expropriated and advised them to take whatever they could for it.

Hoffmann benefitted from his partnership with Girón, and over the next decades the two would develop the tourist potential of the Costa del Sol. Known as the 'King of Marbella,' he was "intelligent, egocentric and unscrupulous,"¹ able to reap enormous profits through an obscure network of clients ranging from corrupt politicians to a Marbella *jet-set* (that included such sinister types as the arms dealer Khashoggi) while concealing his wartime activities behind a veneer of respectability. The German School of Marbella is named after him, and from 1966 to 1995 he served as Honorary Consul in Algeciras and Honorary Consul General in Málaga, as well as Dean of the Consular Corps from 1995 until his death in 1998.²

By 1950 Baby had filed for divorce and left the coast. Over the following years Baby's work took her from fashion to interior design, and until the late 1960s she worked on various assignments, including the prototype models for URBIS, the vast urbanisation project for the outskirts of Madrid, and the Hotel Al-Andalus of Torremolinos.

In 1951, as a representative for the Spanish fashion design industries, Baby travelled to Santiago, Chile, where she met her future husband, José Luis Messía, 14th Marqués de Busianos, born in Baños de la

1 Collado Seidel, Carlos (2013). *Geheimdienste, Diplomatie, Krieg. das Räderwerk der internationalen Beziehungen*. Berlín: Lit Verlag. p.45

2 In 2006, following the Caso Malaya corruption investigation, his son Juan German Hoffmann was sentenced to five years prison for money laundering and misappropriation of public funds. He fled the country and an Interpol warrant for his arrest was issued.



*Ambassador José Luis Messía, Marqués de Busianos
with Spanish President Felipe González, 1983*

Encina, Jaén, on 21 November 1920, then serving as Secretary General of the Institute for Spanish Culture in Santiago. Trained as a lawyer, Messía's long and illustrious diplomatic career included: Secretary-General of the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, Santiago de Chile and Paris, Cultural Advisor to the Spanish Embassies in Rome and Paris (where he tried unsuccessfully to convince Picasso to exhibit his work in Spain), Director-General of Cultural Relations, Consul General in Strasbourg, Chief of the Special Mission of Spain, Minister Plenipotentiary to the UN in New York, and Spanish Ambassador to Argentina in 1983. His many awards include the Grandes Cruces de Mérito Civil y de Cisneros, the Cruz de Honor de San Raimundo de Peñafort, the Order of Isabel la Católica, the Order of Alfonso X El Sabio, the Order of Merit of Chile, and the Cruzeiro do Sul of Brazil, and Knight of the Legion of Honour.

But his most important accomplishment was obtaining the acceptance of Spain into the Council of Europe, admission to which, due to her lack of a Constitution, had been denied during the dictatorship. For nearly two decades, on two separate occasions, he served as Spanish Ambassador to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. With consummate diplomatic skill and imagination, he found a formula that would allow

Spain's rapid entry into the Council of Europe while at the same time respecting the groups' substantive demands. In contact with the European parliamentarians of the main political forces, "Messía produced the philosopher's stone: a solemn declaration, signed by all the parties with parliamentary representation and endorsed by the Congress and the Senate, by which all of them committed themselves before the Council of Europe to adopt in the shortest timeframe a democratic Constitution guaranteeing the rights and freedoms contained in the European Convention on Human Rights and in the European Social Charter. That statement, backed by the presence of several Spanish political leaders of different ideologies in the debates of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, was the 'open sesame' that in a record time led to the entry of Spain into the Council a year before Spain had a Constitution. It was an entrance through the big door into democratic Europe, as told by José Luis Messía himself in his book *Por palabra de honor: The entry of Spain into the Council of Europe*".³

During the Franco regime, the Catholic Church was a very powerful institution and did not recognise divorce. Baby, being a divorcée, was unable to marry José Luis without seriously imperiling his career. Although they lived together intermittently from the late 1950s until his death, it was only after his retirement in 1986, when the proscription had elapsed and the consequences of which could no longer affect him, was he to become her second husband. Widely recognised as a *cordón bleu*, José Luis and Baby's table was highly prized amongst the diplomatic corps and dishes named after him are still served in various European restaurants.

José Luis passed away in Madrid on 24 November 1997, a few days after his seventy-seventh birthday. Baby survived him for some years, until pancreatic cancer claimed her on 11 October 2004. Their marriage produced no children.

³ Yañez-Barnuevo, Juan Antonio, "En memoria de José Luis Messía," *El País*, 29 November 1997

Nena

Elsa Margot Anita, known as 'Nena', was Carlos and Elsa's second daughter. Born on 25 July 1922, Nena suffered from poor health during her first years in Spain, prompting doctors to recommend for her another climate. Her parents placed her in the care of their brother and sister, Helmuth Wöhler and Alfhild Lindqvist Wöhler, married in Stockholm, who had no children of their own. Although she would see her sisters and mother during summer holidays, Nena would spend her formative years in Sweden.



*Nena and Erling Kirkegaard,
Goteborg*

Returning to Spain after the Civil War, she met Erling Visse Kirkegaard, a Danish engineer, resident of Madrid, whom she married in Goteborg in 1949. An avid sportsman, fisherman, and amateur hunter, Erling served Denmark as Consul General for Madrid and was for many years director of F. L. Smidth, a company specialising in the construction of cement factories in Spain.

After retirement, Nena and Erling moved into an assisted living facility in Granada, where Erling passed away on 15 January 2005. Nena died on 10 April 2007.

Their marriage produced two children, Kristian, born 1956, and Beatrice, two years later.

Ninus

The youngest of Carlos and Elsa's daughters, 'Ninus', was born Marie-Louise Mercedes on 27 May 1924 in Barcelona. She was two years old when her father moved the family to Madrid where, like her sisters, she was enrolled in the German School. During school holidays she often joined her sisters and parents in their frequent travels throughout Spain, as well as on their regular trips to visit family in Sweden.



Ninus, ca. 1942

In 1936, when the Spanish Civil War broke out, Madrid's Republican-held government resisted the Nationalist forces and a long and destructive siege followed. To protect his family, don Carlos Wöhler shipped them off to Sweden, away from the fighting. Ninus spent the following years completing her baccalaureate studies in Stockholm and taking her confirmation in Visby before returning to Madrid in 1943.

On 13 December that year she met the 22 year-old OSS officer, Robert Dunev, at a reception at the Swedish Embassy for Santa Lucia, the Swedish Goddess of Light. The only child of Boris Dunev and Ella White (née Weitzer), Robert grew up in New York City, having emigrated from Canada with his mother in 1923. At the age of 18 he obtained a US citizenship and enrolled at City College of New York with a major in Spanish literature, spending his senior year at the University of Mexico in Mexico City perfecting his Spanish. Upon graduation in September of 1942,



Robert Dunev, Madrid, 1943

he received orders to travel to Washington, DC, where he presented himself at the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Robert was inducted into the Service and began six weeks of intensive training in ciphers, hand-to-hand combat, explosives, and demolition at two secret locations outside of the capital known as ‘The Farms’.

He had been posted to Madrid that March as a ciphers officer under the nominal cover of the American Oil Mission. Headed by Walter Smith, the principal aim of the Mission was to oversee the distribution of oil from the US to war-battered Spain, a complex scheme designed to circumvent Congressional proscription against the fascist regime, while ensuring that it was not redelivered to German submarines. Madrid in 1943 was a hotbed of intelligence, with spies of all nationalities pullulating about, but German companies had branches all over Spain providing perfect covers for Axis espionage. As he relates in his memoirs, “We were a total of a dozen, more-or-less, OSS employees and agents in Madrid. This was not very impressive when compared to the hundreds of German Gestapo, Abwehr (German Military Intelligence) and SD (Nazi Party Intelligence) agents who operated freely with the agents of their Italian and Japanese allies.” From a small office upstairs from the Oil Mission, their main responsibilities included intercepting Axis communications, denying German access to wolfram, a strategic ingredient in arms development, “reporting military order of battle and industrial intelligence on the German war machine, [and] counterintelligence on German covert operations run through Spain”⁴



Ninus and Bob Dunev, Madrid, ca. 1945

⁴ Griffith, Aline, *The Secret War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*.

In August 1945, after the Japanese surrender to the Allied forces, the OSS was disbanded and most of the Madrid operatives were sent home. With the war officially over, the State Department allowed Ninus and Robert to wed. After their wedding in Gibraltar on 11 August, they stopped at the home of their friend, the American Consul in Málaga, Barnaby Conrad, Jr., a writer, artist, and *novillero* bullfighter, known as ‘El Niño de California,’ who was scheduled to take his alternativa the following month. They were unable to see Conrad’s graduation to matador, however, having been called to Madrid on 16 August, where Robert was informed he had been transferred from SI (Secret Intelligence) to X-2, a highly secretive counter-intelligence branch of the new Strategic Service Unit, considered to be the “elite within the elite”⁵

Robert’s new responsibilities at X-2 involved the investigation of German citizens in Spain for repatriation, compiling a list, called Category A, “of those persons who had been directly involved in the war effort through espionage, terrorism and similar activities”⁶. Having studied at the German School in Madrid, Ninus knew the German community well and she assisted him in his work, identifying German citizens who were partial to the Nazi cause. But his promotion came with a cost. The State Department had determined that many agents had been overpaid, and demanded the money returned. To do so, many went into debt, and it took Robert seven years to repay his mother and father-in-law don Carlos, who had advanced him the money to settle with the State Department.

In 1947 their son Peter was born and Robert was posted to Manila to initiate CIA operations in Southeast Asia under the cover of Vice-Consul at the US Embassy in the Philippines. Three years later, following disagreements with his superiors, he resigned from his post. His father-

5 Central Intelligence Agency website: *The Office of Strategic Services: America’s First Intelligence Agency X2*

6 Dunev, Robert: *The Spy Reminisces*, unpublished memoirs.

in-law offered him a position in his firm and Robert and Ninus took their three year-old son and returned to Madrid. But their personalities soon clashed and he declined the offer, embarking instead on a professional career that was varied and heterodox, taking the family through a hopscotch of postings during which time Ninus and Bob would have two more children in Madrid: Michael, born in 1952, and Christine, the following year.



Robert Dunev, ca 1960

His work included the First Spanish Fashion Festival in Madrid in 1952, where he worked with the designer Pedro Rodríguez and the Haute Couture Cooperative of Spain representing twenty-five major department stores from the United States. In 1955 the family moved to London, where he worked at Revlon in a managing capacity, then back to Madrid as managing director of the Castellana Hilton. In 1959 he was in Tangier, Morocco, as a partner in a fishing and processing company based in the

Spanish colony of Fernando Poo (Bioko, Equatorial Guinea). However, learning from the governor of Spain's imminent intention to grant the colony independence—which would close the unfettered access to the West African fishing grounds that his firm had enjoyed—Robert pulled the operation from the area and took his family to Spain, moving to Sevilla, where he managed the Seaspán fish processing plant in nearby Huelva. In 1964 the family relocated to Madrid and Robert joined the pharmaceutical multinational, Sterling Drug, as Marketing Director. Three years later he was promoted to General Manager and posted overseas. First to Lima, Peru, then Buenos Aires, Argentina, followed by São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, then Kingston, Jamaica, and finally, to San Juan, Puerto

Rico, where in 1981 Ninus passed away after a long illness.

Following the death of Ninus, Robert retired.⁷ A year later he married Ofelia González Tolezano (La Habana, Cuba, 24.4.1936 - Miami, Florida, 24.4.2019) and moved to Miami, where he lived with Ofelia and her mother, Maria Ofelia, until his death in 2006; their marriage produced no children.



Bob and Ofelia, Miami, ca. 1993

⁷ Upon his retirement, the US government refused to grant Robert a pension, stating that as he had been an undercover agent, they had no record of his service. Only after he filed suit was his veteran's pension issued him.

Marie, Julie, Emil and Charlotte Wöhler

The other family members appearing in the Riva studio photograph are Hellmuth Friedrich's three daughters and his youngest son. The eldest, Marie, was born in Wismar, Germany. The remaining three were born in Klintebys to Emilie Störzel, the sister of Helmuth Friedrich's first wife, Henriette, who died in childbirth with Hellmuth Wöhler.

Marie 'Maita' Samuel Dorothea Wöhler

(Warin, Wismar, 9.10.1851 – Alingsås, Sweden, 30.9.1934)

Standing behind Hellmuth and her step-mother Emilie is the eldest daughter, Marie Samuel Dorothea (or Maita, as she was affectionately known), born during her father's seclusion in the Grand Duke's estates while he awaited the result of his trial for treason. After his absolution by the Grand Duke, the family moved first to Denmark, and then to Gotland, where Marie spent her formative years. When her father left Gotland and returned to Germany, the twenty-five year-old Maita accompanied her parents to Wiesbaden, where two years later, on 27 June 1878, she married the Jewish businessman, Johannes ('Hans') Altmann.



*Marie Wöhler and
Johannes Altmann, 1882*

Hans and Maita's marriage produced two children born in Wiesbaden. Hans Helmuth Hugo Jacob Altmann was born in 1879, but he died before he was ten. Their second child, Curt Emil Karl August Wilhelm Altmann, was born in 1882, and he followed his father into business in Wiesbaden. On Saturday, 1 August 1914, he and the 22 year-old Caecilie Elisabeth Hortense Goldschmidt were married, but their joy was

dampened on learning that Germany had that day declared war on Russia, ordering a full mobilisation of its troops, and that Curt had been inducted into the army. A year later, with his wife Caecilie pregnant, he was sent to the front as a lieutenant and killed in action on 27 April 1915 at the Second Battle of Ypres during World War I.

Caecilie then moved to Dresden, where on 17 October 1915, she gave birth to a daughter, Eva Marie Alstmann, who died five days later. She later remarried to the businessman B. Nenndorf from Berlin, who “had all the commissions for glass and porcelain for the German Imperial Court”.¹ At the outbreak of World War II Caecilie was sent to a German concentration camp as part of The Final Solution, where, sometime after 1939, she perished.

When Hans died in 1923 at the age of 93 Maita was seventy-two. She had lost her husband and both her children and would live out the rest of her life alone in Wiesbaden. Yet she remained in touch with her family and kept an active correspondence with her nephew, don Carlos, until August 1934, when her last letter to him is dated. In Alingsås, Sweden, her nephew, Governor Karl Helmuth Wöhler and his wife were expecting the birth of their second son, Karl-Vilhelm. In early September she travelled to Sweden to attend the christening but died there two months before the child was born.

¹ Marie Wöhler Alstmann in a letter to don Carlos Wöhler dated 23 April 1934 explaining the provenance of the collection of monogrammed ‘RW’ crystal shot glasses don Carlos had received as a gift.

Julie (Marie Cordula Hermanna) Wöhler
(Klinterbys, 5.8.1855 – Vienna, 12.10.1912)

Seated next to her father in the Garda family portrait, the 27 year-old Julie sits before her betrothed, the Austrian officer Otto von Bonelli. Julie grew up on the family estate in Klinterbys, and though little is known of her early education, she likely left Gotland with her parents, since by the time she was in her early twenties she was living with her sister Maita in Wiesbaden.



Julie and Otto von Bonelli, 1882

Following the family reunion in Riva in 1882, she appears to have returned to Gotland. The Störzel genealogy dates their marriage in Wiesbaden on 8 November 1883, but the Klinter Church emigration index registers her departing for Linz, Austria, on 22 November of that year, alone and unmarried. Perhaps the newlyweds travelled to the family estate in Gotland after their Wiesbaden wedding and this entry registers her departure—only she was a member of the Church—two weeks later, mistakenly identifying her as single. Or she might have left Gotland alone, to meet Otto in Linz, where he was stationed, and they were married at a later date.

Otto von Bonelli was born in Meran, South Tyrol, on 10 March 1856. He was an officer of the Imperial Army of Franz Joseph's Austro-Hungarian Court who by 1 May 1908 had risen to the rank of Major General. Early in his career he was posted to Linz and Vienna before serving in Bosnia Herzegovina as Military Governor. In 1910 Bonelli died in Vienna at the age of 54 and Julie survived him by two years, passing away on 12 October 1912.

Their marriage produced two children. First came Helmuth, born in Linz, on 23 January 1885. He became a doctor in jurisprudence

and notary in Bohemia and the Sudetenland, now part of the Czech Republic, practising in Eger (Cheb) and Hohenelbe (Vrchlabí). In Marchendorf, Reisingebirge (Horní Maršov, Czech Republic), he married the 27 year-old Irma Hahnke on 2 September 1913. For the next twenty years until his death, Dr Bonelli would research the origins of the Wöhler family in the old imperial city of Cheb and share his discoveries with his cousin don Carlos. Their daughter Irmgard was born in Arnau (Hostin-
né, Czech Republic) in 1915. In 1934 while preparing for her exams in medicine, she sent her grand-aunt Maita Altsmann in Wiesbaden her recently-deceased father's papers on the Wöhler family history, which Maita promptly forwarded to her nephew, don Carlos. In 1939 she married a childhood friend, an architect working for the Military Administration in Mannheim, name unknown. Their second daughter, Irmtraut, was born in Hohenelbe (Vrchlabí, Czech Republic) in 1921. No details of their lives remain in the archives.

Julie and Otto's second child, Helga, was born in Vienna, Austria, on 18 February 1886. In 1906 she married Julius Chlebowsky, a lieutenant in the Austrian Army, whom she later divorced. They had one son, Otto Helmuth Chlebowsky, born Teschen (Český Těšín, Czech Republic) 17 February 1907.

On 25 February 1939, on the eve of World War II, Helga writes a long letter to her cousin don Carlos where she describes her passion for the Führer and her confidence in the National Socialist (Nazi) Party, of which she is a member. Her son Otto was sent to the front, and Helga, who had served as a Red Cross worker at the front during World War I, volunteered for service. She writes with chagrin of the differences in political outlooks amongst family members, particularly Tante Mathilde and Wilhelm Giese. Filled with personal anecdote, it is a fascinating glimpse of the attraction that Hitler and the Nazi Party had for many members of German society and shows how families were often divided by their political convictions. Her letter can be read in its entirety in the Annex. Nothing is known of what became of them after the war.

Charlotte (Cordula) Wöhler

(Klintebys, 5.1.1859 – Schwerin, 1.6.1923)

Seen seated between her half-brothers Alfred and Helmuth, a folded fan on her lap, Charlotte was the last of Emilie and Hellmuth's children to be born in Klintebys. She grew up with her grandparents in Schwerin, having moved there on 15 November 1865 at the age of six. Two years later she had moved to Rostock, appearing in that year's census as living with Julius and Johanna Herpe (née Kuterg) and identified as their niece.²



Charlotte Wöhler, 1882

On 11 July 1883, at the age of 24, Charlotte married the 31 year-old Adolf (Ernst Wilhelm Ludwig) Giese, the son of the lawyer and later First Mayor of Rostock, Wilhelm Giese, and his wife Franziska, née Schliemann. Adolf Giese studied law at the Universities of Rostock, Berlin, Heidelberg, and Göttingen, and in June 1886, was appointed to the Schwerin High Council of the Church as an auxiliary worker, becoming a legal member from October 1886 onwards. In October 1894 he was President of the Higher Council of Churches of the Evangelical Church of Mecklenburg as a successor to Theodor Kliefoth, who after 60 years of service had retired. In 1909 he earned his Doctorate of Theology at the University of Rostock and in 1911 was appointed High Church Council President. Under Giese's leadership, the Emeritus Order was created for the Evangelical Lutheran clergy of Mecklenburg and his participation was of great importance in the Mecklenburg Church constitution of 1921. Giese was a member of the Mecklenburg Court which ruled on conflicts of jurisdiction, a member of the German Protestant Church Committee and, after 1887, a member of the

² The Wunderlich genealogy lists Charlotte's uncle and aunt as Julius Störzel and Johanna Rütting, likely the same people as appear in the census.

Association of Mecklenburg History and Archaeology. Charlotte died in 1903 at the age of 44; Adolf survived her by twenty years.

Charlotte and Adolf had four children.

Their eldest, Johanne Emilie Franziska Giese, known as Hanna, was born in Güstrow in 1884 and was described by her cousin Helga in 1939 as “living in a transcendental world”. In Schwerin, on 23 February 1906, she married the judge Carl Ludwig Wunderlich, a doctor of jurisprudence in the Government Council of Schwerin and editor of the Störzel genealogy. They had a three children: Felix, born in Stavenhagen on 2 June 1907, and the twins, Charlotte and Hans Wunderlich, born in Stavenhagen on 11 January 1909. Felix became a doctor in Rostock, practicing at Königsberger Straße 53. With his wife Magda Grohmann, they had four children, all born in Rostock.

Charlotte and Adolf’s second child was Wilhelm Giese, born in Gadebusch in 1885. He was a jurist, like his father, and served as a captain in the army at Bad Doberan during The Great War of 1914-1918. On 10 April 1915 he married Friederike Petermann in Schwerin, who in 1917 gave birth to a daughter, Maria Giese. The child lived only a month, and five years later their marriage had ended in divorce. Around 1935 Wilhelm joined the Nazi Party, but following an investigation for currency fraud, he was stripped of his post by the courts and removed to Berlin, where he worked as a lawyer and notary. In October 1938 Wilhelm married Ilse Marie Karla Johanna Beese, with whom he had been living at least since 1926, and who had five children with him, four daughters and



Ilse Beese Giese with her children, 1934

a son. Maria, their eldest, died at age four and their son emigrated to Canada. Wilhelm survived the war and died in Berlin in 1957, but his family suffered a different fate. Ilse and her daughters, aged ten to fourteen, perished within twenty-four hours of each other

in the final days of the siege of Berlin as it fell to marauding Soviet troops. Details of their deaths have been mercifully omitted from the record.

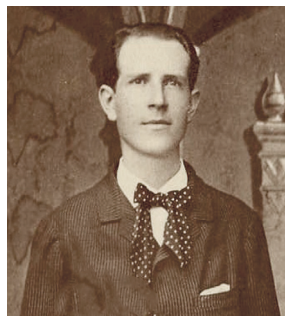
Charlotte and Adolf's third child, Else Marie Giese, was born in Schwerin in 1886. Suffering "some kind of muscular dystrophy," she lived at home with her parents, mostly immobile. After their deaths she moved to a convent in Mahrburg am Lahn.³

Their youngest, Gertrud Giese, was born in Schwerin in 1888. She grew up in Schwerin and became a Medical Doctor in Dusseldorf. In Mühlheim, on 24 November 1924, she married Dr Otto Fischer, a professor of Tropical Hygiene in Düsseldorf. In 1927 their son, Arnold Dietrich Fischer, was born. The following year the family boarded the steamer 'Usambara' for Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika (which prior to WWI had been part of German East Africa), where Dr Fischer continued his work. By 1939 Gertrud and Otto had returned to Europe and were living in Vienna, where they joined the Nazi Party and enrolled their son at the Adolph Hitler School. At the outbreak of World War II Dr Fischer was sent to the front as a consultant hygienist. Nothing is known of what became of them after that.

Emil (Ernst) Wöhler

(Klinterbys, 19.1.1857 – México, 3.8.1891)

Behind his sister Charlotte stands Hellmuth Friedrich's fourth son, Emil, born in Klinterbys on 19 January 1857. Although family records have him as Emil, the church archives of Klinter parish record the birth of Ernst Wöhler to the same parents on the same day, leading one to conclude he was christened with both names. Upon reaching his twenty-first birthday, Emil left Klinterbys to join his



Emil Wöhler, 1882

³ Helga Chlebowsky, née von Bonelli, in her letter to don Carlos.

half-brother Alfred and his cousins Heinrich and Julius Bartning in Mexico to work at the family firm of Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores. He died a bachelor at the age of 34 in circumstances that were never documented and no trace of his activities in Mexico remain in the records.

ANNEX

HELGA'S LETTER TO DON CARLOS

In a long letter written by Helga Chlebowsky (née Bonelli) to her cousin don Carlos on the eve of World War II, she describes her passion for the Führer and her confidence in the National Socialist (Nazi) party, of which she is a member. Otto was sent to the front and Helga, who had served as a Red Cross worker on the front during World War I, volunteered for service. She writes with chagrin of Kurt Schuschnigg, the Austro-fascist Chancellor who led the Federal State of Austria after the 1934 assassination of his predecessor, Engelbert Dollfuss, until the 1938 Anschluss with Nazi Germany, and of the differences in political outlooks amongst family members, particularly Tante Mathilde and Wilhelm Giese. Filled with personal anecdote, it is a fascinating glimpse of the attraction that Hitler and the Nazi Party had for many members of German society and shows how families were often divided by their political convictions.

25 February 1939

Hauptstrasse 45

Wien-Mödling

My dear Cousin!

Your dear father, with whom I still correspond, as you know, sent me your address yesterday. So today I will write you straight away. Despite the fact that you still owe me a detailed letter (for which I hold absolutely no grudge and forgive you with all my heart), I want to write you immediately. It has been too long since I've seen you since our intermediary; our go-between is unfortunately no longer amongst the living. But to tell the truth, we are pleased for her peace, since she would not have been able to understand the times we live in. Tante Maita [Marie Wöhler] was well married with her man, and for that reason she believed that the Jews were a chosen people and that it would be uncultured to proceed against

them. Therefore these times would not have been lived well by her, but would have given her great pain for all that which she could not understand.

How are you and your two daughters? What does your wife do? How have you found your apartment, or haven't you found it after all? Terrible things are happening in your poor country and it will probably last for years before the damages are repaired. Nevertheless I hope for you that during the reconstruction you will be able to earn good money, since these difficult times have surely lasted enough. It would please me greatly if I could hear detailed news of you and your family.

By the same token you will be pleased to hear details of what we do here and how we are surviving these times. As you know, we also have had difficult days, and since I lost my job due to the Schuschnigg system, the world has seemed truly grey within grey. For some time I have had the proof in my hands that I was licensed solely because I believed in Hitler and could foresee that which was to come. Actually we have had to go through some very difficult times before receiving the support from this government. We have often thought that it wouldn't work at all, that all our efforts would have been in vain. To tell the truth, while I was employed I only had 'nationalistic ideologies' in my head and yet I was reasonably harmless since I didn't have any time to act politically in any meaningful manner. When I lost my job I naturally put all my efforts into politics and propaganda and when Otto and I think of those days of battle, we were truly astonished that we never were arrested or imprisoned, or hanged, since power was an instrument quickly used in this very Christian government. At last, the days of the 'break' arrived, which have been truly unforgettable, both for my son and for me. In the three days following that Wednesday announcing the electoral fraud until Friday evening, when the change of government was announced, we lived through all the ranges of emotions: from major despair to the highest joy, which was finally crowned by the appearance of the Führer on Sunday. But on Friday evening, still before the good news, when I stood in front

of the loaded machine-gun, I became very quiet (the Schuschnigg government had given the order to act against us with any weapon). And it is true that in these moments one even exceeds oneself, because I had only one thought: "If I do not see any more than this, others will finally achieve the freedom for which we died." And ten minutes later, we received the news of the elections being cancelled, followed after a few minutes by the news that Schuschnigg had resigned, followed by an overflow of more good news.

All that was so marvellous that neither Otto nor I would like to forget this time of our lives. We suffered enormously and had a terrible time of it; only a single new sole for the shoes was a financial catastrophe, and even with so much housework, one earned almost nothing. On top of it all, the thought that I would be a burden to the kid troubled me greatly. In a touching way, the kid has always been good with me. Never, by either word or tone, has he made me feel that he would have to support me. But one cannot undo one's own thoughts.

After the hardship of this year I now have a new job, working for the first three months in the party (political work) and now for the autobahns of the Reich. The pay is not too good, but seeing as how the two of us live together, and the fact that Otto's earnings have been re-evaluated into German salary, we can now afford to find those things we need as well as from time to time a few pleasures or even save a little. Of course I would love to recover my old job, where I was better paid, and normally that should be the case, but until now I have been unable to obtain it. Above all, one shouldn't think that by being a member of the Party and carrying the insignia will make all men perfect National-Socialists like the Führer. In each transformation, where the lowest soar to heights and the highest fall to the depths, some people arrive to where they should not be. But in time everything will work out. In any case, I am very pleased to have a job once again and to no longer be in peril of losing my pension. In any case, I have no intention of letting this business against my company pass. If the company cannot employ anyone, then so it be, but to employ

other people after writing malicious letters, that is too much, that I do not support. The Jewish owners have left, but those who've followed them are even worse than the Jews. In time, that too, will all be arranged.

You might be interested to learn that my brother's daughter, the one who's studying medicine, married this May. He is an architect and a childhood friend of hers. He works in the Military Administration in Mannheim. In fact, she only married during her school holidays, since she is still studying—which I find very honourable—since she has already gone too far with her studies to simply drop them. She's had no trouble with her studies and she's very happy. What's more, I should add that it is quite uncertain whether she will ever be able to bear children. That's why I've advised her, above all, to finish her studies. She isn't obligated to practice; she could take a job as a fixed employee in social services for the youth or even work elsewhere.

These days in the Reich it isn't too difficult for young people to find work. My sister-in-law has stayed in Hohenebel; her income is not great but she gets by, and by taking in lodgers and boarders she manages to survive. Her youngest daughter, who shall never be a shining light, has replaced the servants and works devotedly in the house.

Now let's talk about us. I still have the great fortune of having my son with me. He has advanced his call to arms before the official date. He wanted to go into anti-aircraft artillery but has been posted to aerial information. He was to have entered into service on 18 September, but that was cancelled. Straight away, at the beginning of the war, he presented himself as volunteer, but after the volunteer presentations were cancelled, everyone was ordered to stay at his post and wait for their turn to enlist. This way I have a chance to keep my son with me. Needless to say, he's not too pleased with the prospect that the war might be over before he's had a chance to enter, but I think that what you least expect will happen and that he will be called up. Then I shall be concerned for him, just like millions of other mothers have before me. In this case, I should without a doubt not like to remain here in the rear, and will present myself at the front as a nurse. I've

already worked as a nurse in the previous war and this spring I took the Red Cross exam and am currently taking evening classes.

I don't think I could stand the worry for my son, being left in the rear. He works as a judge of instruction, directing two communities, education and work, for young jurists and judges, and I go to the office and take care of the books.

Nowadays it is not too easy, since with the ration cards all our purchases take longer and I cannot spend all my time in the streets to see what there is to buy. The sudden installation of cards in the economy was a great thing, because there were many people who still remembered the World War and how things can become. At that time, certain people with good connections had everything, while others could literally starve to death. The common talk was, "Bah yes, if one day we have a war again, I will know exactly what to do." And now the cards are out before the people thought that the war would come. Up to the last minute we all thought that the Führer would succeed in preventing the war. When in the end the war arrives, all this knowledge will be in vain, for people will not be able to buy and amass stock. This way there will be enough for everyone, if everyone makes a little sacrifice. We have still enough to eat, even though we lack certain things, especially grease, oil and butter, which have a great value, but we can make do, if we ration accordingly. At the beginning it wasn't easy, since I was used to having certain reserves in the house, especially tins of fish in oil. It's no longer the case and I miss those fish tins, since, as I work, they greatly helped me out in preparing meals at home. My God, how I'd love to have certain things, and when I think of good sardines, my mouth just waters. But nobody should think that these little discomforts will make us lose heart. No, to the contrary, we all think alike, "and now more than ever".

It is absolutely unacceptable that because of England's politics, each generation or each second generation should battle against England; look only at a generation like our own, who have had to fight twice. One day we must break this hegemony of theirs and must give other peoples

the vital space [lebensraum] with which they can live and work according to their manner. We are all sure that one day the Führer will make such a peace, one that lets all the people live and work, a peace of Reason and Justice and not a peace like the Versailles Treaty, which brings with it already the germ of a new war.

In Spain you have felt the 'affectionate' hand of the English more than enough for you to understand our fight. Your father has written a very kind letter and it is a pleasure to see to what point this old gentleman is in tune with his times and also how he understands things. He wrote me, and I quote, "If finally France and Germany would take a common cause and try an action against England, we would have peace in Europe". The English truly misunderstand men, since they should know that one day their crimes will be brought forth and that an attempt against our passionately loved Führer will open the eyes of all who have not yet seen the truth. If this were to happen and were this hideous attack to succeed, we would gather round the Führer even more ardently. Thanks to the information we have received, it has been demonstrated that the English have committed various acts of sabotage in Germany; already during the Spanish War they were testing them to see if they worked. This 'Secret Service,' isn't it no less than a band of gangsters? These English, overflowing in morality, have behaved just like the worst bands of American criminals, and yet these people always want to judge others. We all regret that in their hysterical fear, the French have allowed themselves to be misled by the English and have let themselves be talked into saving the English. As I've said, we all regret this, since nobody feels the least bit of hatred toward the French. The educational work of the Führer has truly done miracles, and the people follow him earnestly in this direction. I think that in all of Greater Germany there is hardly anyone who isn't completely devoted to the Führer and who doesn't blindly follow his very word, even if there is, from time to time, another opinion. With the obvious exception of brutes, of course.

In any case, there's nobody in all of Greater Germany who isn't

fully convinced that victory will be ours. We are sure of what we all know, why and for whom we all fight, and for that reason, all sacrifices will come easily.

Yes, I want to give you some news that should interest you. Professor Dr Otto Fischer has moved to Vienna with his wife, our cousin Gertud Giese, and he is to hold a new post in Vienna. I've already spoken with them. They have come to Vienna with good heart and that pleases them much. In any case he has been suddenly sent to the front as a consultant hygienist. She, for the time being is here, moving into the apartment and doing the shopping, spending her time in this foreign city. Their only son is in the Adolph Hitler School in Sonsthofen, from where he writes happy letters.

Nonetheless, I have been strangely touched by the fact that the four Giese brothers and sisters are not on more intimate or friendlier terms, despite being very close and having grown up together. It could be because of the different political tendencies to which they belong, but I find it sad in any case. Hanna lives in a transcendental world but she is also quite morbid; Else lives in a convent in Mahrburg am Lahn and she seems to suffer some kind of muscular dystrophy and is mostly completely immobile. She is a devout believer, but she is not intolerant, so Gertrud maintains correspondence with her. As you know, Gertrud and her husband, like us, are members of the Nazi Party and follow it with the greatest enthusiasm and the greatest idealism. Hanna, in her transcendental world, has not the sense for these things, and from what I've heard, she doesn't seem to be very tolerant. For Wilhelm Giese things have not turned out too well. His wife once wrote me that there was an inquest against him for currency fraud, and that the case should have come to court last June. I asked her to keep me abreast, but haven't heard from her, so I suppose the court's decision wasn't positive and that W. G. has been condemned. What's worse is that he no longer has the right to practice, and the penalties are always harsher to members of the party than to others, which I find quite fair. He who has sworn to the Führer

and has given his oath should be aware that in doing so he accepts from that moment the advantages and duties and should behave at all times in an irreproachable manner.

I don't know anything yet for certain, since I can't and don't want to ask Gertrud, but she has given me a little hint. Hanna keeps a slight contact with Else and she must not know that Gertrud's son is in the Adolph Hitler School. I myself am very pleased that Gertrud and her husband are here, since the two of them are quite wonderful and offer a rich intellectual exchange.

I also know from her that Tante Mathilde is doing very poorly financially. She no longer receives any money from Mexico. Gertrud isn't quite sure, but she thinks that uncle Alfred's business was liquidated and that cousin Alfred now has a job. In any case, the two old ladies live off the sale of their jewels and their paintings and they're aren't doing too well, since these things cannot be spoken of in public. It also appears that auntie has had a disaster with the sale of jewels (pearls): someone has taken the jewels and has disappeared with that which the aunt had for her expenses.

Now the paintings must be sold. They (the two old ladies) still live in the house in Hamburg and they still have two servants, but the maintenance of the house costs a fortune. In addition the two ladies aren't very well taken care of by the two girls. Tante Mathilde is practically blind and her sister Hedwig doesn't see much better. Gertrud told me of the desultory impression she received during the meal: two minuscule portions, served on enormous silver plates on a tablecloth full of stains. But the two old ladies couldn't see the stains, and the girls couldn't care less. It is all so sad, but what can one do.

In part, it is her own fault that the situation in the house is so sad. I still remember well when I lost my job and I wrote to her asking her to hire me and to fire one of her two domestics, since she had two of them. At the time, things in Germany were going well and the girl could have easily found another job. It would have been a great help to me and auntie

would certainly have been well served by me, since I am, as they say, a good housekeeper and cook, I know how to look after the household, I'm an experienced nurse and am also knowledgeable of the commercial world. What's more, I could have taken care of Tante Mathilde with more interest than those two foreign girls. But auntie never replied and my plea was ignored. Gertrud also mentioned how sad it is to see the ladies' clothes in such neglect, but the two girls have no interest in them. She also supposes that in this way the jewels might have disappeared.

Tante Mathilde's eyes are by now completely extinguished, and according to Gertrud, Tante Mathilde had too many tests done to her eyes, falling into the hands of more than one swindler of a doctor. Otherwise there is no explanation, since myopia is not reason enough and Tante Mathilde never overworked her eyes. Therefore, it can only be because she trusted too much in the doctors. It is very sad, especially since one cannot help and auntie never speaks of it to anyone. It is Gertud who knows the most, but she herself knows very little. For some time now, relations have not been too good between them, since the different political tendencies to which they belong make conversation between them very difficult.

Auntie places on the Führer's shoulders the reason all the affairs in Mexico no longer work, which is of course, absurd. Even uncle has fought hard these last 15 years. Revolutions have never allowed an affair to prosper until the proper time arrives for the natives to have learned enough, so that they can think for themselves, "now we can earn our own money". One can't put the responsibility for these things on the Führer; they are the natural course of events of the world.

One little example: Mother could never forgive Uncle Willy for not being able to save the farm in Sweden. Well, you know perfectly well to what point, your father and you, when you were young, had to work to keep it afloat. I myself have only been there once. Despite the fact that I'm neither a farmer nor a political economist, I still feel that in Gotland the good times for the farmer are gone. Even our grandfather could not

have done anything to change the events and he was better than most at it and had a good eye. In the past people went to the tropics, where they earned so much in just a few years, that they were able to live afterwards off the interests of their fortunes. Today it is no longer the case. I have a childhood friend who has lived in the tropics since 1919, and even today, despite all the work, he does not have enough to live off the interest. Yet he is happy to be able to offer his wife and children a holiday in Europe every few years.

There you are, times change.

Your cousin,

Helga

The Proclamations Of The Order Of The Knights Of The Cross With
The Red Star

Two villages and their dependancies are issued in 1290 by King Rudolf to the brothers Konrad and Franz Höfer. In 1385, Sdenko, the Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Cross with the Red Star, rewards the Teutonic Knight Niklas Walther von Hof for donations given to the Church which include two robes, two choir skirts and a gold cross, with a smaller cross made from a splinter from the True Cross, granting him a mass to be sang in his name in perpetuity.

King Rudolf was the first king of the Habsburg family, whose reign in Europe lasted for over six centuries, ending finally in 1918. Until 1800 or so, Eger, known today as Cheb, in the Czech Republic since 1945, was a 'free town' of the Empire, enjoying special privileges, such as freedom from military conscription and exemption from local taxation. Kötschwitz, or Kocewizc, consisted of "four farms, one small farm, three and one half farms, a guesthouse and one mill; 34 horses and 51 cows". In 1290 Hart consisted of "five men, five and one half farms; or ten buildings and some 45 inhabitants."¹

June 27th Anno Domini 1290

We, Rudolf, reigning King of all Romans by the mercy of God hereby proclaim for everyone to know: That we have determined that the honest citizens of Eger, Konrad and Franz Höfer (the beloved and the faithful) shall own the village and the mill of Kötschwitz, the village of Hart and the mill of Heinersdorf. Under witness hereof,..."

¹ A farm included all the land, a freeman, his family and servants.

Prague, June 12, Anno Domini 1385

We, Grandmaster Sdenko and other members of the Order of the Holy Cross with the Red Star do confess that Niklas the Walther, citizen of Eger gave to the house of God two pieces of liturgical clothes, two pieces of clothes for the order's choir and a cross of gold containing a little cross made of parts of the Real Holy Cross and other holy things, and we do hereby promise to do benefits for the poor and sick citizens of Eger.

Further, we promise to say a Mass every day in the Churches of St. Catherine and St. Barbara and in the chapel built by Niklas until the end of time.²

² The St. Wenceslas Chapel, founded in 1347 by Niklas Walther von Hof, was demolished in 1945 after suffering damage during World War II.

THE BROADSIDES
The Frankfurt Parliament, 1849

A call to the German Army. German Warriors!

The time for a decision has come, whether Germany shall be free and strong or enslaved and mistaken. The representatives of the German Nation, elected by all its citizens and equally by you, have ratified the Constitution of the Reich for all of Germany and have proclaimed it as inviolable law. The entire nation is firmly decided to apply the Constitution of the Reich. But the same persons, who after so many years and in such an unheard of way have repressed liberty and the unity of Germany, are opposed to it once again. The great princes and their cabinets have refused obedience to the German Constitution. They are rebels against the will and against the law of the nation. Soldiers! They want to carry you along in this rebellion. They want to use you to do battle against Law and Order, against Fatherland and Family, against Liberty and Equality. They want to make of you pawns of the police who mistreat human dignity. Yes, listen, brave German warriors: they push their black treason so far as to sully, in the service of Russian despotism, your weapons, carried and handled so gloriously.

Soldiers! We, the representatives of millions of Germans from all the districts of the Fatherland, ask you: have you incendiary motives against your brothers and your fathers?



No! You place your honour and your love for the Fatherland far higher than the humour and the despotism of princes and the hangmen of the people! You are called to obey the will of the sovereign National German Assembly, which has enlisted the entire German people and therefore also the soldiers, to validate the legitimisation and the vigour of the Constitution of the Reich.

You have sworn an oath to the Prince and to the Fatherland. But if a Prince rebels against the Fatherland, then within the heart of the brave and honourable warrior there must be only one true oath, the highest oath for the Fatherland. Take this consideration to heart, German warriors! If you battle against the Constitution of the Reich, if you raise your hand against the defenders of the Constitution, you will be raising your hand against yourselves, you will be digging into your own entrails. Do you not want to become free men yourselves? Come on then! Fight for the German fundamental rights that make the German soldier a free man. Who has eternally kept the soldier apart from the officer class? The old absolutism of prices, which is now uprising once again with unheard of insolence, is counting on your help. Who has burdened you with this shame, which your own invalids are obliged to beg at the gates? It is the old regiment of small-landed proprietors and secretaries. But now the hour of liberation rings. The Constitution of the Reich restores to you all the ranks of honour. It grants honour and bread to your invalids, it grants you all the rights of freedom that your civilian counterparts have. Therefore, German soldiers, do not turn your weapons against your brothers, but fight instead for the sacred cause of the entire nation. Your bay trees grow only in the field against the enemy outside; but there is ignominy and shame in that which executes the brutal orders of superiors guilty of high treason against the defenders of the law.

Think of your comrades in Württemberg and in Saxe and follow their glorious example! They did not give in to the hostility against freedom. Their deeds are full of merit for the Fatherland. And all the German people give them ovations. Do the same yourselves! Especially you, men

of the Territorial Prussian Army, explain everywhere that which your generous comrades have explained at Eberfeld and at Krefeld: that they will obey the National Assembly and the Constitution of the Reich.

German warriors! Listen to the voice of the Fatherland! It is calling you, and waits from you its deliverance. The Fatherland will curse those who have dishonoured their weapons by fighting against their brothers, but it will bless those who were on the side of the People. Listen to it, German warriors, and do that which is claimed by honour, liberty and the Fatherland!

Frankfurt am Main, 6 May 1849

The Congress of the Central March Association of Germany

By their autorisation: The president: Julius Fröbel

The Vice-president : Franz Raveaux

The secretaries : Hellmuth Wöhler, Ludwig Simon von Trier

Call to the German People German Men!

The moment has arrived when it becomes necessary to risk one's property and life for liberty and for the unity of all the German fatherland. The Constitution that was proclaimed and definitively decided by the representatives of the German people will be reversed and destroyed by the violence of the rebel governments. The Prussian Government announces that it will appear everywhere in time to repel by force the uprising of the people in favour of the constitution. They will call on the assistance of the Russian hordes to oppress freedom and to paralyse once again the power of a united Germany.



The National Ensemble has requested all people, all the authorities and all the municipalities to make valid the legitimisation and the vigour of the Constitution. It is up to you to accomplish this resolution. Gather ye as free men and defend the Constitution as we have all sworn. Whosoever is capable of bearing arms prepare to use them! Form military associations, organise yourselves! Rally to us and to the Central March Association!

Above all we need Unity! Unity of plan, unity of action! One by one we can fail, together we must conquer!

Frankfurt, 6 May 1849

The Congress of the Central March Association of Germany.

By their authorisation President : Julius Fröbel

The Vice-president: Franz Raveaux

The secretaries: Goltz, Hellmuth Wöhler

GENEALOGIES

THE WÖHLER FAMILY

Joaquim Wöhler (Drübeck, 1560 – Wernigerode, 1620). On 10.9.1589, at age 29 he married Gertrud (Wernigerode, 1564 – 21.4.1626). Their children,

1. Lorentz Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1590 – 1670);
2. (Tab 1) Joaquim Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1601 – 3.11.1676);
3. X Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1603 – 11.10.1626);
4. Catharina Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1605 – 2.4.1626),
5. Maria Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1613 – 4.5.1626).

Tab 1

Joaquim Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1601 – 3.11.1676) married Margarethe Heidecke (Minsleben, 1605 – Wernigerode, 4.1.1642) on 17.6.1627, having 5 children together.

1. Elizabeth Wöhler (Minsleben, 2.5.1628 – Wernigerode, 24.9.1662);
2. (Tab 2) Joaquim Wöhler (Minsleben 2.5.1628 – Wernigerode, 4.2.1683);
3. Marta Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1632 – 10.4.1698);
4. Anna Wöhler (b. Wernigerode, 1638);
5. Emerentia Wöhler (b. Wernigerode, 1640);

He then married Magdalena Tacke (Minsleben 1605 – Wernigerode, 4.1.1642) and they had 3 children:

6. Hans Wöhler (Wernigerode, 14.4.1643 – Silstedt, 10.11.1714);
7. Lorentz Wöhler (Wernigerode, 3.5.1645 – 8.2.1707);
8. Catharina Wöhler (Wernigerode, 17.10.1647 – 28.3.1648).

Tab 2

Joaquim Wöhler (Minsleben 2.5.1628 – Wernigerode, 4.2.1683) married on 27.11.1648 to Anna Heinecke (Wernigerode, 1632 – 7.6.1669) and had six children,

1. Valentin Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1649 – 19.2.1719);
2. Anna Maria Wöhler (Wernigerode, 27.9.1653 – 20.12.1699);

3. Hans Wöhler (Wernigerode, 12.12.1655 – Langeln, 19.12.1720);
4. Martin Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1659 – Drübeck, 30.6.1734);
5. (Tab 3) Joaquim Wöhler (Wernigerode, 8.3.1664 – Suderode, today Wülperode, 5.11.1732);
6. Margarethe Otilie Wöhler (Wernigerode, 1667– Stapelburg, 12.3.1742);

Second nuptials on 3.5.1670 to Ursula Rölcker (Wernigerode, 30.1.1645 – 27.12.1711) produced five children,

7. Andreas Wöhler (b. Wernigerode, 31.5.1674);
8. Valentin Wöhler (b. Wernigerode, 31.5.1674);
9. Anna Margarethe Wöhler (Wernigerode, 2.8.1675 – 6.1.1698);
10. Johann Conrad Wöhler (Wernigerode, 23.8.1677 – 6.1.1678);
11. Hans Thomas Wöhler (Wernigerode, 5.1.1679 – Wernigerode, 4.12.1747).

Tab 3

Joaquim Wöhler (Wernigerode, 8.3.1664 – Wasserleben, 5.11.1732) moved to Wasserleben and married in 1692 to Ilse Sofie Christine Schrader (Suderode – today Wülperode, 1666 – Wasserleben, 19.3.1741). He was a *schafmeister*, or sheep farm overseer. They had six children,

1. Anna Maria Wöhler (Wasserleben, 1692 – 15.11.1774);
2. Christian Wöhler (Wasserleben, 9.1697 – 3.2.1763);
3. Christina Maria Wöhler (Wasserleben, 1700 – 31.12.1762);
4. Friedrich Andreas Wöhler (Wasserleben, 2.1706 – 17.9.1786);
5. Anna Margarethe Wöhler (Wasserleben, 2.1706 – 13.1.1737);
6. (Tab 4) Johann Michel Wöhler (Suderode – today Wülperode, 6.3.1711 – Stapelburg, 24.9.1790), a *schafmeister* like his father, he married on 12.4.1744 to Anna Lucia Müller (Suderode – today Wülperode, 29.11.1711 – Stapelburg, 27.2.1746 or 11.5.1746 – two different dates appear in the sources). A month later Anna Lucia gave birth to Anna Catherina Eleonore Wöhler (Stapelburg, 13.5.1744 –

Abbenrode, 10.12.1792), who married on 8.1.1764 to Johann Christian Brandes (Abbenrode, 14.4.1733 – 1792).

Tab 4

On 19.10.1746, a few months after Anna Lucia's death, Johann Michel married in Stapelburg to Catharina Sofia von Hof (Wasserleben, 2.11.1722 – Stapelburg, 1.2.1788), daughter of an illustrious family of smiths, for many generations armourers to the Royal Court. The von Hof family of Wasserleben had lived in the Harz area since the beginnings of the 16th century, and can be traced back to:

Hans von Hof (Bothenheilingen, 1571 – Veckenstädt, 1626), armourer. In 1615, in Wernigerode, he married Christiane (1583 – 1615), their son,

Heinrich von Hof (Veckenstädt, 10.6.1617 – 12.8.1710), master smith, married Anna Hoppe (Veckenstädt, 1619 – 5.12.1682), having:

Jacob von Hof (Veckenstädt, 3.5.1658 – 10.4.1739), master smith, who, on 30.10.1683, married Dorothea Abel (Veckenstädt, 17.10.1654 - 14.2.1728) having:

Christian von Hof (Veckenstädt, 13.11.1688 – Wasserleben, 6.5.1753), master smith, first married to Maria Elisabeth Sumbug (Wasserleben, 1703 – 31.8.1744), remarrying on 8.11.1746 to Anna Margaretha Martens (1703 – 1766);

From his first marriage he had a daughter,

Catharina Sofia von Hof (Wasserleben, 2.11.1722 – Stapelburg, 1.2.1788), who married Johann Michel Wöhler in Stapelburg on 19.10.1746 (Tab 4).

Children of Johann Michel Wöhler and Catharina Sofia von Hof.

1. Anne Regina Elisabeth Wöhler (b. Stapelburg, 14.5.1748), married Johann Heinrich Grope on 3.11.1767;
2. Caroline Catharina Dorothee Wöhler (b. Stapelburg, 4.2.1750), married Johann Heinrich Vogt on 14.1.1772;

3. (Tab 5) Johann Wilhelm Wöhler (Stapelburg, 9.11.1756 – 28.1.1831), a *schafmeister*. In Stapelburg, on 19.1.1783, he married Marie Elisabeth Bartels (Barthel) (Stapelburg, 30.5.1762 – 20.3.1846), having eleven children;
4. Johanna Maria Christina Wöhler (b. Stapelburg, 9.11.1760), married Heinrich Jakob Rothe on 5.11.1778;
5. Johann Christoph Wöhler (Stapelburg, 22.2.1764 – 21.12.1845), on 29.11.1795 he married Johanne Marie Elisabeth Bosse (Stapelburg, 25.10.1775 – 22.12.1847), having eleven children.

Tab 5

Children of Johann Wilhelm Wöhler and Maria Elisabeth Bartels.

1. Johann Heinrich Wöhler (Stapelburg, 24.11.1783 – 27.11.1867);
2. (Tab 6) Johann Wilhelm Mathias Wöhler (Stapelburg, 12.3.1786 – Ludwigslust, 3.6.1873);
3. Christian Friedrich Wöhler (Stapelburg, 18.9.1787 – 5.10.1787);
4. Johanne Christiane Elisabeth Wöhler (Stapelburg, 30.1.1789 – 16.3.1789);
5. Johann Heinrich Christoph Wöhler (Stapelburg, 1.1.1790 – 20.2.1853);
6. Johanne Marie Friederike Wöhler (Stapelburg, 20.10.1791 – 31.8.1860);
7. Johann Friedrich Kurt Wöhler (Stapelburg, 21.10.1793 – 24.6.1860);
8. Christina Maria Elisabeth Wöhler (Stapelburg, 2.10.1795 – Ilsenburg, 25.3.1866);
9. Johanne Dorothea Christine Wöhler (b. Stapelburg, 14.3.1799);
10. Dorothee Christine Eleonore Wöhler (Stapelburg, 1.10.1801 – 25.1.1818);
11. Johanne Dorothee Ernestine Wöhler (Stapelburg, 21.1.1804 – 7.12.1854).

Tab 6

Johann Wilhelm Mathias Wöhler (Stapelburg, 12.3.1786 - Ludwigslust, 3.6.1873), married Marie Charlotte Peters (Posthaus Wittow, Rügen, 25.9.1791 - Berlin, 7.4.1880), daughter of Peter Christian Peters (Stralsund, 31.7.1760 - drowned near Neuendorf, 14.6.1792) and Christine Henrik Wilhelmina Wallis (b. Postaus Vittow, 17.1.1766), daughter of the Royal Swedish Postal Inspector, Johann Wallis (18.3.1720 - 30.10.1799).

Their children,

1. Maria Carolina Wöhler (Gingst, Rügen, 20.1.1812 – 27.11.1815);
2. Johann Wilhelm Wöhler (Gingst, 10.02.1814 – 18.01.1884), married Cordula Maria Banck (Ludwigslust, 1822 – 15.5.1900). Their children,
 - a. Cordula 'Peregrina' Maria Augusta Wöhler (Malchin, Mecklenburg, 17.6.1845 - Schwatz, Austria 6.2.1916) married Joseph Anton Schimd (d. Schwatz, Austria, 25.5.1916); without issue;
 - b. Sophia Maria Louisa Wöhler (b. 7.9.1847);
 - c. Johannes Wilhelm Wöhler (Malchin, 1.12.1848 – 4.10.1850);
 - d. Carl Axel Gustaf Wöhler (Schwerin, 29.5.1850 – 3.10.1850);
 - e. Clara Marie Sophie Mathilde Wöhler (Lichtenhagen, 20.8.1852 – 22.11.1871) married on 28.10.1870 to Hugo Conrad Fritzsche (b. Rostock, 14.6.1841). He remarried in Ludwigslust on 23.5.1876 to Margarete Therese Emilie Wauer (b. Potsdam, 30.9.1854);
3. Maria Dorothea Wöhler (Gingst, Rügen, 28.10.1815 – 28.10.1815);
4. Caroline Christine Wöhler (Gingst, Rügen 14.10.1816 – 7.8.1864), married Johann Peter Hermann Dabis (b. Stralsund, 5.10.1809), a pastor in Bobbin, Rügen on 6.1.1845. Their children,
 - a. Wilhelm Dabis (b. Bobbin, Rügen 29.10.1845);
 - b. Anna Dabis (Bobbin, Rügen, 1847/1848 – London, 13.3.1927);
 - c. Therese Dabis (Bobbin, Rügen, 1853 – London, 1906);

5. Gotthard Hermann Wöhler (b. Gingst, Rügen ca. 1818) ;
6. (Tab 7) Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler (Gingst, Rügen, 28.3.1820 – Sterzing, Tyrol, 21.9.1899), married twice: to the sisters **Henriette** and **Emilie Störzel**.
7. Sophia Maria Elizabeth Wöhler (Ludwigslust, 1824 – Berlin, 24.6.1906), married in Ludwigslust on 10.10.1845 to the Berlin pharmacist Adolph Leberecht Schulze (b. Perleberg, 27.8.1818), having issue:
 - a. Daughter, name unknown;
 - b. Gertrud;
 - c. Johannes, owned a copra plantation in the German New Guinea, which he lost during World War I. He visited Mazatlán in 1886, and in 1905 visited Hamburg. In 1920 he corresponded with his cousin Alfred Wöhler, requesting money for a partnership in a new plantation in New Guinea. He later married a Malay woman.
8. Therese Luise Augusta Wöhler (b. Ludwigslust, 28.3.1831). On 6.12.1854, married in Greifswald to Phillip Theodor Christoph August Ockel (b. 27.4.1812), a protestant minister; their son, name unknown, was military doctor for the ‘Dragoons of Lüneburg’;
9. Emilie Marie Henriette Wöhler (b. Ludwigslust, 1.2.1834), life unknown;
10. Gustaf Adolf Wöhler (b. Ludwigslust, 15.12.1836), life unknown.

Tab 7

Descendants of Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler.

Hellmuth married twice, to two sisters, daughters of the Minister of Justice for Mecklenburg-Schwerin Georg Störzel. His first marriage in Schwerin on 12.3.1847 was to **Henriette Charlotte Sophie Störzel** (Grabow, 17.4.1824 – Schwerin, 9.2.1853) and produced four children. Henriette died in 1853 due to complications in the birth of her fourth child, W. A. L. Helmuth.

Children with Henriette Störzel:

1. (Tab 8) Wilhelm Heinrich Georg 'Willy' Wöhler (Schwerin, 22.2.1848 – Klintehamn, 12.11.1927). In 1876 he married Marie (Eva Karoline) Herlitz (Klinte, Gotland, 26.1.1857 – 21.5.1946), having seven children.
2. (Tab 10) Alfred (Carl Julius Adolph) Wöhler (Schwerin 19.6.1849 – Mazatlán, Mexico, 29.11. 1922), first married in San Francisco on 28.7.1879 to María del Rosario Elena de la Vega y de la Vega (Culiacán, Mexico, 7.10.1855 – Mazatlán, Mexico 22.7.1880), having a son. Second nuptials 9.9.1885 to (Anna Maria) Mathilde Schwahnke (Berlin, 7.3.1863 – Hamburg, 4.11.1943), having a son.
3. (Tab 11) (Samuele Dorothea Sophie) Marie or 'Maita' Wöhler (Warin, 9.10.1851 – Alingsås, 1935), married Jeremias (Johannes Friedrich) Altsmann (Pilgrimsdorf, Silesia, 18 July 1830 – Wiesbaden, 27 July 1923), having two children.
4. (Tab 12) (Wilhelm Adolf Ludwig) Helmuth Wöhler (Schwerin, 7.2.1853 – Klintehamn, 30.12.1950). In 1885 he married Eva Agda Marie Hellman (Köping, Öland, 24.12.1861 – Väskinde 4.5.1904) with whom he had two sons.

The following year, on 2.8.1854, Hellmuth Friedrich married the sister of his deceased wife, Emilie Störzel (Grabow, 22.11.1822 – Schwerin, 30.6.1911), having with her, three children:

5. (Tab 13) (Marie Julia) 'Julie' (Cordula Hermanna) Wöhler (Klinteby, 5.8.1855 – Vienna, 12.10.1912), married in Wiesbaden, on 8.11.1883 to Otto von Bonelli. (Meran, South Tyrol, 10.3.1856 – Vienna, 25.10.1910), having two children.
6. Emil Ernst Wöhler (Klinteby, 19.1.1857 – México, 3.8.1891), unmarried, without issue.
7. (Tab 14) Charlotte (Cordula) Wöhler (Klinteby, 5.1.1859 – Schwerin, 1.6.1923). In Schwerin. on 11.7.1883 she married Adolf

Ernst Wilhelm Ludwig Giese (Rostock. 24.1. 1852 – Nienhagen, 1.6.1923), having four children.

Tab 8

Children of Marie and Willy Wöhler.

1. Carl Wilhelm Hellmuth Wöhler (Klintebys, 7.8.1877 – Stockholm, 29.10.1913), professor of Navigation and Captain of the Swedish Navy, without issue.
2. Wera Maria Wöhler (Klintebys, 16.11.1879 – 2.5.1946), married Efraim Ekström, pharmacist, with whom she had five children,
 - A. Birgit Maria Helena Ekström (Klintehamn, 20.10.1906 – 5.1.1976), school teacher, married to Carl Yngve Zetterström (Stora Tuna, 6.2.1906 – 15.2.1973), metallurgic engineer, having two children:
 1. Laila Brigitta Zetterström (21.12.1939), school headmaster, married to field-officer Sven Åke Modin (born 1935), later divorced, having,
 - a. Marie Modin, who with her husband Göthe, purchased Warfsholm, converting it into a rural hotel and holiday camp which they ran until 2010. They have two children:
 - Hélène Modin, and
 - Willy Modin.
 2. Carl Olof Zetterström (7.3.1944), attorney, had two children.
 - B. Eva Wilhelmina Ekström (Norrköping, 19.11.1909 – 25.10.1977), school teacher, married to Henry Gustav Alrik Bendegard (Ardre, 19.5.1909 – 25.9.1975), had four children:
 1. Ulf Henry Bendegard (17.11.1940 – 8.2015) attorney in Stockholm and Gotland, married in 1985 to Ewa Elisabeth Buskas (b. 1949), production manager, having, from a prior marriage:
 - a. Noelia Guiñón (b. Valencia, 1977); and with Ulf, having
 - b. Marie Bendegard (b. 1985), Foreign Office official, married in 2016 to Filip Nylund, a Swedish Army officer.

2. Eva Christina Bendegard (b. 25.02.1943), Bachelor of Arts, married to Rolf Svensson (b. 1941), live in Uppsala and Gotland and had two children.
 3. Anders Helmuth Bendegard (b. 27.3.1949), postal employee, married to Kristina Lindström (b. 1951), live in Uppsala and have two children.
 4. Per Robert Bendegard (b. 30.6.1955), Lieutenant Colonel in the Swedish Armed Forces, married to Elisabeth Hansson (born 1957), live in Glumslöv-Landskrona and had one child.
- C. Sven Fredrik Eckström (9.7.1911 – 14.7.1911)
- D. Fredrik Wilhelm Ekström (Norrköping, 18.11.1912 – 6.3.1989), engineer, married to Svea Viktoria Jacobsson (26.11.1917 – 29.12.1986), they had one son,
1. Kurt Ekström (b. 9.7.1944), Doctor of Medicine living in Uppsala.
 - E. Kurt Staffan Ekström (Norrköping, 6.2.1915 – 9.11.1976), specialist in Arabic literature, died without issue.
3. (Tab 9) Wilhelm ‘Guimo’ Alfred Helmuth Ernst Wöhler (Klintebys, 3.8.1882 – Mexico City, 9.8.1957), married in December 1920 to Lucinda ‘Lucy’ Saucedo (9.2.1899 – 10.8.1957), having seven children.
 4. Julia Charlotta Augusta ‘Angelita’ Wöhler (Klintebys, 2.9.1883 – 1963), married in Berlin (11.4.1914) to Judge Einar Ekström (Stockholm, 2.2.1874).
 5. Curt Willy Ernst Heinrich Wöhler (Klintebys, 18.10.1885 – San Francisco, 20.2.1964), a bachelor, died without issue.
 6. Karl Helmuth Wöhler (Klintebys, 10.4.1888 – 7.9.1974), Swedish Supreme Court Judge, married to Elsa Aurora Köhler (Börninge, Malmöhus, 24.5.1898 – 1935) with whom he had two children:
 - A. Ingeborg Margareta Wöhler (Stockholm 18.10.1928 – 2002), without issue;
 - B. Karl-Vilhelm Wöhler, Alingsås, 18.11.1934 – Stockholm, 28.12.2020), Swedish Ambassador and Chairman of the Board of Directors

for the Swedish-Czech and Swedish-Slovak Chambers of Commerce, Swedish Ambassador to Warsaw and Prague, as well as other diplomatic posts in Brussels. Married in January 1985 to Charlotta Friedner (b. 14.11.1932), without issue.

After the death of his first wife, Karl Helmuth married Gertrud Anderson (1899 – 23.8.1974) without issue.

7. Ebba Emilie Wöhler (Klintebys, 2.7.1889 – 6.6.1979) On 8.9.1916, married Karl Erik Junker (Stockholm, 14.1.1893 – 8.2.1942), chemical engineer in Ljungaverk, Sweden, having three children:

A. Hans Erik Junker (Ljungaverk, 23.3.1918 – 24.10.1944), physician, died of polio;

B. Lars Erik Junker (Ljungaverk, 8.10.1919 – Visby, 18.4.2002), civil engineer, married on 22.6.1947 to Kajsa Elisabeth Strandberg (13.1.1919 – 16.12.2008), with whom he had five children:

1. Lars Svante Junker (b. 25.3.1948) and Eva Grafström (b. 1948) had Olov Junker (b. 1987).

2. Hans Peter Junker (19.12.1949) married Gunnel Osterman (b. 1954), having:

a. Ania Junker (b. 1986);

b. Daniel Junker (b. 1990).

3. Ebba Elisabeth Junker (11.8.1951), with Åke Isaksson (b. 1945) had:

a. Aron Junker (b. 1984);

b. Hilda Junker (b. 1987).

4. Ida Karolina Junker (13.6.1955) married Hans Eklund (b. 1944) divorced, remarried to Tomas Carlsson (b. 1955), having:

a. Rosa Eklund (b. 1985);

b. Leo Eklund (b. 1988).

5. Carl Erik Junker (22.9.1958) partner of Filippa Mayrhofer (b. 1965).

C. Curt Olof Junker (Alby, 1.10.1923 – 25.5.1977), civil engineer, married on 13.10.1945 to Anna-Britta Strandell (27.2.1921 –

24.9.2003), having:

1. Per Olof Junker (10.8.1946), married Gunilla Karlsson (b. 1947), having:
 - a. Erik Junker (b. 1974), and Anna Nordgren (b. 1973) had:
 1. Hannes Junker (b. 1998);
 2. Smilla Junker (b. 2007);
 3. Saga Junker (b. 2009).
 - b. Astrid Junker (b. 1982), married Martin Nisser (b. 1973) having a son, Emil Nisser (b. 2010).
2. Mats Erik Junker (27.6.1949), married Liza Junker (b. 1957), divorced and had two children:
 - a. Niklas Junker (b. 1982);
 - b. Malin Junker (b. 1989).
3. Ebba Marianne Junker (28.7.1955) married Lasse Ekström (b. 1950) and had two children:
 - a. Andrés Junker (b. 1990);
 - b. Claudia Junker (b. 1995).

TAB 9

Children of Guimo Wöhler and Lucinda Saucedo in Mexico.

1. José Guillermo Emilio Gustavo Wöhler (23.8.1922 – 7.9.1983), chemical engineer, lived in Europe during the 1960s and 70s, primarily in Madrid and Rome for his work with Pfizer Laboratories. He married María Teresa Marambio and had a daughter,
 - A. Lucy Patricia Wöhler Marambio (b. 18.9.1964), who married Giorgio Calcaterra and had a son,
 1. Guiseppe Giorgio Calcaterra Wöhler (b. 6.1994).
2. José Rodolfo Guillermo Ignacio Wöhler (b. 31.7.1924), married María Dolores Constantino (d. 1987). Second marriage to Elsa Martinez Leal (b. 4.1949) produced no children. With María Dolores Constantino he had 3 children:
 - A. Rodolfo Wöhler Constantino (b. 1964), married Silvia Vázquez

and had three daughters:

1. Silvina Wöhler (b. 1987);
2. María Fernanda Wöhler (b. 1989);
3. Sofía Wöhler (b. 1993).

B. Ricardo Wöhler Constantino (b. 2.1966)

C. Roberta Dolores Wöhler Constantino (b. 1970), who married Ignacio Estrada (b. 9.1965) and had two children:

1. Roberta Estrada Wöhler (b. 2000);
2. Viviana Estrada Wöhler (b. 2003).

3. José Jorge Guillermo Reynaldo Wöhler (1926 – 1927)

4. José Reynaldo Guillermo Roberto Wöhler (7.6.1928 – 2003), lived in Spain for several years before moving to Venezuela. He married twice: to Carmen Moreno and Mariann Hernández, whose daughter, Elsa Wöhler (b. 1951), Reynaldo adopted as his own. With Carmen he had one daughter:

A. María Lucinda Wöhler (b. 1955), married to José Luis Rodríguez and had two children:

1. Hugo Reynaldo Rodríguez Wöhler (b. 1979);
2. Carmen Rodríguez Wöhler (b. 1987).

5. Lucy María del Rosario Wöhler (b. 1930), married Zadot Hernández and had a son,

A. Zadot Guillermo Miguel Hernández Wöhler (b. 1976), who married María del Carmen Reyna Pineda. They had two children:

1. Liliana Fabiola Hernández Pineda (b. 10.1.1994);
2. Gabriel Antonio Hernández Pineda (b. 9.1995).

6. Juan Miguel Guillermo Quintín Wöhler (b. 28.11.1932), married twice, to Ana María Estadella and to María Luisa Merino (b. 1943).

Their children:

A. Guillermo Miguel Wöhler (b. 1.11.1969);

B. Paola Wöhler (b. 21.5.1977) married Victor López, having,

1. Victoria López Wöhler (b. 6.8.2004).

C. Juan Miguel López Wöhler (b. 4.3.1980).

7. Jorge Antonio Guillermo Wilfredo Wöhler (b. 23.4.1935) married Hildegard Granados Kaiser (1939 – 25.7.2004) having five children:
- A. Jorge Antonio Wöhler Granados (b. 25.8.1964) married on 19.8.2005 in Cuba to Janet García Rodríguez (b. 7.13.1983);
 - B. Hildegard II Wöhler Granados (b. 4.6.1966) married to Javier Ruiz Esparza (b. 20.4.1965); together they had four children:
 - 1. Hildegard III Esparza Wöhler (b. 18.4.1995);
 - 2. Javier II Esparza Wöhler (b. 20.9.1996);
 - 3. Karla Esparza Wöhler (b. 6.9.1997);
 - 4. Miguel Esparza Wöhler (b. 27.12.2000).
 - C. Brenda Teresa Wöhler Granados (b. 13.7.1968) married Gerardo Vargas and had two children:
 - 1. Brenda II Vargas Wöhler (b. 14.9.2001);
 - 2. Gerardo II Vargas Wöhler (b. 25.4.2003).
 - D. Alberto Javier Wöhler Granados (b. 12.3.1971).
 - E. Karen Wöhler Granados (b. 30.8.1973) married Jaime Fernández (b. 9.1971) and had a son,
 - 1. Juan Carlos Fernández Wöhler (b. 19.9.2000).

Tab 10

Children of Alfred Wöhler.

Alfred Wöhler was first married in 1879 to María del Rosario Elena de la Vega y de la Vega (Culiacán, Mexico, 7.10.1855 – Mazatlán, Mexico 22.7.1880), having a son,

- 1. Alfredo Helmuth Wöhler de la Vega (Mazatlán 16.7.1880 – 11.8.1880), mother and child both dying within a month of each other.

Second nuptials in 1886 to Anna Maria Mathilde Schwahnke (Berlin, 7.3.1863 – Hamburg, 4.11.1943), having a son,

- 2. Alfred Johann 'Alfredo' Wöhler (Rostock, 9.3.1888 – Mexico City, 15.2.1947), who in Mexico City, on 29.9.1921 married Isabella Charlotta 'Lieselotte', Baroness von Lieven (Mitau, Prussia, 9.6.1897 –

Mazatlán, Mexico, 22.1.1922), daughter of Eduard, Baron von Lieven (b. Tuckum, Latvia 1862) and Louise Katterfeld (b. Mitau, Jelgavia, Latvia, 1872).

Second nuptials in Washington, DC, on 30.3.1925 to **Antoinette Margaret Montgomery**, née Schwartz (Syracuse, NY 15.5.1893 – Mazatlán, Mexico, 29.7.1950), divorced from her first husband, Ernest A. 'Bob' Montgomery (London, Ont., Canada, 24.11.1863 – Clovis, NM, 15.8.1955), with whom she had a daughter,

A. **Antoinette Margaret 'Peggy' Montgomery** (Los Angeles, 2.10.1913 – Granville, VT, 3.7.1990), legally adopted by Alfredo Wöhler upon their marriage. On 23.9.1939 she married **William H. Fischer** (b. 1907 – 5.8.1957), having a son,

1. **Richard Montgomery Fischer** (b. New York, 10.11.1948), who married **Cheryl Ann King** (b. 12.5.1957), having two children,

a. **Alexander Montgomery Fischer** (b. 24.4.1983);

b. **Diana Loring Fischer** (b. 1.11.1986).

Tab 11

Children of (Samuele Dorothea Sophie) Marie or 'Maita' Wöhler and Jeremias (Johannes Friedrich) Altsmann.

1. **Hans Helmuth Hugo Jacob Altsmann** (Wiesbaden, 11.10.1879 – 24.3.1889);

2. **Curt Emil Karl August Wilhelm Altsmann** (Wiesbaden, 8.3.1882 – 6.5.1915), married **Caecilie Goldschmidt** (b. Berlin, 26.3.1892 - 1939), having,

Eva Marie Altsmann (Dresden 17.10.1915 – 22.10.1915).

Caecilie remarried to B. Nenndorf in Berlin. In 1939 Caecilia was sent to a German concentration camp, where she perished.

Tab 12

Children of **Helmuth Wöhler** and **Eva Agda Marie Hellman**.

1. (Lars) Helmuth Wöhler (Häggeby, Uppland, 27.7.1886 – 29.8.1975), married Alfhild Lindqvist (b. Göteborg, 19.12.1886) and had no children. He remarried in 1951 to Olga Wiktorina Wöhler (12.3.1904 – 18.6.1988).
2. (Carl Alfred) ‘don Carlos’ Wöhler (Häggeby, Uppland, 19.9.1888 – Madrid, 18.12.1982), married in Paris in February 1920 to the sister of his brother’s wife, Elsa Elisabeth Lindqvist (Saltsjöbaden, 8.5.1900 – Madrid, 27.1.1983), having three daughters:
 - A. Eva Carmen Elisabeth ‘Baby’ Wöhler (Barcelona, 15.2.1921 – Madrid, 11.10.2004). In 1947 married Hans (Juanito) Hoffmann (Berlin, 1917 – Málaga 1998), ending in divorce without issue. She remarried in 1988 to José Luis Messía, 14th Marqués de Busianos (Baños de la Encina, Jaén, 21.11.1920 – Madrid, 24.11.1997), also without issue.
 - B. Elsa Margot Anita ‘Nena’ Wöhler (Barcelona, 25.7.1922 - Granada, 10.4.2007), married Erling Kirkegaard (Copenhagen, 22.5.1914 – Granada, 15.1.2005) in Goteborg, Sweden on 10.9.1949, having:
 1. Kristian Kirkegaard Wöhler (Madrid, 25.7.1956), who in 1987 married Mercedes Biosca Gómez de Tejada having:
 - a. Cristina Kirkegaard Biosca (Madrid, 19.10.1992);
 - b. Erik Kirkegaard Biosca (Barcelona, 15.6.1994);
 - c. Sylvia Kirkegaard Biosca (Barcelona, 15.6.1994).
 2. Beatrice Kirkegaard Wöhler (Madrid, 25.8.1958), married Guillermo Robles, ending in divorce. Their children:
 - a. Laura Robles Kirkegaard (15.4.1992);
 - b. Lucas Robles Kirkegaard (2.9.1994).
 - C. Marie-Louise Mercedes ‘Ninus’ Wöhler (Barcelona, 27.5.1924 – San Juan, Puerto Rico, 18.6.1981). In 1945, in Gibraltar, she married Robert Dunev (Montreal, 25.1.1921 – Miami, 11.6.2006), having with him three children:
 1. Peter John Dunev Wöhler (b. Madrid, 7.1.1947), who in 1973

married **Mitzi Aghayan** (b. New York, 28.11.1949) in New York. This marriage ended in divorce. They had two children:

a. **Alex Dunev** (b. New York, 11.6.1978), married **Diana Wheeler** on 18.06.05 having two daughters:

1. **Olivia Dunev** (b. 16.4.2011);

2. **Quinn Dunev** (b. 2.10.2013).

b. **Lara Dunev** (b. New York, 4.12.1979) married **Justin Naugle** on 12.7.2008, having a daughter,

1. **Gwendolyn Naugle**, (b. Boston, 31.5.2019).

In 1985 he married **Anne Lehan Carl** (b. Ames, Iowa 14.8.1952) ending in divorce, with whom he had two children:

c. **Nicholas Dunev** (b. Bridgeport, CT, 19.5.1987);

d. **Lucas Dunev** (b. Miami, 6.6.1989).

In Las Vegas, Nevada on 9.12.2015 he married **Jane Ann Gulland** (b. Toronto, Canada, 9.6.1947). This marriage without issue.

2. **Michael Charles Dunev Wöhler** (b. Madrid, 31.3.1952). First married in San Francisco in 1979 to **Oona Lind** (b. London, 4.3.1958), ending in divorce with no children. He remarried in 1984 in Sausalito, California to **Nance Kay Sanlav Lester** (b. Denver, Colorado, 10.2.1952), without issue.

3. **Christine Elizabeth Dunev Wöhler** (b. Madrid, 13.5.1953). With **Andrés Clemente** (b. Casablanca, 6.12.1952) she had a daughter,

a. **Nathalie Dunev** (b. Málaga, 12.7.1975), who, in Reno, Nevada, on 29.11.1995 married **Robert 'Bob' Gorell** (b. Lowell, MA, 16.9.1963), having with him three children:

1. **Amber Gypsy Gorell** (b. Santa Rosa, CA 10.2.1996);

2. **Shane Austin Gorell**, (b. Santa Rosa, CA 3.11.1998);

3. **Sierra Sky Gorell**, (b. Greenbrae, CA 4.1.2001).

Tab 13

Children of (Marie Julia) 'Julie' (Cordula Hermanna) Wöhler and Otto von Bonelli.

1. **Helmuth von Bonelli**, (b. Linz, 23.1.1885 – 1934), married **Irma Hahnke** (b. Marschendorf, 11.4.1886) in Marschendorf, Reisengebirge (Horní Maršov, Czech Republic) on 2.9.1913, having:

- A. **Irmgard von Bonelli**, (b. Arnau (Hostinné, Czechia), 16.9.1915);
- B. **Irmtraut von Bonelli**, (b. Hohenelbe (Vrchlabí, Czechia), 18.4.1921).

2. **Helga von Bonelli** (b. Vienna, Austria, 18.2.1886), married in 1906 to **Julius Chlebowsky**, lieutenant in the Austrian Army, whom she later divorced. They had a son,

- A. **Otto Helmuth Chlebowsky**, (b. Teschen (Český Těšín, Czechia) 17.2.1907).

Tab 14

Children of **Charlotte (Cordula) Wöhler** and **Adolf Ernst Wilhelm Ludwig Giese**.

1. **Hanna Emilie Franziska Giese** (Güstrow, 20.5.1884 Niehagen, 8.3.1967), married in Schwerin on 23.2.1906 to **Carl Ludwig Wunderlich**, (b. Gnoien, 19.6.1874), having three children,

A. **Felix Wunderlich** (b. Stavenhagen 2.6.1907), married **Magda Clara Frieda Käthe Elise Grohmann** and had four children, all born in Rostock:

- 1. **Peter Wunderlich** (b. 21.4.1935);
- 2. **Dieter Wunderlich** (b. 14.6.1937);
- 3. **Walter Wunderlich** (b. 10.2.1939);
- 4. **Anke Wunderlich** (b. 31.12.1940).

B. **Charlotte (Johanna Elfriede Anna Helmuthe) Wunderlich** (b. Stavenhagen, 11.1.1909);

C. **Hanns (Friedrich Gerhard Hartwig Christian) Wunderlich** (b. Stavenhagen, 11.1.1909).

2. **Wilhelm Helmuth Julius Giese**, (Gadebusch, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 6.11.1885 – Berlin, 13.7.1957) First married in Schwerin on 10.4.1915 to

Friederike Peterman (b. Offenbach, 7.8.1886), divorced 21.4.1922. Their daughter,

A. Maria Giese (Schwerin, 28.11.1917 – 28.12.1917) died as an infant.

Second nuptials in Berlin (October 1938) to Ilse Marie Karla Johanna Beese (Steinbeck, Bad Doberan, 4.4.1900 – Berlin, 29.4.1945) produced five children:

B. Maria Charlotte Giese (Berlin, 30.1.1926 – 17.10.1930);

C. Hans-Helmuth Peter Christian Joachim Clemens Giese (Berlin, 3.5.1930 – Grey, Ont. Canada, 1981) married Evelyn Ann Bradford on 30.4.1955;

D. Inge Kathrin Giese (Berlin, 30.8.1931 – 30.4.1945);

E. Ilse Marie Giese (Berlin, 22.4.1934 – 30.4.1945);

F. Ursel Christin Giese (Berlin, 11.4.1935 – 30.4.1945).

3. Elsa Marie Clara Ottilie Giese, (Schwerin, 3.12.1886 – Hofgeismar, 7.9.1969);

4. Gertrud Emma Franziska Helmuthe Giese, (b. Schwerin, 13.11.1888), married Dr. Otto Fischer (b. Strasbourg 17.3.1894) in Mühlheim, on 24.11.1924, having a son,

A. Arnold Dietrich Fischer (b. Hamburg, 19.1.1927).

THE STÖRZEL FAMILY



Left to right: Heinrich (Enrique), Adolf, Charlotte, Julius, Henriette, Emilie, Juliane (née Passow), Carl, Georg Sr. (the finance minister), Ernst (with horse, drowned 1838), Georg Jr., Justine, Thérèse

In this engraving, produced circa 1833, Georg Störzel, the Finance Minister and Privy Counsellor for the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg sits with his wife Juliane Passow in their elegant parlour, surrounded by their eleven children. Juliane and Georg descended from families that were professionally connected, both branches having held important posts in the Ducal Court of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Georg's father had been personal physician to Princess Louise of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, and Juliane's uncle Moritz Passow was her Cabinet Secretary who, together with his brother Josua, tutored her son, the Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Prince Friedrich Ludwig. The two dark-haired girls standing behind their mother's right shoulder are Emilie and Henriette, the seventh and eighth in age of eleven children. Henriette is the shorter one, through whose arm her sister Charlotte has threaded her hand, and Emilie is to her left, looking up towards her brothers. Both sisters would later marry Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler.

The material that follows was excerpted in large part from *Die Nachkommen des Geh[eimen] Ministerialrats Georg Störzel* published in Schwerin in 1924 by the Doctor of Jurisprudence Carl Ludwig Wunderlich with emendments by Nicholas Mander. In the introduction the author gratefully acknowledges his aunt Mathilde Wöhler's financial contribution for its publication. Mathilde was the widow of Alfred Wöhler, Carlos Wöhler's godfather.

Georg Störzel's family can be traced to his grandfather Johann Stertzel (died 1.5.1754), since the early 17th century a leaseholder of the noble manor of Deutsch-Paulsdorf, near Chemnitz, Saxony, who married Agnesa Bächin (died 1.5.1760) and had a son, Johann Georg Störzel (Deutsch-Paulsdorf, 2.7.1741 – Ludwigslust, 3.2.1828), personal physician to Princess Louise of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, whom he accompanied on her marriage to Grand-Duke Friedrich Franz I of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1775. He practiced medicine in Ludwigslust and married Justine Henriette Wilhelmine Ritze (Baruth, 29.9.1754 – Ludwigslust, 18.2.1818).



Johann Georg Störzel 1741-1828

Together they had four children:

1. Friedrich Christian Ludwig Störzel (Baruth, 7.9.1783 – Hamburg, 22.6.1840) merchant in Hamburg, married Christiane Dreyer and had a daughter, Ida Störzel (bapt. Ludwigslust, 21.10.1809), who married in Schwerin, on 17 September 1831 to the Doctor of Jurisprudence, Eduard Heinrich Franz Albert Prosch (Ludwigslust, 14.8.1804 – Wrocław, 30.1.1878). He was the son of (Christian David) Karl Prosch (b. Cottbus, 24.12.1765), Secretary and Secret Financial Councillor to Duke Friedrich Ludwig of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. His brother,

Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Prosch (Ludwigslust, 30.8.1802 – Schwerin, 19.12.1876), was a member of the Privy Council, elected in 1849 to the Chamber of Deputies and appointed Director of the Ministry of Finance in the Lutzow Ministry. Eduard attended grammar school at the Grauen Kloster in Berlin and studied law at the Georg August University in Göttingen and the Ruprecht Karls University in Heidelberg, as well as art history in Göttingen and Paris. In 1826 he became Dr. jur. PhD. Returning to Mecklenburg he became Second Secretary in 1827, then Cabinet Secretary and Chairman of the Cabinet of Hereditary Grand Duke Paul Friedrich. After he came to power in 1837 Prosch became Court Councilor, Royal Cabinet Secretary in 1839, Cabinet Council in 1841, and Secret Cabinet Council in 1849. In 1842 he took over the supervision of the artistic work at the Schwerin Cathedral. When the Grand Ducal collection had to be outsourced in 1845 due to the construction work on the Schwerin Palace, the establishment of the collection was transferred to Eduard Prosch, who rented and furnished two houses in Alexandrinenstrasse in Paulsstadt from house marshal Jaspar Friedrich von Bülow. In 1851 he was officially appointed director of the Grand Ducal collections in Schwerin, Ludwigslust and Neustadt. As the first head of the collections, he specifically bought works by Mecklenburg artists and made several buying trips to Italy.

A member of the Association for Mecklenburg History and Ancient History since its foundation in 1835, Prosch became a co-founder of the Scientific Association in Schwerin in 1851, a post he held until 1855. According to the Köseener Corps lists, he was a founder of Vandalia Rostock, the oldest fraternity at the University of Rostock. Their son,

Eduard Prosch (Ludwigslust, 8.7.1834 – Greifswald , 26.8.1913),
was a landowner, musician and composer.

2. Friederike Henriette Wilhelmine Störzel (Ludwigslust, 6.7.1776 – Schwerin, 8.3.1853), unmarried.

3. August Störzel (Ludwigslust, 29.2.1780 – Dorndorf, 26.5.1799), law student in Jena, drowned with his horse in the lake of Dorndorf.

4. (Johann) Georg Heinrich Störzel (Ludwigslust, 28.1.1782 – Schwerin, 15.11.1863), pictured in the engraving on p.151, studied law from 1799 at the Universities of Rostock and Göttingen. After completing his studies, he became official auditor in Rühn. From 1808 to 1813 he served as a civil servant in Warin Second Warden, then from 1813-1816 as Second Civil Servant in Dargun. From 1816 to 1824 he worked as a Senior Official and First



Georg Störzel, 1782-1863

Official in Grabow, appointed in 1824 to the Mecklenburg Chamber Council, and in 1831 to the Upper Chamber Council. From 1832 Störzel worked in the Finance Department of the Secret Ministry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Privy Counsellor to the Grand Duke Friedrich Franz II of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, rising in 1837 to the position of Minister and leader of the Finance Ministry. In 1848 Störzel was elected as a member of the Mecklenburg Assembly of Members in the constituency of Mecklenburg-Schwerin 20 and was their senior president. In Rühn, on 30 October 1813, Georg married Juliane 'Julie' Wilhelmina Dorothea Passow (Grabow, 26.3.1791 – Schwerin, 17.2.1869). Together they had eleven children:

I. (Carl) Georg Störzel, (Dargun, 25.8.1814 – Güstrow, 23.12.1895), Postmaster in Schwerin and Güstrow, married twice, first on 21.11.1848, at the Friedrichsmoor hunting lodge of Ludwigslust castle, to Louise Caroline Henriette Antoinette Grohmann (Friedrichsmoor, 31.5.1814 – Waren, 19.3.1861), daughter of the Chief Forester Adolph Friedrich Grohmann. Second nuptials in Güstrow, on 4.12.1861, to

Berta Dorotea Charlotte Frederike Ludwig (Kritzkow, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 9.2. 1832 – Güstrow, 30.6.1907). With his first wife he had four children:

A. Georg Störzel (Waren, 4.2.1850 – Gravelotte, 18.8.1870), 2nd Lieutenant, killed in action in the Battle of Gravelotte during the Franco-Prussian War;

B. (Julie Friederike Justine) Ida Henriette Störzel (Waren, 15.4.1852 – 9.5.1853);

C. **Adolf (Julius Karl) Störzel** (Waren, 12.10.1853 – Doberan, sometime after 1919), a merchant in Doberan. Between 1867 and 1904 he lived in Mazatlán, Mexico, where he was a partner with his cousins Alfred Wöhler and the Bartning brothers in Wöhler, Bartning Sucs. Married on 7.7.1882 to **Bertha Elisabeth Karoline Ulrike Kuhberg** (b. Lantow bei Laage, 13.9.1860), having the following children:

1. Margarete Störzel (b. Hamburg, 25.2.1896);

2. Gertrud ('Tula') Störzel (b. Hamburg, 25.2.1896);

3. Georg Störzel (Hamburg, 23.3.1897–killed in action on 18.11.1917 leading the Storm Troopers in the Battle of Cambrai during World War I).

D. Anna Theresa Petrine Ernestine Störzel (Waren, 28.3.1855 – Friedland, 9.5.1905), married on 29.6.1876 in Güstrow, to Carl August Hermann Benedict Voß, Mayor of Friedland (Mecklenburg), (Güstrow, 18.1.1847 – Friedland, 9.3.1905), having 4 children:

1. Luise (Wisý) Voß (b. Friedland, 17.9.1877);

2. Georg Voß (b. Friedland, 27.6.1879);

3. Walter Voß (b. Friedland, 11.12.1884);

4. Charlotte Voß (b. Friedland, 21.8.1886).

II. Adolf Friedrich Störzel (Dargun, 21.7.1815 – Schwerin, 2.8.1889), Prussian medical officer and general practitioner. Sponsored by the Grand Duke Paul Friedrich, he first married in Quettendorf

on 26.5.1845 to Caroline Fiebiger (Halle, 20.12.1820 – Schwerin, 25.7.1847), with whom he had a daughter,

A. Marie Störzel (b. Schwerin, 5.5.1846), in Schwerin, on 13.2.1891, married Heinrich Martens (Schwerin, 1.3.1840 – 11.11.1908), a dyeing and laundry owner.

Second nuptials in Schwerin on 9.9.1850 to Emilie Schnelle (Buchholz, 4.7.1829 – Schwerin, 10.4.1872) with whom he had three other sons and a daughter:

B. Arthur Störzel (Schwerin, 9.8.1851 – Port au Prince, Haiti, 27.8.1896) businessman in Haiti, married in Port au Prince in 1885 to Luise Dupuy (b. 2.10.18xx), with whom he had 5 children:

1. Adolf Störzel (Port au Prince, 31.10.1886 – Hamburg, 29.10.1919);
2. 'Emily' Störzel (b. Port au Prince, July 1889), a teacher;
3. Marie Beatrice Störzel (Port au Prince, 5.5.1891 – 10.1891);
4. Edith Störzel (b. Port au Prince, 1.1893);
5. Ida Störzel (b. Port au Prince, 4.11.1895).

C. Elise Störzel (Schwerin, 23.10.1852 – 7.10.1891)

D. Carl Otto Störzel (b. Schwerin, 26.6.1854), businessman in Guadalajara, Mexico, married on 11.1.1890 to Teresa Vallarta (b. Guadalajara, 12.12.1867)

E. Ernst Störzel (Schwerin, 17.12.1856 – 25.8.1875)

III. **Justine Caroline Störzel**, (Rühn, 7.7.1816 – Schwerin, 5.4.1896), in Schwerin, on 2.12.1836, married **Ludwig August Johann Gottlieb Bartning** (Rostock, 27.8.1799 – Schwerin, 30.5.1864), the son of Peter Christian Bartning, Chief Post Office Director in Schwerin. After studying architecture in Göttingen, Bartning returned to Schwerin in 1822 and became a construction engineer with Carl Heinrich Wunsch in the Grand Ducal Chamber of Schwerin. With permission of the Grand Duke he took two years leave, during which he trained with Karl Friedrich Schinkel in Berlin and took educational trips to Italy,

France, and England. As a Grand Ducal architect, from 1826 he was responsible for Schwerin and Wismar, and in 1832 he was appointed Master Builder. In 1841 he was appointed to the Building Council, where he was responsible for road and building construction. In 1857, when the Grand Ducal Chaussée Commission was founded, he was a superintendent (*Departementsrath*) appointed to the commission, the origin of today's roadworks. Bartning was a sought-after expert, as his other offices show: Chief of the Central Construction Administration Authority, Member of the Chamber and Forestry Board, Member of the Board of Rostock-Neubrandenburg Chaussée, Member of the Construction Examination Commission. Ludwig Bartning died at 65 of a heart attack. Several of their children went into business with the Wöhlers in Mexico, in mining, transport and imports in Mazatlán, Sinaloa as Wöhler, Bartning Suc. They were:

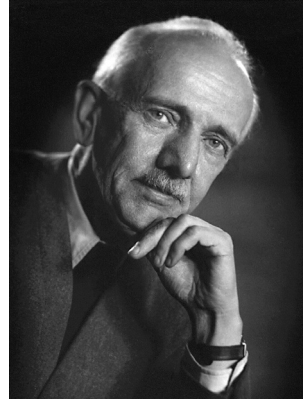
A. (Karl Christian Georg) **Otto Bartning** (Schwerin 24.11 1837 – Karlsruhe, 2.5.1907 – date sometimes listed as 1911). Merchant and businessman, founder of the Bartning house in Mazatlán, Mexico and Hamburg. In 1871 is at Cannon Street Hotel, London, en route to Mexico. Returning to Germany in 1874, in Karlsruhe on 17 March, he married **Jenny Doll** (b. Schmieheim, 6.6.1853 – 3.3.1935), daughter of the Protestant theologian Karl Wilhelm Doll (Niefern-Öschelbronn, 25.10.1905 – Achern, 25.02.1905), awarded the title Oberhofprediger by the Grand Duke Friedrich I in 1874 and Court Dean and pastor of the Grand Ducal House of Mecklenburg. Their children:

1. Adolf Bartning (b. Hamburg, 11.12.1874), a lawyer in Hamburg married on 8.12.1906 in Wiesbaden to Luise Barton (b. Mannheim, 4.8.1879);
2. Ludwig Bartning (Hamburg 30.4.1876 – Berlin, 27.12.1956), a German landscape painter and art professor, married in Erfurt on 27.2.1904 to Gertrud Neidhardt (b. Erfurt, 14.6.1880). They had 3 children:

- a. Ursula Bartning (Berlin, 24.7.1905 – 1990);
 - b. Esther Niedermeier Bartning (Königsfeld, 23.6.1906 – 1987);
 - c. Carl Otto Bartning (Berlin-Grünwald, 2.9.1909 – 1983).
3. Bertha Elisabeth Bartning (b. Hamburg, 16.5.1877). In Karlsruhe, on 3.10.1898, married Eric Von Sukro (b. Mannheim, 11.5.1875), divorced in 1905. Second nuptials to Massimo Immelen (b. Rome, 19.3.1884). With Von Sukro she had a son, Holm Otto von Sukro (b. Karlsruhe, 26.9.1899).
4. Clara Bartning (Hamburg, 26.5.1879), married Hugo Heidemann (b. Tölz, 24.3.1868) in Karlsruhe on 9.11.1899. They had two children:
- a. Hans Heidemann (b. Augsburg, 12.11.1901);
 - b. Gertrud Heidemann (b. Augsburg, 3.8.1903).
5. **Otto Bartning** (Karlsruhe, 12.4.1883 – Darmstadt, 20.2.1959). Referred to by Oskar Schlemmer as “the true father of the idea of the Bauhaus,” Bartning was an Expressionist German architect, theorist and teacher. In 1918 he was Chairman of the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* Teaching Committee when, together with his friend Walter Gropius, planned and contributed to the programme for the Bauhaus, influencing Gropius’s 1919 avant-garde Bauhaus manifesto with its workshop principles and openness to the latest international influences.¹ In 1925, when the Bauhaus closed and moved to Dessau, Otto Bartning was appointed director of its replacement, the Weimar *Staatlichen Bauhochschule*, a post he resigned in 1930 after a coalition of National Socialists and conservatives won power in Thuringia. Bartning was one of the few German expressionist architects who did not go into exile after Hitler’s rise to power.

¹ Ulbricht, Justus H., *La Staatliche Bauhochschule de Weimar: Un Bauhaus de Gropius sans Gropius?*

His originality lay in his religious buildings, characterised by the use of metal structures and high façades, examples of which can be seen in the *Auferstehungskirche* church in Essen (1929-30), with its circular plant, and in the *Stahlkirche* church built for the 1928 Cologne Pressa exhibition. Although his famous *Sternkirche* church of 1922 was never built,



Otto Bartning

the model is preserved. In 1932 he published his influential scheme for the interior of a prefabricated house and in 1947 was elected chairman of the local German *Werkbund* group, during which he developed the prototype programme for the construction of makeshift churches (1946–1951), community centres, and diaspora chapels (1948–1953). In 1950 Bartning was appointed vice-president of the German *Werkbund* and elected president of the Association of German Architects, an office he held until his death. As the praesidium member of the Council for Design in 1952, Bartning had a decisive influence as the head of the Technical Commission for the Reconstruction of Helgoland. From 1953 to 1957 he played a leading role on the committee of the International Building Exhibition (*Interbau*), and in this context, the Berlin Hansa quarter was built. Beginning in 1955 Bartning worked in Berlin as a consultant of urban planning issues and he made an important contribution to designs for the German Pavilion at the World Exhibition in Brussels in 1958.²

In Köln, on 8 September 1909, he married Clairly Fuchs (b. Köln, 1.11.1879), having the following children:

² Ruiza, M., Fernández, T. y Tamaro, E., *Biografía de Otto Bartning*, 2004

- a. Marianne Bartning (b. Berlin, 27.10.1910);
- b. Peter Bartning (Berlin, 16.3.1913 – 1.3.1942);
- c. Sibylle Bartning (b. Berlin, 26.2.1917).

B. (Martin Julius Heinrich) Adolph Bartning (Schwerin, 11.2.1839 – Heiligendamm, 15.10.1887). Partner in Wöhler Bartning with his brothers and Alfred Wöhler in Mazatlán. In San Francisco, on 1.6.1881, he married Franziska Elisabeth ‘Fanny’ Lemmen Meyer (Menlo Park, California, 5.11.1859 – Hamburg, 8.12.1904), the daughter of Theodor Lemmen Meyer (b. Hamburg 8.10.1833), a prominent German-born businessman in California and Mazatlán, and Mariana Belderrain (b. Mazatlán, 26.7.1836). Their daughters:

1. Anna María ‘Anita’ Alexandra Bartning (b. Hamburg, 13.8.1884), married in Bern, Switzerland in December 1920 to Edmund Capitain (b. Miltenberg, 23.9.1876), architect and merchant banker in Frankfurt am Main.
2. Fanny Josephine Bartning (b. Hamburg, 17.5.1886) First married on 11.2.1913 to the architect, Edmund Capitain, divorced in Munich on 26.6.1920; second nuptials in Munich on 6.3.1922, to Albrecht Capitain (b. Frankfurt, 1.10.1862), brother of Edmund Capitain. With Edmund she had 2 children:
 - a. Franzisca Capitain (b. Stuttgart, 20.4.1916);
 - b. Karl Albrecht Capitain (Munich, 28.11.1918 – Erkrath, Germany, 30.9.2018), publisher of his grandfather’s journal of the sea voyage taken at age 19 to Mazatlán round Cape Horn aboard the Hamburg-flagged brig, ‘Emma,’ from 23 August to 24 December 1858.

After Adolph’s death, in Schwerin, on 3.5.1889, Fanny married Heinrich, Baron von Kusserow (Köln, 5.11.1836 – Bassenheim, 19.10.1900), the German diplomat,



Baron von Kusserow

politician, and adviser on colonial policy to Bismarck, having with him, a son,

3. Karl Heinrich von Kusserow (Altona, 16.7.1891 – Pfaffenhofen, 6.5.1986).

C. Ludwig Friedrich Johann Bartning (Schwerin, 6.2.1840 – Karlsruhe, 8.9.1901), on 19.8.1873 married Sofie Leonhard (b. 5.1.1851), having:

1. Hans Bartning (Chemnitz, 9.2.1875 – 12.1953), Dr of jur. in the General Ministry of Karlsruhe, married Erica Leichtlin;

2. Hermann Bartning (b. Chemnitz 20.9.1876), judge in Pforzheim;

3. Helene Bartning (b. Chemnitz 29.9.1878), married in Karlsruhe on 12.3.1904 to Colonel von Uslar;

4. Dora Bartning (b. Chemnitz 16.9.1881);

5. Gertrud Bartning (b. Chemnitz 20.7.1885), married Dr. Ganter, private instructor in Würzburg.

D. Carl Georg Wilhelm Bartning (Schwerin, 24.6.1843 – 4.11.1880), married in Spernick, on 3.6.1873, to Marie Wallner (b. Jackshitz, 7.1.1853), having a daughter:

1. Else Bartning (b. Gensewo, 18.3.1874 – 11.1936), married in Schwerin on 24.9.1895 to Major Dietrich, Baron von Wechmar (Köslitz, 13.7.1865 – Ettlingen, 7.6.1916) Their children:

a. Carl Otto, Baron von Wechmar (b. Schwerin 13.6.1896), married in Hinrichshagen on 11.6.1920 to Helene Winkelmann (Hinrichshagen 10.5.1898 – 1945), having a daughter, Carmen, Baroness von Wechmar (b. Neustrelitz, 24.6.1921)

b. Maria, Baroness von Wechmar (b. Schwerin 10.11.1899) married in Schwerin on 26.7.1922 to Hans Carl von Winterfeld (Berlin 15.10.1888 – 13.9.1933) a doctor in Rostock, having issue:

1. Rosermarie von Winterfeld (b. Rostock 13.7.1923);

2. Ulla von Winterfeld (b. 17.10.1924) married Kurt Schotte (b. 14.9.1925) on 19.2.1955.

c. Jutta, Baroness von Winterfeld (Rostock 21.6.1901–10.?.1945).

E. Heinrich ('Enrique') Adolph Eli Bartning (Schwerin, 2.7.1845 – Los Angeles, 16.9.1917). Emigrated to Mexico in 1868; a partner in Mexico with Alfred Wöhler in Wöhler, Bartning Suc. Married in Hermosillo on 15.8.1871 to (María del Carmen) Margarita Lacarra (Hermosillo, Mexico 15.8.1849–3.9.1927), residing in Guadalajara, Jalisco and Los Angeles, California. Their children:³

1. Margarita Bartning Lacarra (Hermosillo, Mexico 11.10. 1872 – Guadalajara 20.3.1914), married on 24.10.1901 in Mexico City to Rafael García Galán (b. Monterrey, Mexico, 7.7.1872), having:



Julio and Enrique Bartning with his wife and children, Los Angeles, ca. 1890

³ L to R: Margarita Lacarra, Luz Serna Lacarra, Ida Bartning Lacarra (8), Enrique Bartning, Pepa Lemmen-Meyer (4), Amalia Bartning Lacarra (9), Julio Bartning, Amparo Bartning Lacarra (7), Margarita Bartning Lacarra (5), Justina Bartning Lacarra (seated on railing, far right. 12 and 13 are Adolfo and Eduardo Lemmen Meyer Osuna.

- a. Rafael García Bartning (b. Monterrey, 6.9.1903);
 - b. Margarita García Bartning (b. Monterrey, 8.2.1905);
 - c. Leonor García Bartning (b. Gomez Palacio, 10.4.1907);
 - d. Enrique García Bartning (b. Gomez Palacio, 15.3.1909); married Belen Ruiz (b. Hermosillo, 1909) having a daughter, María de Belen Bartning Ruiz (b. Nogales, AZ, 1.2.1935)
 - e. José García Bartning (b. Gomez Palacio, 29.4.1911 – 19.11.1911).
2. Justina Bartning Lacarra (b. Guaymas, 29.5.1874), married on 25.4.1900 in Mexico City to Brigadier General Manuel María del Corazón de Jesús Blázquez López (Puebla, Mexico, 1.9.1852 – Saltillo, Coahuila, 12.9.1913). In March of 1913, following President Madero's assassination by General Victoriano Huerta, and Venustiano Carranza's sudden departure from his post as governor, he briefly took military and political control of Coahuila. Their daughter,
- Josefina Blázquez Bartning (Mexico City, 25.5.1903);
3. Amparo Bartning Lacarra (b. Guaymas, Mexico, 13.6.1876), married in Orizaba, Mexico, on 24.8.1904 to Hamburg businessman Heinrich Dieckmann (b. Berlin, 7.12.1877);
4. Henry Bartning Lacarra Jr (Guaymas, Mexico 25.4.1878 – shot in a hunt, 10.5.1917), naturalised US citizen in Los Angeles (17.1.1882), manager of the Banco de Sonora, Culiacán (1909), married on 7.2.1910 to Nelita Almada, having four children:
- a. Enrique Bartning Almada (Culiacán 19.10.1910 – 1987);
 - b. Rafael Bartning Almada (b. Alamos 17.6.1912);
 - c. Julio (Horacio) Bartning Almada (b. Guadalajara 7.6.1914); married Luz Saldana Cornejo (1918 – 1991);
 - d. Dora Bartning Almada (b. Alamos 15.8.1917).
5. Luis Bartning Lacarra (Guaymas, 14.4. 1880 – Nogales, Arizona, 26.2.1915), a banker in Nogales, on 8.9.1905, in Nogales, Mexico, married Dolores Ramirez Bustamante (b. Guadala-

- jara, 27.9.1883 – 2.10.1972) and had the following children:
- a. Luis J. Bartning Ramirez (Nogales, 28.9.1905 – Los Angeles, 15.2.1994). In Los Angeles, California, on 19.11.1926 married Ruth Gómez (b. Mexico, ca. 1906), having:
 - 1. Margarita Bartning Gómez (b. Los Angeles, 1928);
 - 2. Louis Bartning Gómez (b. Los Angeles, 1932);
 - 3. Lupe Bartning Gómez (b. Los Angeles, 1937);
 - b. Ana María Bartning Ramirez (b. Nogales, Arizona, 11.3.1907);
 - c. Enrique Bartning Ramirez (b. Nogales, 6.8.1908);
 - d. Margarita Luz Amparo Bartning Ramirez (b. Nogales, 18.5.1910);
 - e. Luisa Bartning Ramirez (b. Nogales, 7.12.1912);
 - f. Beatriz Bartning Ramirez (Nogales, 13.4.1914 – 11.7.1915).
- 6. Ida Bartning Lacarra (b. Guaymas, Mexico, 14.12.1881);
 - 7. Amalie Bartning Lacarra (b. Los Angeles, 15.2.1884);
 - 8. Julio Bartning Lacarra (Los Angeles, 4.11.1886 – 4.7.1887).

F. Julius ('Julio') Carl Peter Bartning (Schwerin, 3.4.1853 – Hamburg, 5.6.1897), partner in Mexico with Alfred Wöhler in Wöhler, Bartning Suc. In San Francisco, on 4.9.1882, he married Josephine ('Pepa') Alexandra Lemmen Meyer (San Francisco, 12.1.1863 – 31.1.1937), sister of Fanny, who had married his brother Adolph the year before. In 1892 Julio and Pepa left the Wöhler, Bartning Suc. business to his cousin, Alfred Wöhler, and returned to Germany, settling in the Harvestehude district of Hamburg. Five years later Julio died prematurely at

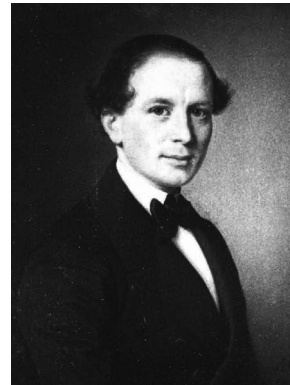


Julio Bartning and Pepa Lemmen-Meyer, ca. 1902

age 44, and his young widow spent the following years between their home in Hamburg, Paris hotels, and resorts in Switzerland. In 1906 she recovered her US citizenship and returned to San Mateo, California, where she spent the rest of her life. Their marriage produced no children.

IV. Joaquim Julius Conrad Störzel, (Grabow, 17.10.1817 – Schwerin, 1.2.1902), high court judge, married on 17.5.1850 to Johanna Rütting (Gustrow, 19.2.1825 – Warnemünde, 12.9.1906), without issue.

V. (Christian Heinrich Eduard Friedrich) ‘Enrique’ Störzel (Grabow, 26.9.1819 – Hamburg, 2.4.1885), a businessman in Hamburg and Mazatlán, Mexico, and Consul General for Mecklenburg-Schwerin. In Durango, on 15.12.1847 he married María Ramona Redo y Balmaceda (Cincinnati, USA, 14.10.1830 – Brannenburg station, Bavaria, 23.10.1913), daughter of Diego de Redo (b. Liébana, ca. 1798), landowner of Durango, Mexico, (son of



Heinrich 'Enrique' Störzel

Juan Ignacio Redo, of Catalonia, by María de las Nieves Rivadeneyra, of Galicia), who around 1819 had emigrated in suite of the Count de la Cortina of Liébana to Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua, Mexico, settling in Durango as a merchant. Expelled following independence, he emigrated to New Orleans, Louisiana, then moving to Cincinnati. In 1832 he returned to Durango. Ramona's mother was Francisca de Balmaceda y Ugarte, from one of the most powerful families in the region, political oligarchs who owned extensive properties and were related to the De la Vega family of governors. With Ramona, Enrique had three daughters:

A. (María) Angelita 'Lita' Ignacia Ramona Franzisca Getrudis Störzel Redo (Mazatlán, Mexico, 2.3.1850 – Hamburg, 8.12.1919),

married in Hamburg on 4.1.1872 to the Prussian Major-General Enno Wilhelm Ferdinand von Conring (Zachow, Pomerania, 18.5.1829 – Wiesbaden, 28.5.1886); she was murdered for her jewelry in Hamburg. They had:

1. Friedrich-Franz 'Fritz' von Conring (Spandau, 28.1.1873 – Bonn, 5.12.1965), writer, in 1900 married Maud Bryce in Philadelphia;
2. (Maria) Alejandra von Conring (Wriezen, 29.4.1874 – Roisdorf, 1.10.1970), married in Hamburg, on 5.2.1896, to cavalry captain Ferdinand, Baron von Wrede-Meschede (b. Champier, 18.9.1852 – Roisdorf, 13.5.1923). Their children:
 - a. Clemens, Baron von Wrede-Meschede (b. Düsseldorf, 28.1.1897);
 - b. Ferdinand, Baron von Wrede-Meschede (b. Düsseldorf, 31.3.1898);
 - c. Egon, Baron von Wrede-Meschede (b. Düsseldorf, 9.7.1899);
 - d. Anna Elisabeth, Baroness von Wrede-Meschede (b. Düsseldorf, 21.12.1910).
3. Carmen Agnes Franciska von Conring (Wriezen, Brandenburg, 3.10.1875 – 22.1.1959), second wife of Major Wilhelm von Marcard (Hannover, 20.9.1866 – 10.9.1940), married in Hamburg, on 19.2.1900. Their son,
 - Enno Erich Josef von Marcard (b. Hamburg, 14.12.1900 – Ibiza, Spain, 11.10.1993) private banker with Marcard, Stein & Co., of Hamburg; author of *Ein Bankier in Hamburg: Erinnerungen* (Munich, 1989).

B. (María) Ramona Luisa Clara Ignacia Störzel Redo, (Grabow, 2.6.1852 – Eimsbüttel, 23.2.1882), married on 3.5.1872 to Eduard Mathias Brödermann (Hamburg, 27.2.1842 – 28.2.1904) a merchant in England, then Hamburg with A. & E. Brödermann (1865–1872), later with J. Gabe & Son Succ. They had 4 children:

1. (María) Alice Julia Brödermann (Hamburg, 25.2.1873 – Linz, 30.10.1953), married on 15.7.1903 to Dr. Hugo Ingenuin Kecht (Innsbruck, 28.12.1876 – Linz, 14.2.1962), a doctor in Linz. They had 3 children:
 - a. Bruno Frank Mikael Maria Kecht (b. Linz, 24.9.1904), a doctor, married in Linz on 23.7.1948 to Edith Gilsig, (b. Barzdorf–today Bozanov, Czech Republic, 13.4.1919) and had a daughter, Irene Alice Kecht (b. 8.3.1949);
 - b. Egon Alfred Kecht (b. Linz, 26.7.1907 – 31.5.1985), Doctor of Jurisprudence, married Frederike Schmotzer (b. 7.7.1913) in Wels on 29.1.1935. They had 2 sons:
 1. Wolfdietrich Edhard Kecht (b. 3.8.1938) Doctor of Jurisprudence in Vienna, author on Cartel Theory;
 2. Tillman Bruno Kecht (b. 12.3.1943).
 - c. Wolfgang Tancred Wilhelm Kecht (b. Linz, 15.6.1910 – Russia, 20.4.1945).
2. Alfred Brödermann (Hamburg, 12.6.1874 – 5.5.1923) on 26.4.1911 married Jeanne Marie Therese Nicolajeff (b. Paris, 117.5.1888) and had four children:
 - a. Marquita Clarie Bröderman (b. Hamburg, 24.4.1912);
 - b. Edward Matthias Henry Bröderman (b. Hamburg, 5.5.1914);
 - c. Marie Dolores Beatrice Bröderman (b. Hamburg, 8.2.1919);
 - d. Alfred Cecil Francis Bröderman (b. Hamburg 9.5.1922).
3. Emmy Maria Franziska Bröderman (Hamburg, 15.2.1875 – 27.7.1943) on 18.11.1899 married the London banker, Frank Cyril Thiarks (b. London, 9.7.1874), having five children:
 - a. Henry Fred Thiarks (b. Chislehurst, 8.9.1900);
 - b. Ramona Thiarks (b. Chislehurst, 4.2.1902);
 - c. Edward Matthias Thiarks (b. Chislehurst, 15.12.1904);
 - d. Mira Thiarks (b. Chislehurst, 15.5.1910);

e. Peter Frank Thiarks (b. Chislehurst, 15.5.1910).

4. Beatrice Alexandra Paula Brödermann (b. Hamburg, 15.7.1883)

C. (María) Ramona Julia Störzel Redo, (Hamburg, 27.5.1853 – Kolbenz, 11.2.1907); In Brandenburg, on 25.4.1874, she was married to Hartwig Friedrich Georg von Plessen (Hagenow, Mecklenburg, 25.1.1848 – Rostock, 18.5. 1912), son of Theodor Otto Beatus von Plessen by Josephine Agnese Louise, Baroness von Schimmelmann. They had one son and daughter:

1. Wilhelm Heinrich Otto Ramon von Plessen (Oranienburg, Brandenburg, 25.6.1877 – Jena, 17.10.1930);

2. Ramona Angelita Luise Maria Therese von Plessen (Oranienburg, Brandenburg, 25.6.1877 – Düsseldorf, 16.3.1976).

VI. (Wilhlemine Henriette) Therese Störzel (Grabow, 3.3.1821 – Schwerin, 2.10.1845) married Theodor von Klitzing, city architect in Rostock (Rostock, 8.8.1812 – 24.4.1882) and had 2 sons and 3 daughters:

A. Georg Ludwig Ferdinand von Klitzing (Schwerin, 4.9.1846 – Rostock, 9.9.1917);

B. Ramona Julie Henriette Georgine Anna von Klitzing (18.6.1848 – Rostock, 1929);

C. Anna Justine Emilie von Klitzing (Schwerin, 22.8.1850 – Rostock, 24.1.1942);

D. Emmy Henriette von Klitzing (Rostock, 22.11.1852 – 8.8.1877);

E. Heinrich von Klitzing (Rostock, 10.9.1855 – 15.4.1856).

VII. (Fredrika Georgia) Emilie Störzel, (Grabow, 22.11.1822 – Schwerin, 30.6.1911) second wife of Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler, widower of her deceased sister Henriette (who follows), whom she married in Schwerin on 2.8.1854; They had three children (by order of birth):

- E. Julie Wöhler (Klintebys, 5.8.1855 – Vienna, 12.10.1912);
- D. Emil (Ernst) Wöhler (Klintebys, 19.1.1857 – México, 3.8.1891);
- G. Charlotte Wöhler (Klintebys, 5.1.1859 – Schwerin, 1.6.1923);

VIII. Henriette (Charlotte Sophie) Störzel, (Grabow, 17.4.1824 – Schwerin, 9.2.1853), first wife of Hellmuth Friedrich Wöhler (married in Schwerin on 12.3.1847) with whom she had four children:

- A. Wilhelm Heinrich Georg ‘Willy’ Wöhler (Schwerin, 22.2.1848 – Klintehamn, 12.11.1927);
- B. Alfred (Carl Julius Adolf Max) Wöhler (Schwerin 19.6.1849 – Mazatlán, Mexico 1922);
- C. Marie Wöhler (Schwerin, 9.10.1851 – Alingsås, 1934);
- D. Wilhelm Adolf Ludwig Helmuth Wöhler (Schwerin, 7.2.1853 – Klintehamn, 30.12.1950) Two days after Helmuth’s birth, his mother Henriette died from complications in the childbirth.

IX. Charlotte Störzel, (Schwerin, 28.12.1826 – Schwerin, 1.10.1912), without issue;

X. Carl Störzel, (Schwerin, 18.12.1828 – Berlin, 13.8.1898), landowner in Berlin;

XI. Ernst Störzel, (Berlin, 26.7.1830 – Schwerin, 12.5.1838), drowned in the Pfaff pond, Schwerin.

THE PASSOW FAMILY



Juliane Passow with her husband Georg Störzel and their eleven children

Klaus Passow, a yeoman of Schönbeck-bei-Lindow, Mecklenburg, was born ca. 1460/70 and occurs in the *Bederegister* (tax register) for 1496 and 1515. His son, Martin Passow, was a yeoman in Schönbeck, born in 1500, occurs in *Bederegister* for 1550, having a son, Cord Passow, (b. 1540/50), who married Anna Rivestael of Lindow/Amt Stargard, and had 3 sons:

1. Hans Passow, farmer in Schönbeck, occurs 1610 and 1628; and died 1630;
2. Jakob Passow, b. 1590, occurs 1618–41, and d. 1646;
3. Martin Passow, (ca. 1592 – ca. 1678) occurs 1626–41 as farmer in Schönbeck, later as bailiff in Jatzke, then as cartwright in Lassin bei Anclam; married Benigna Galenbeck and had two sons:
 - A. Achim Passow, farmer in Schönbeck, mentioned in *Bederegister* 1635 and 1641, died before 1646;
 - B. Joachim Conrad Passow (Lindow, 1642 – Zahrendorf, 5.2.1726),

pastor in Tempzin, Zahrendorf and Bibow; First married 1676 to Catherina Rickmann (d. Tempzin 1680), daughter of Joachim Rickmann of Schwaan (who occurs as burgher of Rostock, November 1652); 2nd nuptials in 1687 to Anna Priese (d. 1733), having by his first wife 5 other daughters and 3 sons:

1. Joachim (Jochim) Ulrich Passow (Tempzin, 19.12.1677 – Großraden, 8.11.1754). In 1716 is pastor in Großraden; 1st married (22.11. 1717) to Marie Elisabeth Delius (Schwerin, 3.7.1685 – Großraden, 12.10.1723), daughter of Daniel Christian Delius, Halberstadt Registrar to the Duchy Chancellery in Schwerin (b. Free Hanseatic City of Lübeck, ca. 1655 – Schwerin, 1712) by J. Catherina Maria Siemerling (Zimmerling), married Schwerin Cathedral 31 Oct 1682. Second nuptials to Christina Dorothea Klentz (b. Schwerin 10.10.1693 – Lasse 28.8.1776), daughter of Joachim Klentz, administrator in Karfft bei Wittenburg, then Boin bei Großraden. With Marie Elisabeth he had the following issue:

- a. Friedrich Josua Passow, (Groß Raden 16.9.1723 – Ludwigslust, 22.4.1759), pastor in Hagenow; 1st married in 1747 to Anna Hedwig Siggelkow, née Heino (baptised Schwerin Cathedral 5.4.1698 – Hagenow 6.10.1750), widow of Joachim Siggelkow (d. 1746); 2nd nuptials in Hagenow, on 7.7.1752 to Anna Catharina Hedwig Paepcke (Toddin, Hagenow, 27.2.1735 – Dambeck, Amt Neustadt 30.3.1803), daughter of Christoph Moritz Paepke of Quassel (bapt. Krumsee, Stavenhagen, on 5.10.1705 – Quassel, Ludwigslust, 9.2.1778) by his wife, Rebecca Hyppolita Elisabeth Schroeder (bapt. Tueschau, 10.6.1706 – d. Hagenow, 22.4.1759, married in Hagenow, 8.12.1730), the daughter of Carl Schroeder; having had by his first wife the following issue:

1. Moritz (Joachim Christoph) Passow of Ludwigslust (bapt. Hagenow 13.5.1753 – Ludwigslust 28.2.1830), rector at

Ludwigslust, senior preacher (*oberhoffprediger*) and consistory canon in Ludwigslust; Royal chaplain, court preacher and tutor to the children of Prince Friedrich Franz, including Friedrich-Ludwig (b. 1778), prince of Mecklenburg-Schwerin 1784–95; Married in Dambeck in Parchim on 4.11.1785 to Wilhelmine Margarethe Beust (Seedorf in Lenzen 6.4.1764 – Ludwigslust 8.1.1838), daughter of Johann Christoph Beust, (Köritz in Neu-stadt, 15.4.1718 – Seedorf, 27.7.1790), 5 years pastor in Salzwedel, then Seedorf; married in Bergen, Salzwedel on 30.10.1753 to Sophie Amalie Fesser, (Bardowick 1734 – Sternberg, 18.7.1808) having had with 5 other sons and 7 daughters:

a. **Franz Ludwig Carl Friedrich Passow** (Ludwigslust, 20.9.1786 – Breslau, 11.3.1833), a Greek lexicographer and professor of classical philology in Breslau. Appointed in May 1807 to professorship in Greek literature at Weimar Gymnasium under influence of his friend Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, his lessons were attended by the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer; editor of *Hanwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, 1819, 3rd ed. 1831, which formed the basis of Liddell & Scott's lexicon; Professor of ancient literature at Breslau University, he participated in the Breslauer Turnfede educational controversy; his *Leben und Briefe* were edited by L.&A. Wachler, Breslau, 1839. 1st married in Weimar on 2.2.1808 to Louise Juliane Sophie Johanne Wichmann (Celle, 14.6.1784 – Jenkau, 31.3.1814), daughter of the



Franz Passow 1786 - 1833

pastor Christian Rudolph Karl Wichmann (Hanover, 29.3.1744 – Celle Neuhäuser, 10.12.1808), by his wife Catharina Dorothea Lasius; 2nd nuptials in Breslau, on 12.7.1816 to Christiane Amalie Wachler (Herford, 15.2.1793 – Breslau, 3.6.1863), daughter of Ludwig Wachler (Gotha, 15.4.1757 – Breslau, 4.4. 1838), professor of theology and philosophy at University of Breslau, by his wife Juliane Ashbrandt; and having had issue by his 1st and 2nd wives 4 sons and 4 daughters, including the classical philologist,

Wilhelm Arthur Passow (Jankowo Gdańskie, 20.3.1814 – Streitberg, 3.8.1864);

2. Carl Friedrich Passow, (Hagenow 11.4.1754 – Rühn, 22.1. 1827), married in Neustadt, Mecklenburg on 30.12.1785 to Caroline Dorothea Catharina Brandt (Neustadt, 4. 5.1764 – Rühn, 17.9.1838) daughter of leaseholder Mathias Johann Brandt, of Neustadt (Scharstorf, 18.10.1733 – Neustadt, 13.2.1788), by Friederike Behrens (d. Parchim 22.11.1796); having had 5 children:

a. Friederike Passow, (b. 21.4.1787) married in Rühn on 20.11.1812 to Jochen Wilhelm Schünemann (Rühn 5.6. 1785 – 25.3.1825), *Amstregistrator* in Rühn son of *Amtshauptmann* Schünemann of Rühn, by whom she had four daughters, all born in Rühn;

b. Juliane ‘Julie’ Wilhelmine Dorothea Friedericke Passow, (Grabow, 26.3.1791 – Schwerin, 17.2.1869), married Georg Störzel (Ludwigslust, 28.1.1782 – Schwerin, 15.11.1863), the



Julie and Georg Störzel, ca. 1836

Minister and leader of the Finance Ministry to Grand Duke Friedrich Franz of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in Schwerin, post that he held until 1848. They had eleven children. (See Störzel Family. p. 149)

c. Louise Ernestine Sophie Charlotte Passow, (16 .1.1793 – Schwerin, 12.8.1808);

d. Julius Ludwig Adolf Moritz Passow (Grabow, 28.8.1794 – Rühn 18.10. 1828), customs inspector in Dömitz, married in Rühn on 17.10.1823 to Georgine Markwart, daughter of Joachim Dietrich Markwart (Grabow, 24.3.1802 – Parchim, 4.12.1842), having had two daughters and a son:

Carl Georg Philipp Leonard Passow (Dömitz, 12.11.1824 – Rostock 22.06.1896). From 1871 to 1875 he is listed as managing partner of 'Melchers Hnos. y Cía,' one of the most important commercial trading houses in Sinaloa. On 27.3.1842 he married Emmy Charlotte Anna Markwart (b. 1824), daughter of Carl Georg Markwart, teacher in Rostock, by Helene Klitzing. They had 4 children:

1. Carl Luis Otto Adolph Passow (b. Hamburg, 11.7.1867);
2. Helene Theorine Georgine Passow (b. Hamburg, 6.10.1868);
3. Albertine Helene Passow (Hamburg, 16.3.1870 – Parchim, 7.3.1941) married in Rostock on 2.11.1891 to Robert Capobus (9.2.1865 – 30.4.1939), having,
 - a. Emma Capobus (b. Parchim, Mecklenburg, 26.11.1892);
 - b. Margaret Capobus (b. Parchim, 22.1894);
 - c. Helene Capobus (b. Parchim, 14.8.1895);

- d. Elizabeth Capobus (Parchim, 1898 – 1904).
- 4. Ines Maria Passow (b. Hamburg, 20.10.1872).
- e. Luise Sophie Caroline Passow (6.7.1797 – 10.8.1797).
- 3. Carl Heinrich Passow (6.7.1755 – 21 .11. 1778).
- 4. Josua Friedrich Passow (Hagenow 27.1.1757 – Ludwigslust 3.6.1825), chief magistrate and First Official in Crivitz. In 1775 he moved to Mecklenburg with Princess Louise of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg as her Cabinet Secretary. From 1785, he was tutor (with his brother Moritz) to Friedrich Ludwig, Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (Ludwigslust, 13.6.1778 – 29.11.1819), whom he accompanied to the University of Rostock and on his European tour from December 1795 to August 1796. First married in Ludwigslust on 17.10.1788 to Dorothea Elisabeth Földner (Stratdoda, 17.10.1768 – Crivitz, 5.3.1810), daughter of Johann Michael Födner. Second nuptials to Clara Johanna Catharine Dorothea Birkenstädt, by whom he had further issue, all born in Crivitz, living there in 1821.

THE HERLITZ FAMILY

Born in Klintehamn in 1857, at the age of nineteen Marie Herlitz married Willy Wöhler, the owner of the Wöhler estates at Klintebys and Klintehamn, with whom she had seven children. Daughter of the director of the Donner shipping empire, the origins of her long and illustrious family are digested below from a document by August Kinberg published in 1896.

Introduction

David Herlicius was born in Stralsund, arriving in Gotland on a commission to build an organ for the Cathedral of Visby. According to old documents, St. Mary's Church already had an organ during the Catholic period, but it was probably unserviceable and was removed long before Herlicius arrived to construct a new one with façade and baroque-style tribune. He built it in 1600 and it lasted until 1836, when they built a new one. Herlicius was enchanted by Visby and he stayed on, working as the organist at the Cathedral, dying sometime around 1630.

The Herlitzius or Herlicius family arrived to the north of Germany from Westphalia. Some years ago, an old sign reading 'Gasthof von W. Herlitzius' was sighted in the Hanseatic town of Söst in Westphalia. The surname survives in region and it is to be assumed that members of the family still remain in Westphalia. David Herlicius' parents were Elias Herlicius, the organist at Stralsund and Maria Kleinsorgen, from Stralsund. The name Kleinsorgen belonged to a prominent Westphalian family (according to A. Afne, *Geschichte Westph. Geschlechter.*) The genealogical book from the beginning of the 18th century, handwritten by Melle, relates that the cultured David Herlicius (during a time physician in Lübeck) moved to Stargard in Pomerania, where he lived in 1516. It is likely that it is from his family that the branch at Stralsund emerged. From the same manuscript we learn that Andreas Herlicius was Cantor at

Lübeck at the beginning of the 17th century. The ancient enemies, Visby and Lübeck therefore received each in turn, by happenstance, two relatives as musical directors of the Church.

There are few families in Gotland with as many rich branches as the Herlitz. Many have fallen into obscurity and many were priests. The grandson of the Gotland branch founder, the parish priest Hans Herlitz of Fole was the son of a priest and five of his children had public positions as priests. Among them, Elias Jöran and Johan were from his first marriage (belonging to the 'Brygger' branch of the family.) Karl Niklas and David were from the second marriage, or from the 'Bozæus' branch. Many families with the name Herlitz who were from the 'Brygger' branch are today in places unknown and all the families of the 'Bozæus' branch, with a few exceptions, left the island a century or more ago. The family has had in general, intelligent people with good voices, and for the parishioners this was in great measure a boon to the people.

At the beginning of the 20th century a country adage in Gotland said, "If a Lutterman loses his throat, he will continue preaching, if a Laurin loses his thumb, he will continue writing, and if a Herlitz loses his tongue, he will continue singing". The descriptive character traits of the three families do not lack for content!

Origins

David Herlicius married to Gertrud Jörgensdotter Scmitterlöw. She was from ancient German nobility who later married Johan Lutterman, a surgeon in Visby. Her father and paternal uncle had moved from Straslund to Gotland at the beginning of the 17th century. Their children:

1. Lars, whose son David returned home in 1676 after having studied at the University of Copenhagen, received from the German admiral Niels Juel, the Lärbro Parish. When the Swedes recovered Gotland from the Danes the following year, David lost the parish. After several visits to the Academy in Uppsala, he was given the parish in Rome,

where he died in 1683 probably without issue. Since Lars does not figure in any register nor is there any trace of him, one can suspect that David was in reality the son of Lars Hanssen, who had married Margareta Herlicia and who had taken the surname of his mother.

2. Mattias, of whom we only know he had a son, Johan, who graduated from Uppsala in 1668.

3. (Tab 1) Elias, Parish priest at Veskinde.

4. Gertrud (1633-1690). In 1657 she married Madtz Jensen Brögere (died 1669). They had six sons and three daughters. In 1670 she re-married Klas Eriksson Holst and had two sons with him.

5. Margareta married Lars Hanssen. They had two sons of which nothing is known.

Tab 1

Elias Herlitz was born near 1630 in Visby and died in 1681. In 1667 he was summoned to Veskinde to become its parish priest. The authorities' decision was helped no doubt by Elias' declaration of intention to marry the widow of his predecessor, Maren Jörgensdotter. In 1655 his portrait was hung in the parish church and, according to Lemke, still remains there. His children took the name Herlitz. Children of Elias Herlitz and Maren Jörgensdotter:

1. David (1668), farmer-rancher in Gällungs, Veskinde. His two children, Elias (1693) and Maria (1700) married in the jurisdiction and their descendants have owned parts of the estates Gällungs, Björkene and others.

2. (Tab 2) Hans, parish priest in Fole.

Tab 2

Hans Herlitz was born in 1670 in Vestkinde, dying in 1730. He graduated from Uppsala in 1689. For 21 years he was schoolmaster at Fole and in 1716 became the parish priest there. In 1695 he married Märta Brygger, daughter of the then parish priest at Fole. In 1716 he married Eva Maria Bozæus, daughter of the jurist at Uppsala, Johan Adolf Bozæus. She re-

married to the successor of the parish, Johan Alskovius. Children from the first marriage or the 'Brygger' branch: (All twelve born in Fole)

1. Elias, parish priest in Sjonhem;
2. (Tab 3) Jöran, parish priest in Vall;
3. Johan, parish priest in Fole;
4. Kristian, born in 1720, mariner;
5. Maria (Dalhem, 1704 – 1791). In 1723 married the businessman Johan Bern Schlau, remarrying in 1756 to the sea captain Axel Peltzer (Folingbo, 1714 – Halfvede, Dalhem, 1766), son of the brewer Konrad Peltzer of Copenhagen and Maria Lund;
6. Gertrud Elisabet, born in 1706. Married the merchant from Slitehamn, Adam Wiman, son of the Customs Officer Petter Wiman of Småland;
7. Metta, born in 1708, married in Mariestad to the Customs Officer of Färösund, Harald Hesselgren (born 1679).

From the second marriage, or 'Bozæus' branch:

8. Klara Aurora (1718 – 1765 in Fole), married in 1740 to the pastor Per Bahr;
9. Karl Niklas, assistant to the parish priest;
10. David, parish priest at Fårö;
11. Gustaf, born in 1725, mariner;
12. Eva Maria, born in 1727.

Tab 3

Jöran Herlitz was born in 1698 and died in 1739. In 1718 he arrived at Uppsala with his two brothers. They soon showed they were "little more than common insolent adolescents," and at the petition of the rector, received a strong reprimand from the inspector before all the dignitaries. This left a deep impression on Jöran and Johan, but in the 'arrogant' Elias, it did little to change his ways.

In 1732 Jöran became the second rector in Visby, but difficulties with his superiors compelled him to take as retirement in 1738, the post of pastor in Vall. He died the following April, but his death was kept secret until the

first of May so that his widow could continue to collect her pay. In 1729 he married **Katrina Helena Sepelius** (1701 – 1795), daughter of the first pastor at Rute, Niklas Sepelius and Helena Elisabet Hök. Their children:

1. Nils, parish priest in Öja;
2. (Tab 4) **Johan**, Master of Philosophy;
3. **Margareta Elisabet**, born in 1736 and died in 1810 in Visby. She married the Custom House employee, Joachim Dunderhake (1735 – 1806). The amusing stories of the pranks that the town jokers played on him remain to this day, such as the one of the large trunk, which he confiscated one night. When he opened the lid and shined his torch inside he saw that it was empty, except that under the lid was a mirror, placed there to reflect his own astonished face, lit by the light of his own torch. Without issue;
4. **Jöran**, Medical worker to the poor.

Tab 4

Johan Herlitz was born in Endre in 1732, dying in Fole in 1779. He began his studies in Uppsala in 1751, but later travelled to Greifswald, where in 1759 he earned the degree of Master of Philosophy. He dedicated himself to the ecclesiastical activities of the church but never became more than assistant pastor. In 1762 he married **Margareta Katrina Lange**, with whom he had many children. Children of Johan Herlitz and Margareta Katrina Lange (some):

1. **Margareta Katrina** (Fardhem, 1762 – Lokrume, 1830), married the farmer-rancher **Mårten Persson**;
2. **Helena Maria** (Fardhem 1763 – 1794). First she married the navigator **Lars Boberg**, remarrying in 1794 to **Karl Ronander**, Customs officer;
3. (Tab 5) **Nils**, parish priest at Hejnum;
4. **Johan**, consul in St. Yoes;
5. **Brita Justina** (Fole, 1774 – Gammelgarn, 1838). In 1793 she married the farmer-rancher **Johan Lundberg** of Gantarfve.

Tab 5

Nils Herlitz (Fardhem, 1766 – Sanda, 1852) He studied in Uppsala in 1782, remaining in Lund, where he obtained his Masters in Philosophy in 1787. He worked in various different parishes and at the Institute in Visby. In 1803 he was the chaplain at Dalhem, parish priest in Hejnum in 1810 and in Sande in 1812. From 1826 – 1845 he worked in Parliament, obtaining in 1837 the Masters of Honour. He married **Vendla Maria Cramér**. The portrait of the couple is kept in the rural County Museum. Children of Nils Hertliz and Vendla Maria Cramér:

1. Vendla Maria (Dalhem, 1804 – Visby, 1889). In 1826 she married in Sanda with the wholesaler Georg Niklas Donner;
2. Johan Niklas (Sanda, 1806 – 1838). Graduated from Uppsala in 1824, obtaining the title of Master of Philosophy in 1837. A bachelor. Businessman in Klintehamn;
3. (Tab 6) **Karl Vilhelm** (Dalhem, 1807 – Klintehamn, 1889)
4. Gabriel Jacob, Secretary to the Authorities;
5. Johanna Dorotea Bernardina (born in Sanda 1819). In 1841 she married the businessman, Karl Stenberg (Follingbo, 1816 – Visby, 1895). They had three daughters;
6. Sofia Albertina Emelie (Sanda, 1821 – Visby, 1849). In 1845 she married the consul Rudolf Cramér. They had no children.

Tab 6

Karl Vilhelm Herlitz, (Dalhem, 1807 – Klintehamn, 1889) In Klintehamn he was the director of Donner & Ibres, later embarking with great success in a wholesale business dedicated to commerce, navigation and exports. He was generous to the community, donating buildings and money to a centre for higher studies, and the organ at the church in Klinte. His first marriage was to **Johanna Dorotea Charlotta Cramér**, and in 1866 he re-married to **Ebba Magdalena Gerle**. They had the following children.

(Numbers indicate children who survived infancy, † indicates those who died shortly after birth.)

1. Nils Johan (5.12.1842 – 1899). Landowner at Hallfrede in Folingbo;
2. Wendela Maria Dorothea (3.2.1845 – 2.5.1845); †
3. Carl Gabriel (21.8.1847 – Sicklings, Klinte 7.5.1915), farmer;
4. Johanna Catharina (18.9.1848 – 27.9.1848); †
5. Lars Carl (Klinte 3.9.1850 – 3.10.1850); †
6. Johanna Elisabeth (4.12.1852 – 19.12.1852); †
7. Carl Wilhelm (24.5.1854 – Visby 17.8.1904), a doctor;
8. Carl Rudolph (12.7.1855 – 1937). Wine merchant in Stockholm;
9. (Eva) Maria Carolina (26.1.1857 – 21.5.1946). In 1876 she married in Klinte with the landowner of Klinteby, Willy Wöhler (born in 1848, in Schwerin, Germany);
10. Johanna Carolina (22.12.1858 – 29.1.1859). †

THE GERLE FAMILY

Compiled by Thorsten Gerle, 1936

The first known date in which the Gerles appear is the 7th of August of 1687. In the church at Jacobik, in Hamburg, announcing the marriage between Michel Gerle and Catharine Albert, parents of Johan Michel Gerle, born in 1709, who later moved to Visby and who was the origin of the Gerle family in Sweden. According to Kinberg, in the *Families of Gotland*, Johan Michel Gerle, son of Michel Gerle “belonged to a German family which, according to tradition, had its roots in Westphalia and were called Gerlech or Gerlestein. The linguist Dr. Gerlach, in reference to the surname Gerle, mentions the following: “Ger, from the surnames Garling or Gerling means spear or lance in *germanisch*. The ending ‘ing’ signifies the diminutive, so Gerling probably means ‘small lance.’ This should not be confused with Gerlach; Ger meaning lance, and the termination lach, coming from lachen, hupfen, which means runner: Spear runner. What has been found about ‘le’ placed at the end of a surname is that it was quite common in the south of Germany. It has been confirmed that the surname existed around 1500, and can therefore be confirmed that the Gerle family came from the South of Germany. Another item of interest is that in Westphalia there is a village named Gerlinge, and near Salzburg there is another, named Gerling. Finally it should be noted that in Magyar, gerle means dove. The destruction of records and archives in churches throughout Germany during the Thirty Years’ War has made it extremely difficult to determine, apart from the information given above, the ancestors of Michel Gerle.

First generation

Michel Gerle was born sometime before 1670, location unknown, and died between 1720 and 1724 in Hamburg. He was Amstmeister, a Master Saddler associated to the city’s Guild. In 1687 he married Catharina

Albert, daughter of Paul Albert, and in 1714 he married a second time to Gertrud Witte, daughter of Hermann Witte of Hamburg.

Children of the first marriage:

1. Michel, (b. 19.10.1689) Inscribed in the Register of Baptism as Michel Garling, possibly the same Garling whom Frans de Brun names in his work *Interior neighbourhoods, 1 – 59 in Stockholm between the years 1703 – 1770*, where he mentions: “Number 52 from Skomakare Street, 28 to Priest Street, 21. In 1711 leased to the businessman and bachelor Michel Gerling, who paid 6 ‘dal’ rent each week;”
2. Anna Lisbeth, (b. 2.2.1792);
3. Christian Albert, (b. 5.7.1694);
4. Catharina Margaretha, (b. 3.12.1696);
5. Anna Cornelia, (b. 14.3.1699);
6. Christina Elisabeth, (b. 23.10.1701);
7. Anna Elisabeth, (b. 27.12.1702);
8. Andreas, (b. 26.5.1704);
9. Sanna Margaretha, (b. 9.2.1706);
10. Christian, (b. 12.0.1707);
11. (Tab1) Johan (Hans) Michel, (b. 1709);
12. Johan Hinrich, (b. 5.2.1712);

Children from the second marriage:

13. Anna Dorotea, (b. 2.7.1715 – died before 1724);
14. Johan Ludolph, (b. 21.7.1716 – died before 1724);
15. Truls Meyer, (b. 23.2.1720).

Tab 1

Johan (Hans) Michel, was baptized in Hamburg on the 28 May 1709, dying as a cause of a chest disease on 26 October 1781 in Visby. Near 1740 he arrived in Visby, where he was Master Saddler. His apprenticeship certificate, kept in the Archives of Visby, certifies the following:

“All of us, Masters and especially those who belong to the Saddlers Guilds or fabricators of tack and harnesses of the Free,

Imperial, National and Commercial city of Hamburg, want to offer everyone, regardless of their level or profession, to see, read or have read to them this letter, but especially to those honest, well-valued and able Masters in the promising associations of saddlers or fabricators of leather straps who have also built saddles, pistols, cinches, reins, carriages, chassis, bodywork, pillows, chairs and saddlebags, regardless of the place, for our disposition of services, greetings and everything good, which gives you reason to recognise the esteemed Hans Michael Gerle, son of our dear departed comrade Michel Gerle, who Jacob Brander, currently deceased, Master of the Saddler's Guilds or Fabricators of leather straps, has taught completely and honestly since 10 July 1724, when he was admitted amongst us, until the 13 July 1727, when he completed his apprenticeship, and he has been diligent and obedient to his masters, and also sincerely loyal to his profession, so that his teaches have nothing but good and honourable things to say of him. Now, when he needs and has asked for the certification of his years of apprenticeship, which we of course would never be able to, or desire to deny him.

Masters Jonas Schwarzling, Johan Heinrich Siebert,
and Johan V. Filip Hegeman”

In his book, *Farming Tales*, published in 1876, P. A. Säve writes of Johan (Hans) Michel and his son Jacob: “A saddler from Visby came, who was German and his surname was Gerle. At that time he was an artisan and quite proud of being one of the Guild. When his son, Jacob Gerle, who was a trader, bought some land, the old man became furious. He said to his son: How can you, son of a burger and an honest Master, be a farmer and breed children who will become little rascals? And after whipping his son, his son promised to sell his beloved land.”

Johan Michael was buried in the family tomb located in the cemetery of the Visby Cathedral. Nowadays the tomb of the Gerles is de-

stroyed, but the tombstone still remains. The stone measures 200 x 124 cms and dates from the beginning of the 17th century. On its corners are evangelical signs and remains of the original text that says,

HERE BELOW RESTS THE MASTER SADDLER
JOHAN MICHAEL GERLE WHO DIED 31 OCTOBER 1781

The stone was used three times for funerary purposes. The first time was at the beginning of the 17th Century, the second at the end and finally on the 31 October 1781 when Johan (Hans) Michael Gerle died. Johan (Hans) Michael married in 1742 to Magdalena Johansdotter (22.10.1718 – 30.10.1791). She was the daughter of the saddler Johan Benick and Könika Smitterlow. Their children:

1. Anna, (Visby, 16.1.1744 – 28.12.1823) Married in 1762 to the pewter maker Melchior Leffler (Västerås 28.08.1720 – 11.10.1791), son of the master coppersmith Tobias Leffler (1669-1749) and Brita Schybler (1689-1771). Melchior Leffler was from a large and well-known family from Breslau. One of his descendants was the professor and mathematician Magnus Gustaf Mittag-Leffler (born in 1846), who had his own house on Nobility Street (no. 44) in Visby. At least until 1861, one of the rooms in his house was covered in gilded leather, and he secretly kept the family crest on several pewter dishes. During the short occupation of Gotland by the Russians in 1809, several troops stayed in Leffler's home. P. A. Säve notes, "In a house on Nobility Street 44 in Visby, the home of the widow of the pewter maker Leffler, where there was much gilded copper, and where the daughters dressed in home-made dresses, they received a Russian military priest, his assistant and ten soldiers." Leffler married twice, first with Margaretha Elisabeth Ditzman (1722-1762) and then to Anna Gerle. He had no male heirs with her, only three daughters which caused the early death of his wife.

2. (Tab 2) Johan, (b. 1745), saddler.

3. Hindrik Georg, (Visby, 3.6.1747 – Fågelviken, Bohuslän 1877) He

was a Saddler and merchant and Corporal of the Cavalry of Burgers in 1789. His house, built in 1726 was located on Götgatan Street in the Nederland district of Stockholm, which still stands today. He also had the Fågelviken salt factory in Bohuslän. P. Wennergren notes that Hindrik had commercial enterprises with which he earned quite a bit of money. But since they were integrated to other businesses and these went bankrupt, he lost everything. This occurred after his wife's death, since after the bankruptcy inventory was taken, he retained 22.000 riksdaler banknotes. In 1792 he married his servant Anna Maria Himberg (1752 – 27.11.1811). In the Royal Library of Stockholm one finds his wedding announcement:

“We wish you all happiness When The Noble and Respected Merchant and Saddler Mr. Hindrik G. Gerle and Miss Anna Maria Himberg Contracted a Christian Matrimony. This Union took place in Stockholm the 26 February of 1792”

4. Helena Maria, (4.9.1749 – 30.5.1750).

5. Mikael Peter, (b. 1751), merchant.

6. Jacob, (b. 1754), merchant.

7. Didrik, (21.12.1756 – 31.1.1757).

8. Andreas, (b. 1758), merchant.

9. Hans Christopher (b. Visby, Gotland, 6.10.1761). First he was a seaman, but soon he set himself up in Stockholm, where he obtained recognition as a master saddler in 1803, later becoming the president of the Saddler's Guild during 1807 – 1811. His successor was Jacob Fagerberg (1769 – 1830), a well-known donor and apprentice to Johan Gerle (Tab 2). He served in Parliament in 1815, and was part of the Admissions Committee. During this parliament Hans Christopher appeared as the defender of the Associations, which at that time only received severe criticism. In the protocol of 15 April 1815, he proclaimed:

“If you remove the conditions that have existed up to now for the craftsmen, the country will fill with cheaters. Those who

know how will be left without motivation and those who don't, will lose in the end, the community will be cheated and all income will slowly disappear...Commerce and craft are to the cities what agriculture is to the country. If one changes any of these terms it would be an alteration of the laws of the state. If we remove these terms, society will have no meaning.”

Hans Christopher was allegedly a man of great generosity (in a poem preserved in the Royal Library he is called ‘the father of all orphans’) and in his will, he remembered each apprentice as well as his servant. His servant, the maid Slettergren “was given disposition of the property that he built adjacent to the mansion, a house on no. 9 Norrland Street in the Sparfven district of Stockholm, where she could live the rest of her life. The only condition imposed was that the house, the street and the barrel of water were to be kept clean (Hans Christopher also owned no. 10 of the same street). Like his brothers, he was a member of several orders, like ‘Sällskapet’, ‘Arla-Coldinu,’ etc. He was found dead in the water near Tranebergbro in Stockholm on 26 May 1822. According to the Police Report he was to be “buried honestly, but in silence”.

“He earned money, but he was a jolly and pleasant man. He spent much time with distinguished gentlemen, to whom in the end he lost all his money in cards.”

P. Wennergren

Tab 2

Johan Gerle (Visby, 25.7.1745 – Stockholm, 4.8.1818) moved to Stockholm in 1769, where he obtained recognition as Master Saddler (which he renounced in 1812 or 1814). He was leader of the Saddlers Guild during 1780 – 1796, Lieutenant of the Cavalry of the Burgers in 1790 and head of the Lodgings of the First Squadron of Cavalry in Oldenburg. In 1776 he married Lovisa Maria Boberg, (Stockholm, 18.10.1756 – 22.9.1838), daughter of the concierge N.N. Boberg and Amanda Sophia

Boberg (born 1735). After her husband's death Lovisa Maria continued his work as a saddler, assisted by their son Christopher.

Their home, Övre Munkbron, 7 (corner of 'Gåsgränd'), had belonged to Catharina Charlotta Rudbeck, widow of the minister Carl Arnell, and had been built by the architect Alexis Högman in 1778. In a painting at the National Museum titled 'View of the Riddarholm Fjord' by G.W. Palm (1810 – 1890), it is easy to recognise by its roof, since the lower part is steeper than the upper. Their house and those of their neighbours were destined to become The Autonomous Scandinavian Credit Association. His son-in-law, P. Wennergren writes:

“He amassed a small fortune, but lost almost everything buying up properties and renting them, and when his wife died a widow in 1838, they only had one house to their name which they sold for 55.000 Swedish Crowns.”

Children of Johan Gerle and Lovisa Maria Boberg:

1. Johan Peter, (b. 1780), Merchant;
2. Sophia Magdalena, (Stockholm, 6.8.1782 – Halmstad, 21.12.1855) In 1774 she married Malte Dahl, (Malmö 16.8.1774 – Halmstad 16.11.1854) son of the merchant Petter Dahl (1722 – 1785) and Christina Morsing (1739 – 1820). He completed his studies in Lund in 1783 and was Chancellor of Justice in 1791, Registrar and Chancellor of the General Accounting Office in 1795, Secretary of Protocol in 1801, Secretary of State for the Province of Halland, 1802 and Judge in 1810, retiring in 1840. They had a son and three daughters.
4. Anna Maria Gustafva (1785 – 1853?);
5. Christopher (b. 1788), saddler;
6. **(Tab 3) Carl Georg Gerle** (Stockholm, 26.3.1791 – Sorunda, 1854) was in the Royal Navy. For outstanding service in the war against Norway he received several symbols of gratitude, among them the farm at Åkerby in Sorunda. In 1821 he married Sophia Wilhelmina Kluth (Stralsund, 1.8.1802 – Danviken, 1862) daughter of the trumpet play-

er of the Royal Orchestra, Johan Kristoffer Kluth (1773 – 1826) and Sophia Catharina Wægner.

7. Louise (Stockholm, 17.1.1793 – 20.7.1878) In 1812 she married Gustaf Myhrman (Rämen, 20.7.1780 – Stockholm, 6.1.1872) son of the iron foundry owner, Christopher Myhrman (1751-1811) and Anna Maria Tingberg (1757 – 1847). He passed his judicial examination in 1800, and was Chancellor for the Foreign Office and Functionary in the Judicial Administration Tribunal in 1803, Notary in the Office of Steel Industries in 1804, Chancellor of the Royal Office in 1810, Secretary of Protocol in 1812, Secretary of the Office of the Court of the Chancellor in 1820, First Secretary at the Office of the Court of the Chancellor between 1826 – 1834. He received the Gold Medal for the Legation of the Office of Steel Industries. They had five sons and three daughters.

8. Anna Charlotta (Stockholm, 3.1.1799 – 1878) married Pehr Wennergren (Kristinehamn, 10.1.1804 – Stockholm, 7.6.1882), who had been a tenant in the house of Johan Gerle (Tab 3) located near Munkbron. He was hired in 1823 to work in the Central Bank of Associations, where he was also commissioner from 1854 to 1872. They had no children. In his will Wennergren left all his possessions to Carl Wilhelm Hjelm (b. 1826), employee of the Swedish Railways.

Tab 3

Children of Carl Georg Gerle and Sophia Wilhelmina Kluth

1. Sophia Lovisa Carolina (Sorunda, 3.11.1822 – 3.10.1897) In 1845 she married Eric Eriksson (Västra Vingåker, 22.11.1817 – Sorunda, 1899). He passed his exam at the Music Academy in 1838 and was organist and cantor in Sorunda. Eriksson had a salary of “20 barrels of grain, approximately a hectare of land and a house”. They had three sons and three daughters.

2. Johan Georg (Sorunda, 3.8.1824 – died in Australia) married to Anna Reijer in Iceland and had six children.

3. (Tab 4) Carl Wilhelm Canutus Gerle (Sorunda, 10.7.1826 – Coloma, California, 4.3.1907), emigrated to California in 1851;
4. Emelie Charlotta Wilhelmina (Sorunda, 28.4.1828 – 31.12.1845);
5. Gustaf Frans (b. Sorunda, 1830);
6. (Tab 4) Christopher Cyrus Gerle (Sorunda, 12.9.1833 – Plymouth, Amador County, California, 26.2.1885) emigrated to California in 1854;
7. (Tab 5) Catharina Mathilda Gerle (Sorunda, 12.6.1835 – Los Angeles, California, 15.8.1889), first married in Sorunda on 22.2.1857 to Lars Frans Hellman (Norrköping, 15.2.1821 – Köping, 31.10.1886) Regimental Sergeant and swordsman in Västmanland, with whom she had three daughters. Emigrated to California in 1872. Second nuptials in Sacramento, California in 1873 to John (James) O'Neill (b. Ireland, 1832), without issue.
8. Josephina Amalia Gerle, (Sorunda, 14.11.1837 – Sunbury, Australia, 29.5.1893) married Carl Anton Hellsten (1828 – Melbourne, Australia, 16.12.1873) and had five children:
 - a. Alma Sophia Elizabeth Hellsten (Stockholm, 1861 – Adelaide, Australia, 1910);
 - b. Carl Johan Carsar Hellsten (At sea, Indian Ocean, 1862 – 1862);
 - c. Carl Johan Anton Hellsten (Brisbane, Australia, 25.6.1864 – Marlborough, Australia 15.12.1925);
 - d. Albert William Hellsten (b. Ballarat, Victoria Australia, 1869);
 - e. Amy Albertina Hellsten (Ballarat, Victoria Australia, 1873 – Rosedale, Australia, 14.7.1886).
9. Hildegard Augusta Gerle (Sorunda, 9.12.1842 – California, date unknown) moved to Stockholm on 17.11.1864 and married Mr Claesson, having two children.



Coloma, El Dorado County, California, 1857

*“First discovery of Gold in California was made at this place early on February 1848 by Jos. Marshall & P.L. Wimmer at the Trailrace of Sutter’s Sawmill, situated at the extreme lower end of the Town. The Mill was torn down in 1856.”*⁴

⁴ Cit. Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1857 by Kuchel & Dresel in the Clerk’s Office of the District Court for the North District of California.

GERLE CREEK AND THE GERLE BROTHERS OF CALIFORNIA

Tab 4 Carl Wilhelm and Christopher Cyrus Gerle

The Gold Rush of 1849 that saw thousands of Europeans flocking to the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California, and in 1851 Carl Wilhelm Gerle emigrated, taking a six-month sea voyage from Hamburg, Germany to San Francisco around the horn of South America. A river steamer took him to Sacramento and on to Mississippi Bar, now Fair Oaks, California, from where he continued his journey to the mining towns of El Dorado County. On 8 March 1858 he obtained his citizenship at the Placerville Courthouse and changed his name to Charles William. He first purchased a ranch in the town of Coloma, El Dorado County, and later, another property on Pilot Hill, where he is listed as living on his sister Mathilda's marriage certificate of 1873.

By 1880, Charles William had married Minnie Johnson (née Oberg) (b. Sweden, 1855 – Placerville, California, 21.1.1914), who had previously married an Englishman in Sweden named Johnson with whom she had three boys:

1. Juan Johnson (b. Sweden, 1874);
2. Charles W. Johnson (Sweden, 1876 – Coloma County, 1907);
3. George Marion Gerle (né Johnson, he later took the name of his stepfather), (Coloma County, 11.1878 – 11.5.1917) married Aileen (dates unknown).

With Charles William, Minnie had two more sons:

4. Thomas Henry Gerle (Coloma County, California 11.6.1880 – 14.1.1949);
5. Grant Gust Gerle (Coloma County, California 30.3.1885 – 14.4.1956);

Minnie married a third time in 1893, to Perry E. Powers, having,

6. Minnie Ruth Powers (b. 8.7.1894 – 15.6.1978).

His brother Christopher Cyrus Gerle followed in 1854 and settled on a ranch in neighbouring Uniontown, California. In 1860 both brothers were living as bachelors and identified in the Census of that year as miners. In the early years of that decade he and his brother Charles purchased a ranch in the high sierra of El Dorado County from Indians that they called Gerle Ranch, where they raised hogs and cattle, which they drove over the mountains in summer months to sell in Lake Tahoe and Virginia City, Nevada.

On 19 September 1861 Christopher received his naturalisation papers and four years later, he married Mary Clausen (b. Heligoland, 1849). Mary was the daughter of the cobbler from Coloma, California, Peter Paul Clausen (England, 1806 – Weber Creek, California, 1884) and Mary Clausen (Heligoland, 1815 – Weber Creek, California, 1888), both having emigrated from Heligoland in 1853. Christopher Cyrus and Mary had two boys, both dying tragically as infants on the same day:

1. Peter C. Gerle (Coloma, 22.12.1869 – 1.2.1871);
2. Charles Gerle (14.12.1870 – 1.2.1871).

In 1877 he lost his ranch in Uniontown and his share of the property on Gerle Creek to his brother Charles William in a poker game in Carson City. Christopher then moved to Plymouth, in Amador County, where in 1880 he worked in the Empire Mine in Plymouth, California, first as a labourer and then as a mason. In Plymouth, Mary gave birth to four more children, dates unknown:

3. George Gerle;
4. Mary Gerle;
5. Charlotte Gerle;
6. Maggie Gerle.

The Gerle brothers became distinguished citizens of the Gold Country during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Georgetown Gazette reported in their 20 August 1880 edition of Charles Gerle's trial in justice court: "The trial of Chas. Gurley [sic], for drawing a rifle on James Smith,

took place in Justice McLain's court last Saturday. District Attorney Ingram represented the prosecution, with Jas. Smith and Chas. Harris as witnesses for the complaint, while Gurley testified for himself. The weight of the testimony told against Gurley, but the matter was compromised by Gurley pleading guilty to simple assault and paying a fine of \$50.00."

A report from the 23 June 1882 edition of the Georgetown Gazette on the movement of livestock through Georgetown to the ranches in the Sierras: "A great many droves of stock and dairy cattle, sheep and goats, have passed through Georgetown during the present month for their ranges above, and many more are yet to pass before the month ends. Among those who have already passed up with dairy stock are: Forni of Gold Hill, Sam Forni of this place (Georgetown), Filippini & Co., Bacchi of Garden Valley, Schelari and Gerley [sic] of Uniontown, Deller and Son near this place (Georgetown) and others whose names we have not in mind. Besides this, no less than a dozen large bands of sheep and goats have passed through town. Much stock is also passing up by routes south of this place."

When in 1885 the 51 year-old Christopher passed away, the part he had owned of the ranch on Gerle Creek was determined to be "swamp-land and overflow lands," and was purchased by the California Water and Mining Company in 1889. The remaining part of Gerle's Ranch was still owned by his brother Charles, and after his death in 1907 it passed to his wife Minnie and son George M. Gerle. When George M. Gerle died in 1917, his wife Aileen became the owner of Gerle's Ranch property on Gerle Creek, eventually deeding the ranch property in 1935 to George's two younger brothers, Thomas H. Gerle and Grant G. Gerle. Thomas passed away in 1949 and Grant Gerle died in 1956. In 1964, Bruce Wadsworth of Georgetown bought 330 acres of the eastern part of the Gerle Ranch on Gerle Creek and held it until late 2008 or early 2010, when he sold it to the Sacramento Municipal Utility District.⁵

⁵ Excerpted from Michael G. Brattman's 1996 extensive online history of Gerle Creek.

Charles William and Christopher Cyrus Gerle are buried in the Pioneer Cemetery of Coloma (El Dorado County), California.



Memorial plaque for Charles William and Christopher Cyrus Gerle at Pioneer Cemetery, Coloma with incorrect birth and death dates.

Tab 5

Catharina Mathilda Gerle & Lars Frans Hellman

Lars Frans Hellman (Norrköping, 15.2.1821 – 31.10.1886) Västmanland Regimental Sergeant and swordsman. He married on 7.11.1847 to Anna Sophia Heijkorn (30.12.1819 – 21.12.1855), having the following children:

1. Anna Catharina Hellman (Waxholm, 3.8.1848 – ca. 1910), emigrated to Rome, where she was an abbess in a cloister;
2. Frans Teodor Hellman (Sala, 3.7.1850 – 22.12.1931), in 1870 Regimental Sergeant in the military, married Ida Augusta Fredin (b. Västerås, 6.9.1850), with whom he had four children:



Frans Teodor Hellman

- A. Anna Teodora Hellman (Köping, 16.11.1872 – Västerås, 23.8.1963), married Axel Hjlamer Fischer on 22.4.1894. They had one son, who emigrated;
 - B. Ida Elisabeth Hellman (b. Köping, 30.4.1875);
 - C. Fannie Elvira Hellman (b. Köping, 6.7.1877);
 - D. Augusta Louisa Hellman, (26.8.1879 – 23.8.1963) married the cashier Gustaf Osswald; they had three daughters:
 1. Louisa Osswald, who married Erik Hansson, had four sons;
 2. Lilian Margit Louise Osswald, (b. Köping, 14.8.1905). On 23.10.1926 she married the engineer Karl Harald Fernberg (b. Möklinta, 26.8.1899). Their son,
Lars Fernberg, married Kerstin; they had two children:
 - a. Carl Gustav Fernberg;
 - b. Carin Fernberg.
 3. Inga Osswald, married Mr. Wilhelmsson, no known children.
- Second nuptials to John Ljungblom, having another son,
4. Nils Ljungblom (8.21.1915 – 6.22.1991).

Lars and Anna Sophia had five more children, including two sets of twins:

3. Lars Fredrik Hellman (Västerås, 29.7.1852 – 25.5.1866);
4. Nils Adolf Hellmlan (Västerås, 29.7.1852 – 8.6.1857);
5. Per Emanuel Hellman (Västerås, 14.10.1854 – 14.10.1854);
6. Wilhelmina Elisabeth Hellman (Västerås, 14.10.1854 – 20.10.1854);
7. Lucie Elizabeth Hellman (Västerås, 13.12.1855 – 26.6.1923).

Anna Sophia died in childbirth with Lucie, her seventh child, and two years later, on 22.2.1857, Lars married (Catharina) Mathilda Gerle (Sorunda, 12.6.1835 – Los Angeles, California, 15.8.1889). Mathilde would give birth to three daughters, (Tab 6), but their marriage ended in divorce ten years later. On 14.4.1879 Lars married Edla Augusta Andersson (Snaflunda, Örebro, 25.7.1848 – Köping, 4.4.1916); without issue.

Tab 6 Children of Lars Hellman and Mathilda Gerle

In 1872 Mathilda left her daughters in the care of relatives in Stockholm—Fanny would join her in 1874—and emigrated to California, where her brothers Carl Wilhelm and Christopher Cyrus had moved to in 1851 and 1854 respectively. On 24.2.1873, at the Lutheran Church in Sacramento, California, with her brother Carl Wilhelm signing as witness, she married James (John) O’Neill (b. Ireland, 1832). This marriage produced no issue.

8. Elvira Martha Maria Hellman (Västerås, Wästamland, 26.7.1857 – Köping, 3.11.1859);
9. ‘Fannie’ (Charlotta Mathilda Sofia) Hellman (Köping, 1.6.1859 – San Diego, California, 16.12.1936) emigrating to the US on 22.8.1874. She married four times and had five children. First married in San Francisco to Henry Alfred Boucher (b. New York, 1849), who worked in a laundry, their marriage produced two sons:
 - A. Roland Alfred Boucher (San Francisco, 21.11.1876 – San Diego, 8.9.1958), an architect in San Francisco, Seattle and San Diego;
 - B. Ernest C. Boucher (San Francisco, 28.11.1879 – 19.4.1945), an electrician.

Eight years later, in 1884, she divorced Boucher and moved with her sons to 1307 Louisa St., Berkeley, where she married the shipping clerk Rasmus Beyer Nielsen (b. Bergen, Norway, 18.1.1856 – emigrated to California in 1880, d. Oakland, 3.3.1902), who adopted her sons, having with him three more children:

C. Harold Arthur Nielsen (Berkeley, 23.12.1885 – San Francisco, 17.7.1964) electrician, married Alice Whittier Rollins (Maine, 1887 – Berkeley, 4.9.1967), having a daughter,

1. Lou Faye Nielsen (Berkeley, 11.4.1917 – Suwanee, Florida, 14.6.1992), married Herbert Hopkins Holland (Chelsea, MA, 23.9.1906 – Suwanee, Florida, 6.1.1991).

D. Alice Mathilda Nielsen (Berkeley, 10.7.1889 – San Diego, 29.1.1976) married Charles William Antill (St. Pancras, London, 15.1.1885 – Bellevue, Washington, 6.8.1954) in Alameda, California on 27.12.1910, with whom she had a daughter,

1. Francys Alice Antill (Berkeley, 13.8.1912 – San Diego 20.5.1977). In 1930 she was in Mobridge, South Dakota with her family, where she gave birth to an illegitimate daughter, given away, who died of brain cancer. In 1932 she had returned to Montesano, Washington, marrying in Seattle, on 18.6.1932, to Ralph Philip Darr (Illinois, 26.5.1907 – San Diego, 10.3.1984) having a son,

a. Ralph Philip Darr, Jr. (Seattle, 14.7.1934 – Mission Viejo, CA, 6.7.2009).

In 1918 Alice divorced Antill and took her daughter to Seattle, moving into the home of her mother Fannie and stepfather James Johnson. In July 1922 she married Dr. Merle Simpson Harmon, (La Porte, Indiana, 27.4.1885 – San Diego, 19.5.1967).

Alice and Merle had the following additional children:

b. Richard Lincoln Harmon (Seattle, 13.8.1923 – San Juan Capistrano, California, 31.8.2005);

c. Marilyn Jean Harmon (Seattle, 7.4.1925 – Bremerton,

Washington, 22.5.2010, buried San Diego) first married in 1947 to the Lt. Colonel in the Hawaiian National Guard William Joseph 'Bill' West (30.11.1920 – 1955), having:

1. Dr Deborah B. McGuire (née West), cancer researcher, dates unknown;
2. William H. Brosseau (né West) (b. 21.11.1953).

Second nuptials in 1957 to Oswald Joseph 'Buzz' Brosseau (San Diego, 18.3.1917 – 20.11.2001), a career Naval officer, having a daughter,

3. Jo Ann Hilker (née Brosseau) (b. 10.8.1958).

E. Earl (Carl) Morten Nielsen (San Francisco, 14.1.1892 – San Diego, 26.5.1956), in 1917 worked at the Mt Whitney Hatchery, a fish farm in Independence, California. In 1940 he lived with his wife Lettie Sarah Gates Nielsen (Alexandria, Louisiana, 21.2.1892 – 12.6.1970) in Point Loma, California, moving to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1947.

Fannie married two more times. In 1919, in Seattle, Washington, she married James Johnson (b. Missouri, 1861), ending in divorce; in 1927 she married Charles Spurgin Smith (b. 1861 – Seattle, 23.4.1930). After the death of her fourth husband she moved to San Diego, California. Neither marriage produced children.

10. Eva Agda Maria Hellman (Köping, Öland, 24.12.1861 – Väskinde, 9.5.1904) was eleven years old when her mother departed for California. She grew up with relatives near Stockholm and married **Helmuth Wöhler** of Klintehamn in 1885. She had two sons: (See p. 145, [Tab 12](#))

A. Lars Helmuth Wöhler (Häggeby, Uppland, 27.7.1886 – 29.8.1975) Married to **Alfhild Lindqvist** (b. Göteborg, 19.12.1886); second nuptials 1951 to Olga Wiktorina Wöhler (12.3.1904 – 18.6.1988), without issue.

B. Karl Alfred (don Carlos) Wöhler (Häggeby, Uppland, 19.9.1888 – Madrid, 18.12.1982) married Elsa Elisabeth Lindqvist (Saltsjöbaden, 8.5.1900 – Madrid, 27.1.1983), having three daughters:

1. Eva Carmen Elisabeth 'Baby' Wöhler (Barcelona, 15.2.1921 – Madrid, 11.10.2004);
2. Elsa Margot Anita 'Nena' Wöhler (Barcelona, 25.7.1922 – Granada, 10.4.2007);
3. Marie-Louise Mercedes 'Ninus' Wöhler (Barcelona, 27.5.1927 – San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1981).

(See don Carlos's biography on p. 80)

THE LINDQVIST FAMILY

August Lindqvist Andersson (Västra Tunhem, 22.4.1862 – Saltsjöbaden, 21.10.1936) was a builder from Goteborg contracted by the wealthy bank director, K. A. Wallenberg, to realise his vision of transforming Saltsjöbaden into a Swedish version of Montecarlo. During the turn of the twentieth century Lindqvist built the elegant Saltsjöbaden Grand Hotel and an assortment of mansions along the waterfront. His most important work was the construction in 1913 of Saltsjöbaden's Church of the Epiphany (*Uppenbarelskyran*), designed by Ferdinand Boberg in the prevailing Art Nouveau style of the period and financed by Knut A. Wallenberg.



Saltsjöbaden Uppenbarelskyran

Married on 1 August 1888 to Bernhardina Lindgren (Västra Tunhem, 10.9.1859 – Saltsjöbaden, 6.5.1921), in 1898 he took his wife and four young children to Saltsjöbaden, moving into two adjacent houses on Ringparkvägen (3-5), where two years later Bernhardina would give birth to twins. Bernhardina is buried together with her husband in the deeply forested Saltsjöbaden graveyard. Her grave was the first to be laid in the cemetery in 1921. She had the following children:

1. Alfild Bernhardina Lindqvist (b. Göteborg, 19.12.1886), grew up in Saltsjöbaden and married (Lars) Helmuth Wöhler in Stockholm on 27.6.1916, without issue.

2. Nils Birjer Lindqvist (Göteborg, 11.7.1890 – 15.2.1968) worked as an accountant. He married Sigrid Matilda Lindén (b. 12.12.1885) and had a son,

Hans Börje Nils Lindqvist, (b. 6.10.1922)

3. Axel Elof Lindqvist (Göteborg, 31.5.1896 – at sea, 13.12.1941) A captain of a mine-clearing ship, he was killed in action deactivating a live mine during World War II. Alerted of a floating mine in rough seas, he was reluctant to risk a crewman's life in the prevailing conditions and personally took command of a small skiff. As he approached, the waves tossed the small boat onto the mine, which exploded, killing him instantly. He married Margit Alma Elisabeth Tingström (b. 7.5.1900) and possibly had two children.



Axel Elof Lindqvist, 1922

4. Sven Georg Lindqvist (Göteborg, 10.2.1898 – 8.1.1980) married Ebba Sofia Katarina Wahlberg (12.11.1897 – 21.09.1972). Their son,

Bo Georg Lindqvist (Hamburg, 4.5.1923 – Stockholm 3.8.2004) was a businessman in the production of stainless steel. In 1966 he founded the company Bo Lindqvist AB, representing Ugione Aciers, Ugine-Guegnon, and Vallourec, the leading producers of stainless steel products on the European



Sven Georg Lindqvist

market. The French industrial group took over operations in 1973, and Lindqvist became Managing Director of Pechiney Sweden. In 1976 he was inducted as a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur, appointed in 1985 as an officer of the Honorary Army, and was chairman of the French Chamber of Commerce in Sweden. He was married from

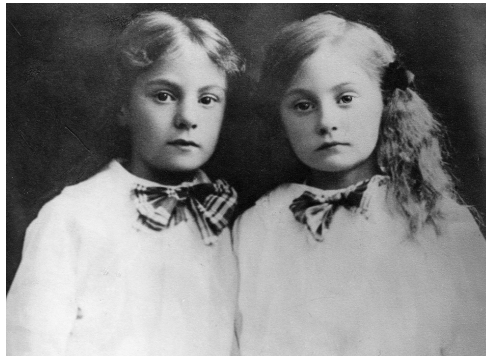
1945 to 1951 to Brita Montell (1920-2003), daughter of Major Emil Montell and Elsa Philipsson. In 1957 he married again, to the prima ballerina Ellen Rasch (1920 – 24.10.2015), daughter of Captain Rudolf Rasch and Zinaida de Joltanowsky. He had a son with each wife:

- a. Joen Lindqvist (b. 1946);
- b. Raoul Lindqvist (b. 1957).

5. Elsa Elisabeth Lindqvist (Saltsjöbaden, 8.5.1900 – Madrid, 27.1.1983) married in Paris at the Swedish Sofia Church in 1920 to Karl Alfred (don Carlos) Wöhler. She spent the rest of her life in Spain and had three daughters:

- a. Eva Carmen 'Baby' Elizabeth Wöhler (Barcelona, 15.2.1921 – Madrid, 11.10.2004);
- b. Elsa Margot 'Nena' Anita Wöhler (Barcelona, 25.7.1922 – Granada, 10.4.2007);
- c. Marie-Louise Mercedes 'Ninus' Wöhler (Barcelona, 27.5.1924 – San Juan, Puerto Rico, 18.6.1981).

6. Sigrid Margareta 'Maggie' Lindqvist (Saltsjöbaden, 8.5.1900 – Stockholm, 6.11.1976) lived in Saltsjöbaden with her parents at Ringparkgatan 3 and 5 until 26.12.1932, when she married the policeman Erik Verner Walleberg (26.5.1898 – 5.1.1981).



Elsa and Maggie Lindqvist, ca. 1907

BORIS DUNEV

The search for Robert Dunev's roots

Robert Dunev's origins can be traced back to Czarist Russia. His maternal grandparents were born in Drissa and Dvinsk,¹ two cities near Vitebsk in the Pale of Settlement, a large area of western Imperial Russia created by Catherine the Great in 1791 for the relocation and permanent residency of the Empire's Jewish population. Extending from the Black Sea to the Baltic, it included the Crimea, much of the Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Estonia and parts of Poland. Permanent or temporary residency beyond the Pale was mostly forbidden to Jews, although a limited number were allowed to live outside the area, including those with university education, members of the most affluent of the merchant guilds, particular artisans and military personnel. For over a century, until the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Jewish population lived within its borders on farmsteads, in shtetls, or scattered throughout the towns. But endemic poverty and repeated Cossack-led pogroms drove many of the inhabitants to emigrate, and by the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries large numbers had departed for the New World.

In Dvinsk, in February 1890, the 20 year-old Hyman Weitzer (Drissa, 20.6.1870 – Bronx, NY, 18.8.1942), married the 15 year-old Celia Moin (b. Dvinsk, August 1875). The following year Hyman took his young wife and ten year-old sister Fannie (b. Drissa, 1880)—and at least another sister—and boarded a steamship for New York. They were processed into the country at Barge Office, New York on 7 October 1891, and two weeks later, their first child, Mary, was born in New York City. By 24 October 1893 he had obtained his US naturalisation papers (formally

¹ Dvinsk is now Daugavpils, Latvia; Drissa is now Verkhnyadzvinsk, Belarus.

rendered in 1898) and was working as a cap maker in the Bronx. Over the next years Hyman and Celia had four more children, all born in New York: after Mary came a child, name unknown, deceased; Ella, born in 1899; Saul, born in 1903; and Frances, born in 1908.²

In 1911, Hyman and his family moved to Canada, settling in Montreal, Quebec, where he continued to work as a cap maker, acquiring a Canadian citizenship. Two years later, their daughter Mary married Hyman Gross in Montreal.



Boris Dunev's passport photo, 1917

On 9 September 1919, Ella married the pianist and composer Dr Boris Dunev at the Shaar Hashomayim Temple in Montreal. According to the marriage records, Boris was the son of Moses Dunev and Sybil Yolass of Odessa, Russia (Ukraine). Their son, Robert Mortimer Dunev, was born in Montreal on 25 January 1921.

In the spring of the following year Boris disappeared and was never again heard from. Ella was granted a divorce on 6 July 1923, and on 18 September of that year she returned to the United States with her parents and her sister Frances, settling in the Bronx. From 1923 on Ella lived at 60 Clifford Place in the Bronx with her parents and son (Robert appears in the 1930 Census as Mortimer Weitzer, a name he had discarded by the time he was in high school). Like her father, she worked as a milliner, designing and fashioning ladies' hats.

In 1935 Hyman petitioned for citizenship and two years later, on 5 April 1937, Ella was granted her US citizenship. Her son Robert attended public school and the College of the City of New York. He completed

² There exist discrepancies regarding their birthdates. Hyman's 1898 naturalisation document dates his birth as 3 December 1867, whilst in his 1935 petition to recover his citizenship he is listed as having been born in August 1875. Ella appears in the 1900 census as having been born in 1897.

his senior year at the National University Mexico in Mexico City before joining the OSS in 1942. After her father's death in 1942 Ella moved to Manhattan, living on Central Park West at the Hotel Alden until she married her cousin, Herman Lipman, at which time they moved to W 68th Street in New York City. Ella and Herman died within a month of each other in 1984.

Who was Boris?

One spring day in 1922 Boris went to work and never returned. All trace of him had vanished. Details of his origins or what became of him after his disappearance were impossible to obtain from Ella, who maintained throughout her life an obstinate silence; Robert himself preserving but the dimmest memory of his father. My own attempts to locate any traces or origins of the Dunev family for years drew only blanks, as I perused the telephone directories of cities the world over. Family lore had placed the Dunev family roots somewhere in Russia, and indeed I remember being told Ella's grandfather had been Quartermaster for Alexander II, the Czar who famously freed the serfs. But the upheavals of revolution and civil war in that country, and the displacement and death of millions made any search virtually impossible. In 1992, when I visited Russia during its transition from the Soviet Union, telephone directories didn't exist. Russian friends assured me the name was Cossack, but nobody seemed to know anyone named Dunev. Moreover, the name might have changed over the years. It seemed plausible even, that the Dunevs might have emerged from the area along the Danube, sharing the toponym with others from the same region, such as the Duhnes, or the Donats. Yet despite my search, I was unable to find a single Dunev listed in any way at all, anywhere. Even standard genealogical services of the time failed to come up with a single connecting link.

Then in 1997 I met young Krasimir Dunev, a Bulgarian athlete who had earned a silver medal for gymnastics at the 1996 Atlanta Olym-

pic Games. He told me the extraordinary tale of his ancestor Boris Dunev, a riveting story that only whetted my interest even more. The extraordinary surprise of suddenly finding another Dunev in the world was underscored the day he drove up our driveway in Sausalito with DUNEV on the vanity plates of his shiny new car. Krasimir and his young wife had started to make a life for themselves in California and we spent a very pleasant afternoon getting to know each other. I asked him about his family name, hoping to learn if there were many Dunevs in Bulgaria, but he replied that it was an unusual name and that he would write his grandfather back in Bulgaria for the family history.

Several months later I received a call from Krasimir, inviting Nance and me to dinner in San Francisco. As we were finishing our desserts he pulled out a letter from his grandfather and told me the following tale:

“Many years ago, our family lived in Plovdiv, then the capital of Bulgaria. We had a large farm with several dependencies and were quite well-off. My grandfather’s father was a young man, living at home with his parents and his two brothers and two sisters. One day, when the girls were home alone, a Turkish official arrived at the farm. Sitting down at the kitchen table, he demanded they serve him food and wine, and he sat in the kitchen, eating and drinking during the rest of the afternoon. As he got progressively drunker, he would ogle the girls, proclaiming, “After I’m done eating, I’m planning to have my way with you. And if I’m still in the mood, then I’ll have a go at your sister”. The sisters were terrified; there was little they could do in the face of such authority. For centuries, the Turks had controlled Bulgaria with a brutality that was imprinted on the collective minds of the people, commanding the greatest fear and mistrust.

My grandfather’s father and his uncle arrived in the house to find their sisters in absolute panic and the Turk drunk at the kitchen table. He had become quite abusive

and no one knew what to do about the girls' impending fate. After a while, they heard the arrival of their eldest brother, and rushing out to meet him, they told him about the situation taking place in the kitchen. He told them to return to the kitchen and make as if nothing was wrong. A few minutes later, he crept into the kitchen, and placing himself behind the Turk, throttled him.

The Dunev brothers weighted the Turk's body with stones and threw it in the river, erasing all evidence of his visit from the house. The following day, the Turkish authorities conducted a search throughout the town for the missing official, but were unable to come up with any clues. Three days later, however, the river cast up the body of the Turk, and the authorities were able to identify the causes of his death.

The eldest brother fled in haste that night and was never seen again by any of the Dunev family. It was reported that he went to Greece. His name was Boris Dunev. The Dunevs that remained suffered the wrath of the avenging Turkish authorities, who burnt their warehouses, killed their animals and forced them from the land. The family eventually ended up in Sophia, where several of their members live today."

Obviously, the connection in this story is only circumstantial. There is no evidence, other than a DNA test, that could link Robert Dunev with the Boris Dunev in this tale. Indeed, Bulgaria's own opening to the outside world since the collapse of the Soviet Union has revealed that there are quite a few Dunevs in that country, as any Google search will tell you, and more than a few have attained some measure of notoriety. Krasimir's family has no idea of what became of their great-uncle Boris, nor do they recollect any particular musical aptitudes in the young man. But the dates could be made to match. It is known that Boris Dunev was older than his wife Ella, 33 to her 21 years of age when they married, so his date of birth was 1886. Bulgaria only attained its independence from Ottoman Turkey

in 1908, and if Boris fled to Greece as a young man of say, 19, he might have done so around 1905, well under the Turkish suzerainty and with time enough to make a new life for himself, ending up as a musician in Canada.

But Krasimir's story sounded too apocryphal and I was determined to seek out the truth. Databases that were unavailable only a few years ago, are now easily accessed on the internet, and they have provided the clues that shape this story. From the Canadian National Archives I have learned that Boris Dunev was born in Odessa, Russia, on 15 September 1886. He is credited with having earned his doctorate in music at the Imperial Conservatory in Petrograd; he served in the Imperial Army and worked in London as guest conductor for Sir Henry Wood's orchestra. He is listed as a resident of Montreal since 1914 with the occupation of Professor of Music. On his wedding certificate, his parents are variously listed as Moses and Sybil, both Russian nationals, although in papers submitted to the Russian Consulate of Canada Boris identifies his mother as Marta.

Boris was a pianist and composer of some renown, a champion for the arts and director at the Canadian Academy of Music in Montreal, at 740 rue Sherbrooke Ouest, where, at least since 1917, he taught piano, together with Arthur Letondal, to Rose Goldblatt and other promising musicians. That same year he is listed as juror for the Prix d'Europe awards, a prestigious grant funded by the Government of Quebec, and is billed at the Windsor Hall in May 1917 in a piano recital with Ossip Gabrilowitsch, the proceeds of which were to go entirely to the Polish Relief Fund, the young Efram Zimbalist having performed there in March of that year.

In 1921 he appears as correspondent for *Musical America*, a weekly newspaper covering the performing arts (published by John C. Freind in 1898 and still active today), citing the Sherbrooke address in Montreal as his place of contact. *The Canadian Jewish Chronicle* announced a new musical department, titled Musical Montreal, to be edited weekly by Dr

Boris Dunev of the Canadian Academy of Music. The archives preserve several of his articles and reviews, dated from the end of December 1921 through the middle of January 1922. On 10 February 1922 the Jewish Community Foundation of Montreal credit Boris Dunev and Geoffrey Levine of starting a movement in 1917 which was to result in the development of the Jewish Scholarship Fund (aimed at assisting Jewish and gentile students of music whose “financial circumstances debarred them from taking regular tuition”).

These press clippings paint a picture of a model citizen, cultured and altruistic, with a young wife, a newly born son and a promising career before him. So what caused his disappearance?

On the trail of his disappearance

On 12 April 1922 the *Quebec Telegraph* published a notice of the issuance of a warrant for the arrest of Boris, “who disappeared a fortnight ago” on charges of “forgery and uttering forged documents”. Two days later the story is picked up by *Variety*, which adds that the complaint against Boris resulted from the sale of pianos and musical instruments to a J. S. Black of Montreal. By the end of March 1922 Boris Dunev had vanished with a warrant out for his arrest.

His trace can be picked up a few weeks later in California. Bruno David Ussher reported in *The Pacific Coast Musical Review* on 10 April that “Dr Boris Dunev, former examiner of the London College of Music” has just arrived from France and will be staying with his close friend Ignaz Paderewski, adding that that he “may spend the summer here teaching, lecturing and resting prior to a busy season next fall, for which he has already been booked to the extent of ten appearances with orchestra alone”. On 6 and 12 June 1922 the same paper reported on Dr Dunev’s upcoming benefit concert at the McDowell Fund, listing Dunev’s busy performance schedule and noting that he has been “engaged to play twice with the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, and four times with the

St Louis Symphony Orchestra under Rudolf Ganz, who, by the way, is a close friend of Dr Dunev”.

By mid-July, Alfred Metzger, the editor of *The Pacific Coast Musical Review* had been writing about Dr Dunev for some weeks, describing him as “the eminent Russian piano virtuoso, conductor and composer, [...] late examiner for the Royal College of Music, London, [and] a graduate of the Imperial Conservatory of Music in Petrograd with the highest distinction, winning the much-coveted gold medal in recognition of his genius,” who had studied with and was friends of such distinguished musicians as Sergei Rachmaninoff, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Ignacy Paderewski, the Polish politician and pianist who became his teacher. With a long list of successful concert tours in Europe and eastern American cities, Boris had arrived in California as “a guest and personal friend of Ignacy Paderewski...who induced [the California impresario L. E.] Behymer to arrange for Dr Dunev’s appearances as a pianist and conductor”.³

The *Los Angeles Times* then announced a series of three lectures and performances by “an esteemed Russian Pianist” at the University Auditorium in the afternoon and evening of 17 July 1922 to be repeated at the Gamut Club on 3 August. But what put him in the musical limelight was his role as guest conductor (with Alfred Hertz from the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra) at the Hollywood Bowl on 25 July 1922 in a special summer programme of Russian music. The concert was conducted with great fanfare, and the *Los Angeles Times* reported gushing reviews the next day. Edwin Schallert, the long-time entertainment critic for the paper, reported that the concert was “one of the most successful that has yet been given...to thunderous applause from the audience,” lauding Dunev’s performance and describing him as “a famous composer and pianist [with] a record for successful conducting of concerts in London”.

³ Metzger, Alfred, *Pacific Coast Musical Review*, 15 July 1922, “Douglas Fairbanks Invades Music Arena.”

Amongst those in the audience at the concert who were impressed by his performance were Alfred Hertz, director of the San Francisco Symphony, Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford and Charles Chaplin. On Behymer's recommendation, Fairbanks had commissioned Dunev to compose the score for his upcoming film, *Robin Hood*, as well as the music for another of his pictures, titled *Monsieur Bocaire*, and Mary Pickford asked him to write the music to her next big picture, *Dorothy Vernon*.

For months, the press describe Dunev's compositional style with awe, as 1500 sheets of music for sixty musicians are scored by a team of five copyists. "At the present time Dr Dunev and his assistants are working under forced draught to finish six complete orchestrations of 60 books each for the initial openings of the new Fairbanks film. Present plans are to hold the first premiere at a legitimate theatre in New York, this to be followed closely by five big openings in other cities throughout the country."



DR. BORIS DUNEV, RUSSIAN COMPOSER, PIANIST (LEFT) AND DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS, STAR-ACTOR AND PRODUCER OF *ROBIN HOOD* (RIGHT) LOUNGING AT THE ORIGINAL ORCHESTRA SCORE WRITTEN BY DR. DUNEV SPECIALLY FOR *ROBIN HOOD* FILM

*Boris and Douglas Fairbanks
review the score, 1922*

But not all were enthralled by the performance. Isabel Morse Jones, the cellist and *Los Angeles Times* music critic for twenty-two years (1925-1947), published a history of the Hollywood Bowl in 1936, and her reflections on the concert bear quoting:

"It was natural, for instance, that Douglas Fairbanks, then filming *Robin Hood*, should offer the services of his imported Russian composer, Boris Dunev, as conductor for one of the first concerts. That gentleman came to Hollywood with a fanfare of advertising about 'honours from the Petrograd Conservatory, a doctor's degree obtained at Oxford, and brilliant conducting of Sir Henry Wood's

Orchestra in London.' It was his intention to make his home in the film colony to compose, play, and teach, and he tactfully began, in his first published interview, by 'deploring the lack of appreciation for the finer music in America.'

The programme was glaringly Russian, including the third movement of the *Pathétique Symphony* by Tchaikowsky, of course, the *Prince Igor* dances by Borodin, the *Caucasian Sketches*, and the inevitable *Overture of 1812*, by Tchaikowsky. Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, Nazimova, and others prominent in the picture-world, bought boxes for the exciting event. Several rounds of cartridges were exploded in the finale of the overture. Fairbanks made a speech from the stage, and Dunev made one backstage in which he invited the whole orchestra to a chicken dinner which, by the way, failed to materialise.

The audience received it all with great applause, especially the gunpowder. It was a big Bowl night for everybody except the orchestra. They really suffered in their absorption in the music, trying to prevent the audience from detecting how little the 'great' Russian doctor knew about conducting. There had been a good bit of indignation when he was announced as guest-conductor but the management, because the men had heard rumours of his utter unfitness for the job and were loath to risk a Bowl concert on him. The concertmaster reassured the players after a terrible rehearsal in the morning, telling them to watch his bobbing violin and for the beat of his foot.

About the middle of it, when Dunev laid bare the soul of Russia in *Caucasian Sketches*, the learned doctor got hopelessly lost. When the fortissimo chords which closed the finale were played, and the orchestra looked up for the signal to stop, he went vigorously on, beating time. Emile Fenrir, the Philharmonic's wit, promptly took Dunev's cue and obediently scrubbed out commanding low notes on the viola. It was a sign to the rest. The tym-

pani player, knowing that the conductor is always right, joined in with a few loud beats on the drums, the cymbals crashed, and the whole orchestra then played an improvised coda that would have amazed Ippolitoff-Ivanoff, but seemed to have no disturbing effect on his disciple, Dunev. The audience did not know that Sverdrofsky had really conducted the whole concert from his chair in the violin section. The studio found out soon after that Dunev's carefully guarded music score for 'Robin Hood' contained nothing of use, and he left town richer by several thousand dollars, having taught no one but Mr Fairbanks, and that—a bitter music lesson.”

In his 1960 autobiography, *The Road I Came*, Paul Jordan-Smith, writes that Boris had been introduced to Hollywood by Fairbanks, who at that time was producing the film *Robin Hood*, with its million dollar budget, the most expensive feature in history, the film score of which Boris was to direct and compose. His version of the gala event also contradicts the *LA Times's* review and echoes Morse Jones' description of the concert as an embarrassment. He describes Boris Dunev as an incompetent fake “who knew very little about music, could not read the scores ... and had it not been for the able concert master, Henry Svedrovsky, the programme ... would have turned out a disgraceful fiasco”.

If Dunev's performance at the Hollywood Bowl had indeed been as scandalous as these authors describe, it would stand to reason that after that evening Boris would have been immediately sacked. Yet the *LA Times* reports a series of three performances by Dunev at the now-defunct Gamut Club beginning on 7 September 1922, indications that Dunev was in Los Angeles for at least a couple of months after his Hollywood Bowl debut. Press clippings from August or even September imply that the Pickford-Fairbanks Studio (later, with the addition of Charles Chaplin, renamed United Artists) was still relying on Dunev's collaboration in scoring the film. John Whitcomb Nash reported in the *Pacific Coast Musical Review* on 2 September that “Charles Chaplin, too, has commissioned Dr Dunev to write music for one of his pictures, all of

which goes to show that Dr Dunev must have hit the nail on the head in regard to composing musical scores directly to the action of moving pictures". Furthermore, as late as 2 October, the studio was issuing press releases on Dunev's complex orchestration, but suddenly, on 10 October, Boris was replaced by Victor Schertzinger (1888-1941).

So what happened?

It is interesting to discover, in the Canadian Archives, copies of the application submitted to the Russian Consulate of Canada for permission to travel to Petrograd in December 1917, when the smoke from the October Revolution had barely begun to lift from the streets of the city (Russia's October Revolution—by the Julian calendar used in Czarist Russia occurred in fact in November by the West's Gregorian calendar). The Bolshevik Revolution represented a heady and glamorous adventure for many intellectuals and it stands to reason that Boris was inspired to return to his native land and participate in the great social experiment that the Revolution offered. It is unclear if Boris actually travelled to Russia; only the evidence of his desire to travel remains. In another document, signed before a Canadian notary on 21 December 1917, Boris declares he is a Russian citizen with no interest in seeking a Canadian or any other nationality, opting to remain Russian.

The infamous Odessa massacre, immortalised by Eisenstein, occurred in 1905, when Boris was 19 years old. It is conceivable that the horrors that visited the city motivated Boris to leave for Petrograd to enrol in the Conservatory, whence, after four years of study, he might have moved to London and worked as a guest conductor for Wood's orchestra with plenty of time for him to arrive in Montreal and establish himself as professor of the Canadian Academy of Music by 1914. However, these are all circumstantial connections at best, events made to slip into a timeline and match the biographical credentials that Boris presented to an avid California press prior to his concert appearances at the Hollywood Bowl.

Did Boris return to Russia after his second appearance at the Gamut Club in September 1922 to play whatever role fate had in store for

him in the Revolution? Was he the anonymous victim of some accident, like the architect Gaudí, who was run over by a streetcar and was not identified until after his death? Did he fall into the maelstrom of Stalin's purges to disappear forever? Or did he make a swift exit after his elaborate scheme in Los Angeles unravelled? Did he take the money and run? Could he have ended up as a peripatetic grifter, travelling cross country from scam to scam until the authorities caught up with him?

Boris resurfaces

After his sojourn in the lofty heights of Hollywood all trace of Boris vanishes until November 1930, when he appears in Atlanta, Georgia. The following year the *Atlanta Constitution* reports that the recently arrived "Professor Boris Dunev, a Russian pianist of renown" is to be honoured at the home of Mr and Mrs Adolph Hoffman of Atlanta on 3 March. On 8 June of that year the same paper reviews a performance given by Professor Boris Dunev at the Jewish Educational Alliance (JEA) that "displayed his versatility as a first rate concert pianist and a composer of no lesser degree". Quoting the critic Joseph A. Loewinsohn, the article continues, "In the second part of the program Mr Dunev came in for a great deal of unstinted praise for his own composition 'Romance de Revolution,' which was played for the first time before a southern audience. This opus, which was published by Jurgenson of Moscow and Berlin, was conceived during the riotous days of the Russian revolution and has for its theme the momentous events that transpired in the Russian capital and of which the pianist was an eye-witness. The composition, abounding in personal reminiscences of Mr Dunev, was executed with an admirable display of artistic temperament and made the audience feel the puissant eloquence of music as a medium for portraying the gamut of human emotions. The pianist delighted the appreciative audience with the dexterity of his digits and marvellous technique required of this difficult musical arrangement."

Eye-witness to the Russian revolution? If his Canadian residency documents are to be believed, he had been in North America since 1914, and evidence of lectures given and travels taken round the country in 1918 and 1919 shows that he was still there during those years. Boris seemed to have developed the habit of embellishing his biography.

Obviously impressed by his putative credentials, Atlantans welcomed him into their midst, and for the next two years Boris was busy. In 1931 alone, the *Atlanta Constitution* listed him as giving at least five more concerts: on 21 February, at the Junior Hadassah; on 19 April, he was replaced at the JEA concert due to illness; on 17 May and 8 June, two more concerts at the JEA; and on 16 October he opens the winter season at the Studio Arts Assembly. In January of 1932 Boris was appointed head of the piano department of the Atlanta Conservatory of Music, and that year he appeared in assorted concerts or recitals, including one in February, three in March, and two in June. An article in the *Atlanta Constitution* announcing his hiring by the Conservatory stated that “prior to his coming here, he was director of faculty of music at the University of Honolulu, in the Hawaiian Islands, where he taught the piano for five years,” offering a clue as to his whereabouts since the sudden end to his collaboration with Fairbanks. It also reported that upon his arrival in Atlanta, Boris was “entrusted with the task of organising the music centre at the JEA”. On 8 March 1932 the same paper announced the arrival of Dr J. W. Robinson, ‘President of the University of Hawaii,’ who was recovering from an operation at the Mayo Clinic and staying at the home of Professor Boris Dunev of the Atlanta Conservatory of Music. Yet no evidence of a Dr Robinson as president of the University of Hawaii appears in the university’s website, so what was going on? By the following year all trace of Boris in Atlanta had, once again, vanished.

On 4 November 1934 the *Philadelphia Inquirer* announced that the Zeckwer-Hahn Philadelphia Musical Academy had hired a certain Russian pianist and lecturer named Dr Boris Dubinski as a member of the faculty. Could this be the same Boris? That October Dr Boris Dubin-

ski had taken out a marriage licence in Trenton, New Jersey with Miss Alice H. Stout. According to an article from 1937 in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, in 1935 Boris, as Boris Dubinksi, “moved in on Trenton, New Jersey, engaged to the daughter of a prominent family, he came near to disaster when the girl’s mother, suspecting him from the start, wrote the university for details. Informed he was probably a charlatan, the mother replied that it was too late now, for he’d married the girl and both had disappeared, along with considerable cash”.

Things for Boris heat up in 1935. In January he appeared in the Shreveport, *Louisiana Times* as Boris Dunaevsky, pianist, on the programme for the installation of Rabbi Leo Brener into the Agudath Achim congregation pastorate of Shreveport. On 28 February the Honolulu paper *Ka Leo o Hawaii* reported on the illegal activities of one Dr Boris Dunev (AKA Boris Dubinski), “said to be have swindled people in Atlanta, Georgia, Trenton, New Jersey and Miami, Florida, all the time using the name of the University of Hawaii in his alleged illegal activities”. Described as about 50 years of age, 125 pounds and stooped, of ill health due to starvation during the Russian Revolution, Dunev posed as a former music professor at the university who “offered non-existing faculty positions to unsuspecting job seekers, conned an Army officer into ‘investing’ \$1200 in music stock that didn’t exist and sold 90 imaginary ‘scholarships’ to music students, collecting \$10 for ‘expenses’ from each swindle victim. It further states that, “When things got too ‘hot’ for ‘Dr. Dunev,’ it is believed that the former ‘professor’ of a subject that has never been offered at the University of Hawaii changed his name to Dubinski”.

On 2 September, *The St Louis Star-Times* reported from Memphis, Tennessee that Police Inspector Will T. Griffin, who two years before had famously captured the gangster and kidnapper ‘Machine Gun Kelly’, told the United Press “he was holding Boris Dunaevski, internationally known Russian musician,” for investigation pending replies to his request for information from the cities he was purported to have worked as a ‘confidence man’. According to Griffin, ‘Dunaevski’ had “confessed

to securing \$15,000 worth of diamonds from an Atlanta woman and also to working a 'confidence game' in Milwaukee and Montreal. The diamonds, except one \$1,200 ring were recovered". The following day *The Raleigh Register* reported the capture by Detective Griffin of Boris Dunev (AKA Boris Duneavski and Boris Smolinski), "on the run for ten years and sought by the authorities for operating as 'a swindler' in numerous American cities. According to the chief detective, Dunev readily admitted [to] an Atlanta jewel swindle, several Milwaukee bad check charges and swindling women out of some diamonds in Montreal".

The Atlanta Constitution of the same day printed how Boris had met his victim while she and her husband were in Cuba. He followed them back to Atlanta where, posing as an employee of a famous New York jeweller, he had obtained the gems from the woman on the pretence of having them reset by his firm. But with the police breathing down his neck, the "musician mailed all of the diamonds except one \$1200 ring back to the Atlanta woman". Detective Griffin explained how Boris was "traced by a picture which had appeared in a newspaper," allowing the police to trail him to Montreal, where he had fled after fleecing a Milwaukee woman of her diamonds. A day later the *Atlanta Constitution* published an article describing how Boris had served at the JAE in Atlanta before joining the Atlanta Conservatory of Music, a position he abandoned "suddenly".

The Atlanta detective department, however, was unable to come up with any reports of a jewel theft as described by officer Griffin. On 5 September the *Atlanta Constitution* reported that, despite having readily admitted to his crimes, Boris was not wanted by police in any of the cities where he was alleged to have perpetrated his swindles, and with no charges pending, the Memphis police released him after four days. It added that "Dunaevski was in Atlanta some years ago, where he was known as Boris Dunev. For a while he conducted a music school at the Jewish Alliance here and was later connected with the Atlanta Conservatory of Music for a short time. It is the opinion of local music teachers that he was a brilliant teacher of the technical side of music, but was

himself a poor pianist". Upon his release, Boris declared he would remain in Memphis "at the home of a friend and later give the recital and lecture which he had planned".

It is 1937 and Boris is again pursued by the police.

An article in the *Honolulu Advertiser* of 23 December revealed a new alias, Boris Davidoff, who was the object of search by federal agents for "offering easy, lucrative jobs at the 'music school' to all and sundry". Carl Adams, one of his less credulous victims, had cabled the University for confirmation, and when he was told that the University had no music school he went to the authorities. The University also filed a complaint with the FBI in Los Angeles, and the investigation that followed revealed that Boris had been selling 'jobs' at the University for five years in cities across the US, offering not only positions, but even writing and mailing a letter of recommendation in the presence of his victims. The paper went on to describe Boris's 1932 Atlanta exploit, where the conman, "using the name Dunev, posed as head of the island music school. So convincing he was that he sold the head of the Atlanta Conservatory the idea of exchanging jobs with him. The Georgian got to San Francisco before he learned the truth. Meanwhile Davidoff had established himself at Atlanta, borrowed an estimated \$10,000 and disappeared with an honorary degree from the Atlanta Conservatory".

Despite having the police on his tail, Boris remained undaunted. On 22 December the University received yet another letter, from 653 Sixth Street, San Bernardino, California, recommending a Mrs Watson for secretarial work at the music school. They politely discouraged her by return mail, adding that the University, despite having a large file of his letters of recommendation, had no evidence of a Dr Davidoff, Dubinsky, Dunev, Dunaevski or any other Boris ever having worked there. Two days later, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* followed up on the FBI's investigation on the activities of Dr Davidoff, revealing that following Mrs Watson's sham offer of secretarial work in the music school, Davidoff had been 'employing' unsuspecting music teachers since 1932, including one lady

who was offered \$50 a week. The article attributed Davidoff's success to "his frequent change of address, selling jobs in Atlanta, Trenton, Chicago, San Bernardino, and points beyond. Before prospects learned by return mail they had been fooled, Davidoff was out of town".

Two days before, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Bernardino County Sun* had reported that a grand theft complaint had been filed against Dr Davidoff by Alma Seichert, 24, who said she was his fiancée. Representing himself in San Bernardino as head of the music department of the University of Hawaii on leave of absence, Davidoff said he was teaching part-time at the Loretta Academy in Los Angeles, though "officers have been unable to find an academy by that name". Having persuaded her to marry him on Christmas Day, Miss Seichert "withdrew building and loan certificates and obtained cash for them to provide funds for their marriage. Davidoff was to keep the money in his possession and she was to draw on the fund whenever the need arose. She obtained \$450 from the sale of the certificates of which \$50 was turned over to her by Davidoff. About a week ago, Davidoff disappeared and no trace of him could be found. Before Davidoff left, he engaged a San Bernardino musician to teach music at the University of Hawaii". District Attorney Jerome B. Kavanaugh said that the University of Hawaii had denied any connection between Davidoff and institution, and Sheriff Shay added that he "was advised Davidoff was under arrest at Salt Lake City".

But Boris hadn't gone far. On Christmas Day he was only a few miles away, in Fresno, California, visiting the State College, where *The Fresno Bee-The Republican* reported the "dean of music at the University of Hawaii," en route to the islands after a tour of Europe and Russia, was enthusiastic in his belief that "America has the greatest opportunity for developing new music of any country today".

Boris still had more use for the alias, and a few months later he shows up in Tampa, Florida, registered at the Edgewater Hotel as Dr Davidoff. On 9 May 1938 *The Tampa Tribune* (and the *Tampa Daily Times* two days later) announced a recital by him at the YMHA, mentioning

that having just completed “a tour of Europe and the Orient and giving concerts in Havana and Mexico City,” he was planning to make his home in Tampa. Boris settled in and over the next year he establishes a comfortable relationship with the local YMHA, appearing in their music department as teacher of children, conductor or soloist performing in 1938 at recitals in July, October and November. In 1939 he performs in January, February and May, when the pupils of the YMHA gave their final performance. At the close of the season Boris Davidoff vanishes.

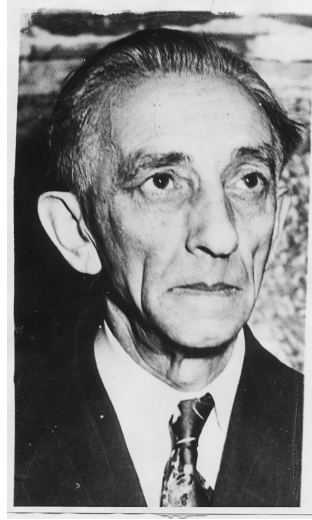
Three years later, Boris resurfaces, this time in Hazleton, Pennsylvania. *The Hazleton Plain Speaker* reported on 18 March 1942 of the Annual Committee Convocation of the YMCA, announcing the address given by “a new comer in this region, Dr Boris Dunev, a graduate of the University of Leningrad Conservatory of Music who spent the past fifteen years in the Hawaiian Islands where he was a teacher of music in the public schools,” having left the islands following the bombing of Pearl Harbour. Reporting on his lecture the following week, the paper added that Boris had taught at the Leningrad Conservatory for seven years before landing in Hawaii in 1927 to teach music at the university and public schools.

The following year we find Boris in Seattle, Washington, where on 15 December 1943, the International News Service wires report the mysterious disappearance of a certain Dr Boris Dubinski, Russian composer and teacher of music.

“NOTED RUSSIAN COMPOSER REPORTED MISSING
Seattle Bureau - Dec. 15, 1943

Friends of Dr. Boris Dubinski, Russian composer and music teacher on leave of absence from his post as head of the music department of the University of Puerto Rico, reported his disappearance to Seattle police today and said they had reason to fear foul play. Dr. A. R. Miller, Seattle physician and close friend of Du-

binsky, told police the composer left last Wednesday for Tacoma to obtain a grand piano for his apartment. He was to have returned Friday. A check with a cousin in Tacoma developed that the musician had failed to appear there, and had not been seen since. Dr. Miller said. A check of Seattle and Tacoma hospitals brought no trace of the missing man. Dr. Dubinsky, 48, [sic] is scheduled to fly east in March to conduct the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in his own symphonic poem. The Russian-born musician had been in Seattle 2 months and was to have remained till August, with the exception of the trip east.”



The last known photograph of Boris Dunev, AKA Boris Dubinski, as released to the Press announcing his disappearance in December 1943.

The news of his disappearance spread like wildfire, and newspapers in Vancouver, Nanaimo, Spokane, Washington, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania picked up the report. But fears that he may have met foul play were quickly allayed, when the following day he was reported by the *Spokane Daily Chronicle* to be alive and well on an eastbound train. Fred Kreiser, a druggist from Sioux Falls, had read of Dubinski’s disappearance in a Sioux Falls paper and remembered meeting him on the train when he boarded at Spokane. It appeared Dubinski “had not informed friends of his plan to visit the University of Minnesota in St Paul, and also the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and Marquette University in Milwaukee”.

After his tour of Midwestern colleges he returned to Pennsylvania, where on 26 October 1945 the *Times-Tribune* of Scranton reports him conducting “the new choral group” being formed at the YMHA and describing Dr Boris Dubinski the following month as “dean of the school

of music at the University of Washington” who will give music classes at the YMHA through December. In February the following year Boris is slated to give two piano recitals at the Civic Lyceum and another, on 31 March, at the YMHA. But on 3 February, whilst presenting a piano recital at the YMHA auditorium, Boris was stricken ill and collapsed on stage. He was taken to the State Hospital in Scranton and treated for an “intestinal ailment,” a story the local papers covered in detail, revealing more clues of his purported professional affiliations. *The Times-Tribune* reports that he was “connected for many years with the University of Puerto Rico,” while *The Tribune* of the same day repeated his credentials as dean of the School of Music at the University of Washington, Seattle, on sabbatical leave while taking undergraduate work at Columbia University.

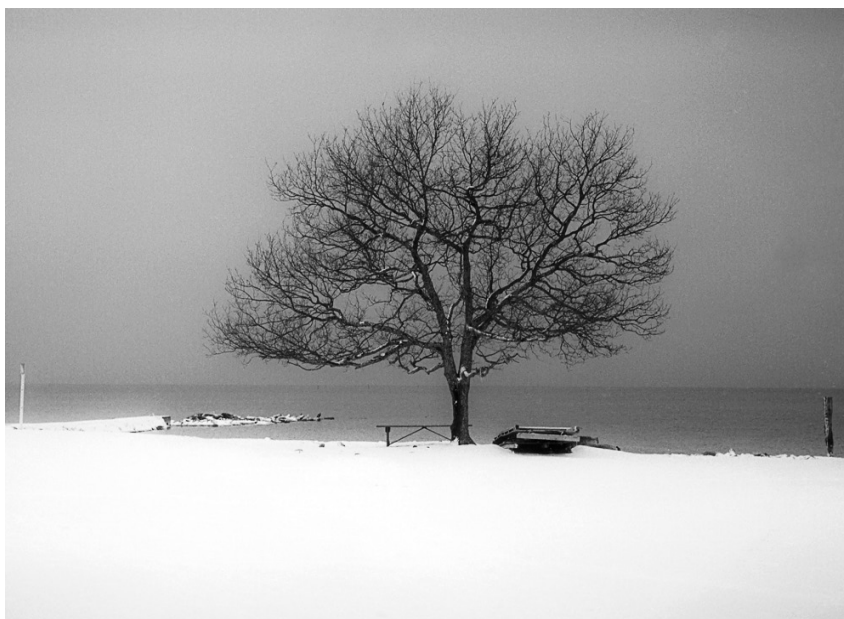
After that the trail goes cold.

While the references to his musical abilities, foreign origin and connection to Montreal tie in with what we know of Boris, it in itself is not enough to confirm his identity. So who was he? Oddly, the article announcing his disappearance and arrest warrant was published only a few months before the Hollywood Bowl concert in *Variety*, the trade rag for the music and entertainment industry, and it remains a curious fact that it was overlooked or ignored by the Hollywood crowd, normally avid readers of the paper. His description in the Honolulu article however, matches period photographs, and any remaining doubts can be cleared by the following incontestable facts: that he abandoned his young wife and child; that a warrant for his arrest had been issued as far back as 1922; and that despite his cosy relationship with Fairbanks, Pickford et al., his musical composition never saw the light of day. Moreover, the dizzying amount of aliases he allegedly used throughout his life (a photo of him is clearly identified as a certain Dr Dubinski), the conflicting professional credentials he presented to his employers, that he directed the music departments of the universities of Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Washington during overlapping years can only lead one to conclude that Boris was a con man

after all, a competent pianist, able to impress a gullible American public with his putative credentials, distinguished connections and continental sophistication, but out of his depth when it came to serious musical composition, which in the end, as Isabel Morse Jones wryly noted, “contained nothing of use”.

Was his final disappearing act the result of a con gone awry, the fatal result of having tried to pull one scam too many, this time on the wrong person? Or did he simply make tracks and leave for fresh territory, to begin his grifter’s life anew? Hopefully, as more documents are digitalised, we will eventually discover whatever became of him. Until then, we can only wonder.

EPILOGUE



A TREE IN GOTLAND

Photographed one snowy evening in 2005, the solitary tree pictured above was planted only a few metres from Warfsholm, the house that Willy Wöhler built in 1898 on a spit in Klintehamn, Gotland. Willy Wöhler is gone, and so are the people he knew and loved. They lie peacefully in the Klinte churchyard, mostly forgotten. His descendants no longer have title to the house and many are scattered throughout the globe.

The tree as a metaphor for a family's history is hardly new. It has been used countless times to illustrate the connections between members of a lineage and most family trees are presented with the founding member as its trunk and his descendants the leaves on the branches that form the crown. It is a graphic representation designed to serve the interest of those seeking an association with a great historic personage.

Indeed, if one were to follow the patterns and unravel enough strings, one would be apt to find oneself descending from Adam himself and it is remarkable to note how many genealogies have found their origins in the very loins of the prolific Charlemagne. In fact, geneticists have recently demonstrated that we're all descendants of the Holy Roman Emperor. If one were to trace one's ancestors back through time to Charlemagne's era, counting two parents, four grandparents, sixteen great-grandparents, 64 great-great-grandparents, and so on for fifty or so generations, it would add up to over a trillion people, two thousand times more than the sum of everyone who has ever existed. So the line of ascension of our forebears is not exponential. At some point in time it begins to fold back and spread out horizontally, with the marriage of cousins, half-cousins, or distant cousins creating the complex web that makes up our collective gene pool. Ever since our ancestors walked off the African plain, we are the product of over a million years of marriage and miscegenation, resulting in the extra-ordinary variety that populates the earth today. Each one of us is the product of a combination of blood ties that reaches back, with increased complexity, to the early homo sapiens that first encountered their Neanderthal cousins in a frigid Europe. A more accurate representation of the tree, therefore, would be to turn the traditional view upside down, with the trunk representing the person whose genealogy we were studying. The branches and leaves of the crown map his ancestors and the roots outline his descendants.

A photograph of the family taken in Riva del Garda in 1882 marks the point of departure for the story of the Wöhlers of Gotland. We have looked at their lives as well as those of their ancestors and descendants. We have learned of their accomplishments and failures as well as the ties that link the various lineages that make up the family. Yet the true perspective of this story stems directly from the life of don Carlos Wöhler, whose interest in discovering his roots in the 1930s is the seed from which this tale has emerged. So we must view the photograph of the tree in Klintehamn as an extension of the metaphor for the Wöhler family

with don Carlos as its trunk.

As it rises, the trunk splits into two: one branch represents his father's line, the other his mother's. The branches that form the crown are all the various lines that over time have fortuitously come together, in the apex of the trunk, to give birth to my grandfather. Notwithstanding Mendelian theories of dominant and recessive genes, each one of those individuals that make up the leaves of the crown have contributed equally to his inevitable creation. He was the product of the genes of all of the people that make up this story. Those branches above the trunk represent the Wöhlers back through history to the Höfer brothers who returned from the Crusades to accolades from King Rudolf. Other branches represent the converging lineages, and we can follow through them the lives of the Störzels, the Passows, the Hellmans, the Gerles... A smaller branch, quite low on the trunk, represents the family of his wife, Elsa Lindqvist, whose line joins don Carlos's to form the unseen roots that map their descendants. Botanists tell us that the roots of a tree equal in size to its crown, and no doubt in time the roots of don Carlos's tree will be as extensive as its crown, but as of this writing only four generations have been born.

In the fifteen years since I first began preparing this document I have relied on the help of others to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. I would like to extend my thanks to Jorge Antonio Wöhler for supplying me with data pertaining to Guimo's vast progeny, to Svante Junker and Christina Bendegard for their corrections regarding Willy Wöhler's descendants, to Monty Fischer, whose copious files filled in the gaps of Alfredo Wöhler's life in Mexico, and to Nicholas Mander and Manuel Gomez Lemmen Meyer, for their own extensive research. I am particularly indebted to Karl-Vilhelm Wöhler for his patient editing and whose corrections to the original text have done so much to clarify this genealogy. Finally, I wish to thank the translators and palaeographers who deciphered many of the old documents. Without their help much of this fascinating story would not have been uncovered. It is my hope that the

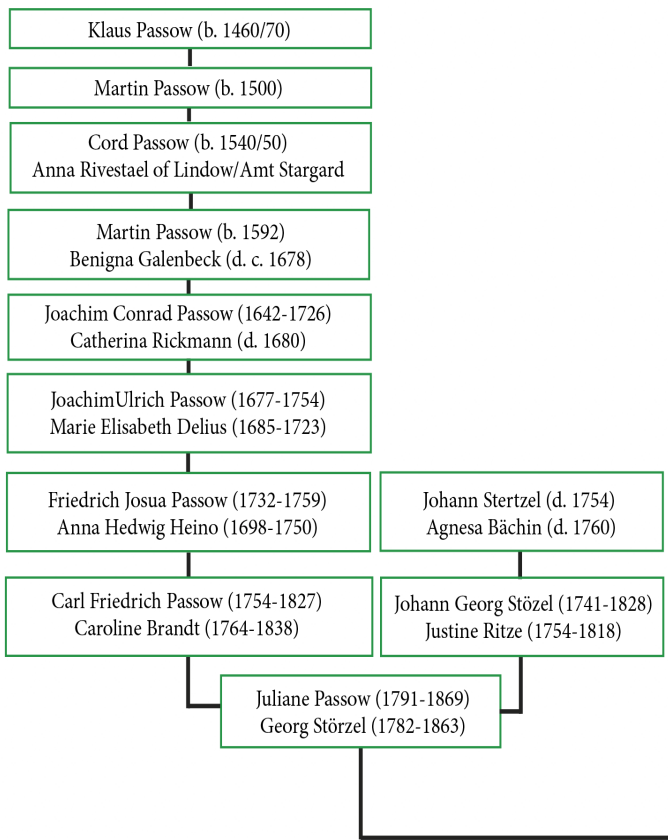
information provided in this document be of some interest to current or future members of the family and regret any omissions or inaccuracies it may contain. It has not been created with the intention of being an exhaustive authority on the subject, but only to edit the material left by my grandfather and synthesise it with my own research in order to offer it to the family for its illustration or amusement.

Respectfully submitted,

Michael Dunev Wöhler
Torroella de Montgrí, 2020

CARLOS WÖHLER

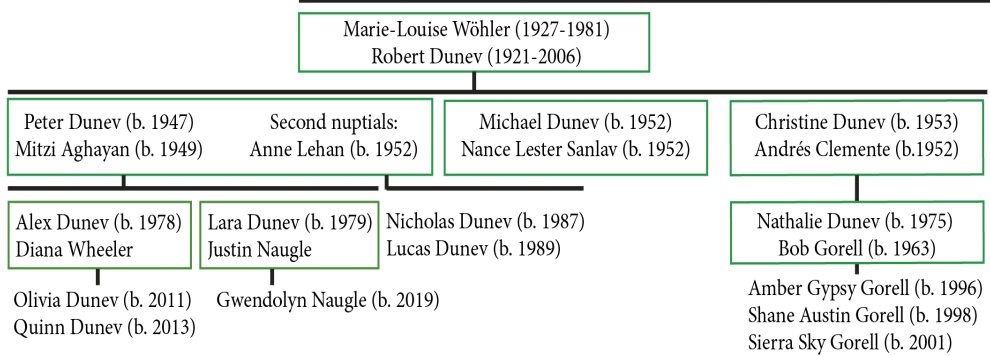
His ancestors and descendants

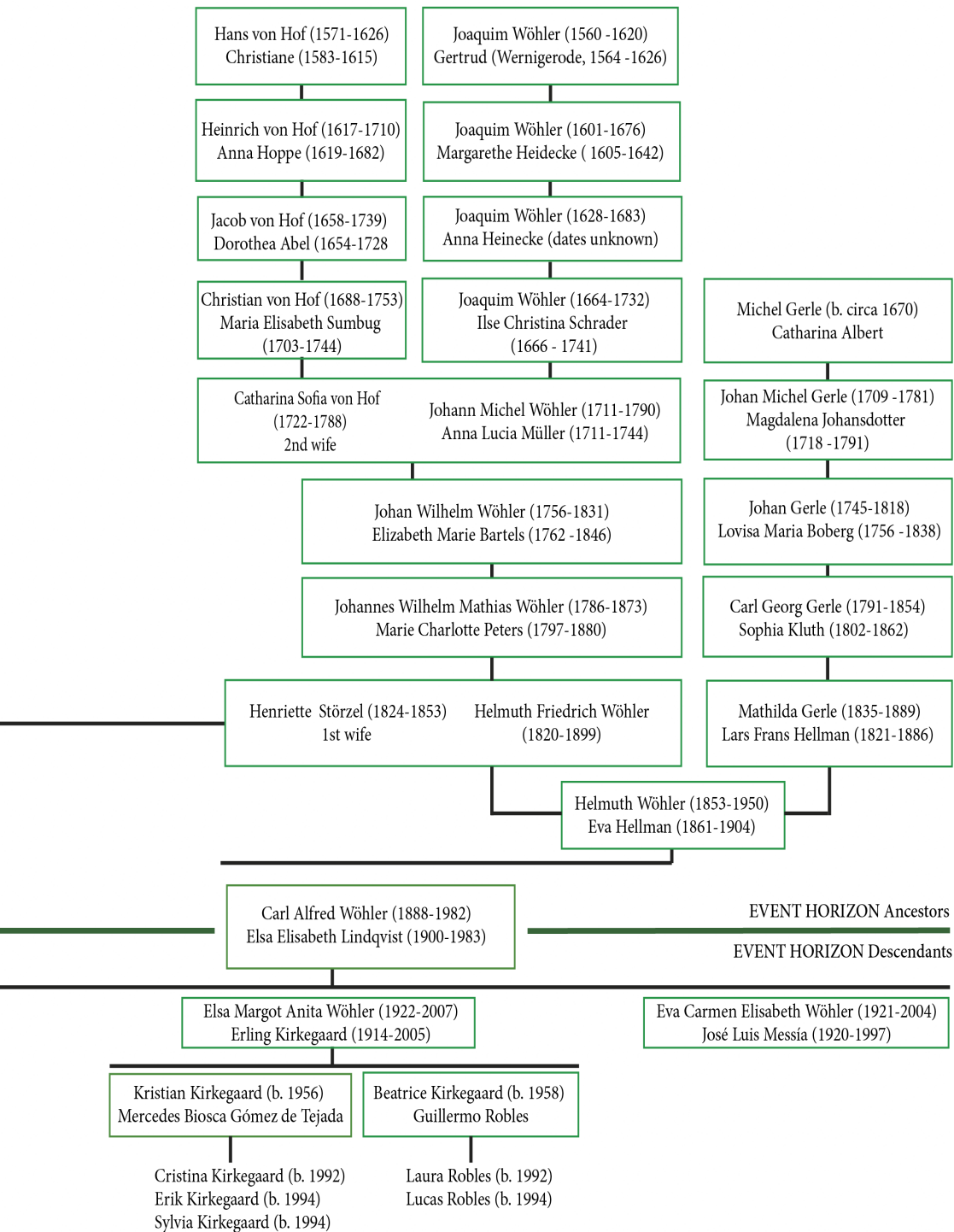


Key: Indicates marriage or common law union.

EVENT HORIZON Ancestors

EVENT HORIZON Descendants





BIBLIOGRAPHY

Åkerblom, Gunnar and other authors, *Stora Karlsö 1880-1980*, published on the centenary of the founding of the Karlsö Hunting and Animal Protection Association, Press Förlag, Karlstad, 1980.

Aguilar Aguilar, Gustavo, *Crecimiento económico e intermediación financiera en Sinaloa: 1914-1926*, Revista Clío, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, 2006.

Aguilar Aguilar, Gustavo, *El crecimiento de la economía sinaloense y el papel que desempeñaron los empresarios extranjeros 1840-1910*, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Facultad de Historia, 2007.

Aguilar Aguilar, Gustavo, *La familia Zaragoza en Sinaloa: las tiendas de autoservicio*, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Facultad de Historia, 2007.

Anahí Toloza Aramburú, Bárbara and Osuna Rendón, Amanda Liliana, *Los casos de El Coloso y La Aurora en la Revolución*, 2017.

Barreda, Alonso Martínez, *Los Redo: una familia empresarial posrevolucionaria*, UNAM, Facultad de Economía, 1994.

Bernecker, Walther L., *Contrabando. Ilegalidad y corrupción en México decimonónico*, Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie V. Historia Contemporánea, 1993 p. 393-418.

Bonelli, Albino, *Ai confini della Mitteleuropa: Il sanatorium von Hartungen di Riva del Garda*, Comune di Riva del Garda, 1995.

Brito Rodríguez, Félix, *La tecnología en la minería de los distritos de El Rosario y Concordia: 1895-1910*, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, editorial UAS, Volumen 9, 1993.

Cole Isunza, Oses, *Las viejas calles de Mazatlán*, Visión Impresa Ed., 2003.

Collado Seidel, Carlos. *Geheimdienste, Diplomatie, Krieg. das Räderwerk der internationalen Beziehungen*. Berlín: Lit Verlag, 2013.

Crosina, Maria Luisa, *La Dinastia von Hartungen, Villino Campi*, Archivio Storico Comunale di Riva del Garda, 2007.

Dunev, Robert, *The Spy Reminisces*, unpublished memoirs, 1990s.

Gerle, Thorsten, *Släkten Gerle: Ett bidrag till des historia*, Stockholm, 1935. (The Gerle genealogy)

Gómez Rubio, Manuel, *Lemmen Meyer*, edited by Arturo Lemmen Meyer, 2016.

Griffith, Aline, Countess of Romanones: *The Secret War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*, Diane Publishing, edited by George C. Chalou, 1995.

Jakobsson, Justus, *Memories and Chronicles of Klintehamn*, 1959.

Jordan-Smith, Paul, *The Road I Came*, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1960.

Juárez Camacho, Francisco Javier, *El espionaje Alemán en España a través del consorcio empresarial SOFINDUS*, Diacronie Studi di Storia Contemporánea, No. 28, 4/2016, pp. 19-20.

Jackson, Gabriel, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939*, Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 539.

Kinberg, August, *Gotländska Slægter. Genealogiska och Biografiska Anteckningar*, Gotlänningens Tryckeri, Visby, 1896. (The Herlitz genealogy)

Lerma Garay, Antonio, *La Compañía de Vapores de Joaquín Redo*, Mazatlán Decimonónico IV, 2016.

Maillefert, Eugenio, Directorio de Comercio del Imperio Mexicano para el año de 1867, E Maillefert, México; Firmin Marchand, Paris.

Mander, Nicholas, *Brödermann of Hamburg: Passow of Mecklenburg*, pp 319-323, Abbreviated from exhaustive pedigree given in Elisabeth Bock, 'Stammfolger Passow', Deutsches Familienarchiv, Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1971, vol. 45, pp. 1-153.

Martínez Barrera, Alonso, *Los Redo: una familia empresarial posrevolucionaria*, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Facultad de Historia, 1994.

Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, 2011.

Méndez Reyes, Jesús, *Alemanes en el noroeste mexicano. Notas sobre su actividad comercial a inicios del siglo xx*, Estudios de Historia Moderna y

Contemporánea de México 46, Julio-Diciembre 2013.

Messía, José Luis, *Por palabra de honor*, Editorial Parteluz, S.L., 1995.

Mills, Bill, *Treacherous Passage: Germany's Secret Plot against the United States in Mexico during World War I*, Potomac Books, 2017.

Morse Jones, Isabel, *Hollywood Bowl*, Los Angeles, G. Schirmer, Inc., 1936.

Nicolaisen, Dörte (Ed.): *Das andere Bauhaus. Otto Bartning und die Staatliche Hochschule Weimar 1926–1930*. Kupfergraben Verlagsgesellschaft, Berlin 1998.

Román Alarcón, Rigoberto Arturo, *Comerciantes extranjeros de Mazatlán y sus relaciones en otras actividades 1880-1910*, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Facultad de Historia, 1998.

Román Alarcón, Rigoberto Arturo, *Características generales de las empresas mercantiles en Mazatlán (1910-1950)*, Culiacán, México: DIFOCUR-Instituto de Cultura de Mazatlán, 2006. BMH, 2017.

Román Alarcón, Rigoberto Arturo, *La participación de comerciantes extranjeros de Mazatlán en la economía regional, 1877-1910*, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Facultad de Historia, 1998.

Rosés Castellsaguer, Sílvia, *Pedro Rodríguez y el inicio de la internacionalización de la moda española*, Fundación Historia del Diseño.

Ruiza, M., Fernández, T. y Tamaro, E. , *Biografía de Otto Bartning*. En Biografías y Vidas. La enciclopedia biográfica en línea, (2004).

Störzel, Adolf Friedrich, *Die Paracelsi Vita Atque Doctrina: Dissertatio Inauralis*, Halis, Mense Mart. 1840.

Tiarks, Henry, *Genealogy of the Family of Tiarks of Foxbury*, 1969.

Toledano, Vicente Lombardo, *5th Column in Mexico*, Council for Pan-American Democracy, New York, 1941.

Tusel García, Genovesa, *El Picasso más político: El Guernica y su oposición al Franquismo*. UNED.

Vélez, Víctor Alejandro Miguel, *Los Ferrocarriles en Sinaloa (1880-1911)*, Sinaloa, esquema social y económico, México ANDSA, 1987.

von Mentz, Brígida, *Los pioneros del imperialismo alemán en México*, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Ed. de la casa chata, 1982.

von Mentz, Brígida, *Empresas y empresarios alemanes en México 1821-1945*, Jahrbuch für Geschichte Latinamerikas (Anuario de Historia de América Latina, JbLA), N° 25, 1988.

Wöhler, Hellmuth, *Zwei Liebeslieder von Hoffman von Fallersleben komponiert mit einer Klavierbegleitung für di linke Hand*, Carl Kürschner, Buchhändler, Schwerin, 1845.

Wöhler, Hellmuth Friedrich, *Das Münzwesen in Mecklenburg-Schwerin: Ein Beitrag zur beabsichtigten Münz-Conversion*, Carl Kürschner, Buchhändler, Schwerin, 1847.

Wunderlich, Dr. Jur. Carl Ludwig, *Die Nachkommen des Geh. Ministerialrats Georg Störzel*, Schwerin, 1924.

PERIODICALS

ABC, Madrid, 12 May 1970, "José Luis Messía, representante adjunto en la O.N.U."

Atlanta Constitution, 3 March 1931, "Musical Honors Prof. Boris Dunev."

Atlanta Constitution, 8 June 1931, "Professor Dunev Gives Performance."

Atlanta Constitution, 16 October 1931, "Studio Arts Assembly Opens Winter Season."

Atlanta Constitution, 17 Jan. 1932, "Professor Dunev Heads Music Department."

Atlanta Constitution, 8 March 1932, "U of Hawaii President visits Boris Dunev."

Atlanta Constitution, 3 Sept. 1935, "Jewel Swindle Here Admitted by Russian."

Atlanta Constitution, 4 Sept. 1935, "*Little is Known of Swindle Here.*"

Atlanta Constitution, 5 Sept. 1935, "*Russian Musician Not Wanted Here.*"

California Advertiser, 2 August 1879.

California Southland, August 1922.

The Commercial Advertiser, Honolulu, 2 September 1889, "*Our San Francisco Letter.*"

Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, 18 April 1918, p. 816.

El Debate de Mazatlán, 6 June 2016, "*Cuando el automóvil llegó a Mazatlán,*" Jorge Luis Lozano.

El Paso Herald, 11 December 1917, "*Alleged 'Enemy Traders' Under the Ban of the United States.*"

El País, 29 November 1997, "*En memoria de José Luis Messía*" by Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo.

The Evening Star, Washington, DC, 10 August 1922.

Financial Chronicle, 12 May 1934, "*Sinaloa Premier Mines, a Nevada corporation is founded.*"

Fresno Bee-The Republican, 25 December, 1937, "*America Said to Offer Greatest Chance for Music.*"

Georgetown Gazette, Georgetown, California, 20 August 1880 and 23 June 1882, report on "*The trial of Chas Gurley.*"

Gotlands Läns Tidning, various articles from 27.5.1853 (nr. 21) to 1.10.1858 (nr. 40).

Gotlands Läns nyaste Tidning, various articles from 1859 to 1874.

The Honolulu Advertiser, 23 December 1937, "*Slick Salesman Offers Jobs At Unborn UH Conservatory.*"

The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 23 December 1937, "*Probe Begun of Jobs Sale Hoax.*"

ICEX España Exportación e Inversiones, El Atlas de la Moda, "Un arranque de siglo brillante de la moda española en el entorno global."

Ka Leo o Hawaii-The Voice of Hawaii, 28 February 1935, "Hoaxer Says He's UH Prof."

Lancaster New Era, 20 December 1943, "Seek Composer."

Los Angeles Daily Times, 18 July 1922, "Lecture and Concerts Under Auspices of University of California."

Los Angeles Times, 25 July 1922, "Men Women and Things in the World's News."

Los Angeles Times, 26 July 1922, "Explosive Finale: Russian Concert Draws Gala Audience," by Edwin Schallert.

Los Angeles Times, 26 July 1922, "Bowl Music Thrills."

Los Angeles Times, 22 December 1937, "Woman's Complaint Charges \$400 Theft."

Miami News, 8 September 1935, "Memphis Officers Free Dunaevski."

Nanaimo Daily News, 15 December 1943, "Disappearance of Russian Musician is Being Probed."

Nanaimo Daily News, 16 December 1943, "Taking Sudden Trip."

New York Tribune, 27 August 1922, "'What's the score?' Asks Doug."

New York Tribune, 20 August 1922, "Musical Score for 'Robin Hood' Finished."

Oakland Evening Tribune, 9 September 1876.

Pacific Coast Musical Review, 15 July 1922, "Douglas Fairbanks Invades Music Arena," by Alfred Metzger.

Pacific Coast Musical Review, 10 April, 10, 17 June, 22 July and 9 September 1922, "The Week's Musical Events in Los Angeles," Bruno David Ussher.

Pacific Coast Musical Review, 2 September 1922, "*Dr Boris Dunev a Visitor Here*," John Whitcomb Nash.

Philadelphia Inquirer, 4 November, 1934, "*The Zeckwer-Hahn Philadelphia Musical Academy Announces Dr Boris Dubinsky Russian Pianist and Lecturer, as a Member of the Faculty*."

The Pittsburgh Sunday Post, 13 April 1919, "*The Music Settlement Idea*," by Harvey B. Gaul.

The Plain Speaker (Hazelton, Pennsylvania), 16 and 18 March 1942, "*Convocation at 'Y' March 23*."

The Plain Speaker (Hazelton, Pennsylvania), 18 March 1942, "*Gives Talk on Rubber Needs*."

The Plain Speaker (Hazelton, Pennsylvania), 24 March 1942, "*Talk on Russia by Dr Dunev*."

Quebec Telegraph, 12 April 1922.

Raleigh Register, Beckley, West Virginia, 3 September 1935, "*Swindler Held After Long Hunt*."

Reno Gazette, 12 June 1936. "*Prof. Boris Davidoff Addresses Methodist Church*."

San Bernardino County Sun, 21 December 1937, "*Officers Seek Musician for Theft Inquiry*."

The San Francisco Advertiser, 2 August 1879, "*Cradle, Altar and Tomb*."

The San Francisco Call, 9 September 1876.

The San Francisco Call, 26 March 1897, "*Alfred Wohler, wife and child of Hamburg, Germany, are at the Palace*."

The San Francisco Chronicle, 30 December 1897.

The San Francisco Chronicle, 4 November, 1922 "*Mexico Needs Recognition by US Says Importer*."

Spokane Chronicle, 15 December 1943, "*Musician Disappears*."

Spokane Chronicle, 16 December 1943, "*Missing Musician Boarded a Train Leaving Spokane.*"

Standard-Sentinel (Hazleton, Pennsylvania), 24 March 1942, "*Dr Boris Dunev is YMCA Speaker.*"

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN), 4 February 1946, "*Dr Boris Dubinsky Stricken.*"

The Sun, New York, 11 November 1919, "*New York Canadian Personal.*"

The Sunday Oregonian, September 17, 1922, "*Music Makers' Speed Up on Score of 'Robin Hood.'*"

St Louis Star-Times, 2 September 1935, "*Noted Russian Musician Held on Swindle Charge.*"

Tampa Daily Times, 11 May 1938, "*Pianist to Give Concert-Recital.*"

Tampa Daily Times, 14 July 1938, "*Boris Davidoff Presented at Recital.*"

Tampa Times, 9 January 1939, "*Music Program Planned Here.*"

Tampa Times, 14 November 1938, "*Wayne Kork is guest of Dr Boris Davidoff.*"

Tampa Times, 28 February 1939, "*Joint Recital Will be Given.*"

Tampa Times, 19 May 1939, "*Student Concert Planned by Group.*"

Tampa Times, 25 May 1939, "*Y.M.H.A. Will Have Recital on Sunday.*"

Tampa Times, 29 May 1939, "*Pupils Are Presented in Splendid Recital.*"

Tampa Tribune, 9 May 1938, "*Concert Pianist to Give Recital Here Wednesday.*"

Tampa Tribune, 12 May 1938, "*Russian Pianist Gives Concert at Y.M.H.A.*"

Tampa Tribune, 14 July 1938, "*Plant City Woman's Club Sponsors Piano Concert.*"

Tampa Tribune, 23 October 1938, "*Pianist Will Give Recital at Y.M.H.A.*"

Tampa Tribune, 10 November 1938, "*Will Give Concert.*"

Tampa Tribune, 15 January 1939, "*Y.M.H.A. Music Department Pupils to Give Recital.*"

Tampa Tribune, 26 February 1939, "*Three to Present Musical Program Tampa Y.M.H.A.*"

Tampa Tribune, 26 February 1939, "*Y.M.H.A. to Give Last of Student Concerts.*"

The Times-Shreveport, 19 January, 1935, "*Rabbi Brener Installation Begins Jan. 25.*"

The Times-Shreveport, 25 January, 1935, "*Rabbi Brener Installation Friday Night.*"

Times-Picayune (New Orleans), 10 December 1917, "*List of Sixteen Hundred South American Enemy Firms With Whom Trading Must Stop.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 26 October 1945, "*To Honor Returned Veterans Armistice Night at Y.M.H.A.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 16 November 1945, "*Jewish Drive Junior Group to Meet Sunday Afternoon.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 23 November 1945, "*YMHA Notes.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 9 December 1945, "*YMHA Notes.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 1 February 1946, "*Frances Perkins to be Lyceum Speaker Feb. 10.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 4 February 1946, "*Dr Boris Dubinsky, Celebrated Pianist Stricken at Recital.*"

The Times-Tribune (Scranton, PA), 5 February 1946, "*Dr Boris Dubinsky Reported 'Fairly Good.'*"

Variety, 14 April 1922.

Vancouver Sun, 15 December 1943, "*Dubinsky, Russian Composer, Vanishes.*"

Vancouver Sun, 16 December 1943, "*Missing Russian Composer, on Trip.*"
Voz del Nuevo Mundo, San Francisco, 4 June 1881 & 16 September 1882.

Visby-Post, January 1866.

Washington State Journal (Madison, WI), 27 December 1943, "*Seek Composer.*"

The Washington Times, 14 December 1904, "*Famine and Pest Devastate Mexico.*"

Wilkes-Barre Times Leader, 4 February 1946, "*Pianist Collapses During Concert.*"

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Alingsås, Sweden Death Registry, 1934.

American Foreign Service, Report of the death of an American Citizen, 31 August 1950.

Angelica Lutheran Church in Los Angeles, California funeral records for 12 November 1922.

Arizona State Board of Health, Birth Certificate, 11 February 1935.

Berkeley, California Census, 1900.

Breslau, Germany Civil Registry, 1883.

Carta de Naturalización Mexicana, Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores de los Estados Unidos de México, 16 October 1947.

Karlsruhe, Germany Marriage Registry, 1874.

Civil Registry, Marriage Licences, Trenton, NJ, 10 October 1934.

Council for Pan-American Democracy, *5th Column in Mexico*, New York, 1941, p. 30.

Department of Health, Vermont Death Certificate, 3 July 1990.

Diario Oficial, *Organo del Gobierno Constitucional de los Estados Unidos de México*, , 29 November 1923, and 8 October 1939.

Doberan, Germany Marriage Registry, 1882.

Doberan, Germany Census, 1900, 1919.

Escritura Fundacional Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores, 1905.

Find A Grave online database, 2019.

Sankt-Jakob Church, Gingst, Rügen church archives, 1811.

Güstrow, Germany Baptism Registries, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1888.

Güstrow, Germany Census, 1867.

Hamburg, Germany Lutheran Church Registries, 1884, 1885, 1888, 1891, 1897.

Inspección General de Policía, Mazatlán, Sinaloa, México, 18 Dec. 1941.

London Census, 1871.

London Travel dossier, 1871.

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Die k. k. bzw. k. u. k. Generalität 1816-1918, 2007.

Köping, Sweden Church Records, 1862.

Köping, Sweden Census, 1851-1884.

Ludwigslust, Germany Church Records, 1834, 1836, 1906.

Los Angeles, California Census, 1920, 1940.

Nogales, Arizona Birth Certificates, 1910.

Oakland, California Census, 1910.

Proyecto de Arancel, *Quinto Congreso de la Union los comerciantes, dueños de buques, mineros y propietarios del puerto de Mazatlan*, Secretaría de Hacienda, México, May 1870.

Prussian Consular Files of Mazatlán, 1848-1872.

Secret Report of US Office of Strategic Services (declassified) No. 35: *Relations with Armin Schmidt, Ana de Pombo and Martin Meywald*, 1947.

Registry of the Parroquia del Puerto de Mazatlán, Sinaloa, México, 1880.

Presidencia Municipal, Mazatlán, México 18 December 1941.

Registro Civil, Culiacán, Sinaloa, México, 1834, 1847, 1854, 1855, 1863.

Registro Civil, Mazatlán, México 1880, 1950.

Registro Civil, Ciudad de México, D. F., 1920, 1948.

Rostock, Germany Baptismal Registries, 1852, 1935, 1937, 1940.

Rostock, Germany Census 1867.

Sacramento, California Marriage Records, 1873.

Saltsjöbaden, Sweden Civil Records, 1900.

Saltsjöbaden, Sweden Church Records, 1916.

San Francisco, California Marriage Registry 1879.

San Francisco, California Registry, 1892

San Francisco, California Census, 1860, 1865, 1880.

San Diego, California Census, 1930, 1940.

Seattle, Washington Census, 1940.

Seattle, Washington Draft Board Registry, 1918.

Servicio de Migración, Registro de Extranjeros, Mazatlán, Sinaloa, México, 12 January 1933.

Schwerin, Germany Census, 1867, 1890, 1900.

Schwerin Landeshauptarchiv, contemporary hand-written notes of Wöhler trial, 1852.

Schwerin, Germany Lutheran Church records, 1849, 1874, 1883, 1889, 1901, 1903, 1915, 1938.

Stavenhagen, Germany Registry of Births and Baptisms, 1907, 1909.

Stockholm, Sweden Census, 1863, 1866, 1870.

Streve, Klaus Dieter, (Wernigerode), *Verein für Computergenealogie* (www.gebdas.de) extensive database of Harz genealogical records.

Transatlantic ship passenger lists from online sources (diverse) for the years 1876, 1879, 1883, 1886, 1889, 1893, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1902, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1913, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1930, 1935, 1936.

Waren, Germany Church Records, 1853.

Wiesbaden, Germany, Civil Registries, 1878, 1879, 1882, 1914, 1915.

Västkinde, Gotland, Church Records, 1917.

Visby, Gotland Civil Registries for the years 1923, 1925.

INDEX

A

Altsmann, Johannes 101

B

Bartning

Enrique Bartning 160

Julio Bartning 162

Mexican partnerships 47

Otto Bartning, architect 155

Bauhaus 156

C

Cordula Peregrina 15

D

Dabis, Anna 17

Dunev

Boris Dunev 208

Robert Dunev 95, 144

origins 207

OSS 96

G

Genealogies 127, 129

Gerle 183

Herlitz 175

Lindqvist 203

Passow 169

Störzel 149

Gerle

Carl Wilhelm and Christopher
193

Mathilde Gerle Hellman 74,
191, 197

Giese, Adolf 105, 145

H

Hellman

Eva 73

Lars Frans 73, 197

children 198

Herlitz 34

Hoffmann, 'Juanito' 89

K

Kirkegaard, Erling 94

Klintebys 26

L

Lemmen Meyer 162

Lindqvist

Axel Elof 204

Elsa 81, 205

Sven 204

Ludwigslust 14

M

Mazatlán

bubonic plague 56

Mediaeval sources

documents 9

Melchers trading house 44

Messía, José Luis 91

Mexico

de la Vega, Alejandra 41

Melchers 44

Redo y Balmaceda, Joaquin 41

shipping 52


Störzel connection 43

Störzel marriage 163

- Revolution 56
 Rosario de la Vega 53
 Montgomery, Antoinette 63, 142
- P**
- Parliament of 1848 23
 Passow
 Carlos Passow in Mexico 44
 Julie Passow 172
- R**
- Riva del Garda 29
- S**
- Schwahnke, Mathilde 54
 Stora Karlsö 35
 Störzel
 Emilie 135, 166
 Georg Störzel 149, 152
 Henriette 25, 135, 167
 Johann Georg Störzel 150
- V**
- von Bonelli
 Helga Chlebowsky 104, 111
 Helmuth von Bonelli 103
 Otto von Bonelli 103
 von Kusserow, Baron 159
 von Lieven, Baroness Lieselotte 59
- W**
- Wöhler
 Alfred, Mexican businessman
 51, 142
 first marriage 53
 second marriage 54
 Alfredo Wöhler 59, 142
 first marriage 59
 second marriage 63
 Anita 'Nena' Wöhler 94
 Carlos Wöhler 3, 80, 201
 "corderadas" 85
 marriage 81
 Charlotte Wöhler 145
 Cordula Peregrina 15
 Eva 'Baby' Wöhler
 first marriage 89
 second marriage 91
 Guimo Wöhler 55, 139
 Helmuth Friedrich
 Helmuth Wöhler 73, 143
 Eva Hellman 73
 Johann Wilhelm Mathias 13
 Julie Wöhler 103, 145
 Marie 'Maita' Wöhler 101, 143
 'Ninus' Wöhler 95, 144
 marriage 95
 Willy Wöhler 33, 136, 181
 Marie Herlitz 34, 181
 Stora Karlsö 35
 Wöhler, Bartning y Sucesores 55
 Blacklists 62, 65



The author and don Carlos Wöhler, Ronda, Spain, 1977

A photograph of a lamp on a table with text overlaid. The lamp has a white conical shade and a brass base with a decorative, multi-tiered stem. It sits on a dark wood console table with a carved front. To the right of the lamp are two dark, metallic-looking vessels on stands. In the foreground, a blue and white ceramic jar with a lid is visible. The background is a light-colored, textured wall. On the left, a portion of a chair with a colorful, abstract patterned fabric is visible.

The Wöhler family of Gotland is traced from its earliest known origins in the Harz mountains of Germany through the tumultuous events in the 19th Century that took it to Sweden, where it prospered and grew, to the lives of their descendants, scattered across the globe. Through the genealogical records compiled by don Carlos Wöhler, Civil Engineer and life-long resident of Spain from 1915 to 1982, their lives and those of their descendants are examined, as are the various lineages that combined to make up their blood lines.