

One of the founders of HeidelbergCement

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker and his Family

Beer brewer and cement pioneer



HEIDELBERGCEMENT

Der Heidelberg Portländer

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This paper expands on the first essay on the Schifferdecker family published in the anthology "Pioniere aus Technik und Wirtschaft in Heidelberg [Pioneers of technology and economy in Heidelberg]" in 2000: "Johann Philipp Schifferdecker und Friedrich Schott. Die Anfänge der Baustoffindustrie in Heidelberg [Johann Philipp Schifferdecker and Friedrich Schott. The beginnings of the building materials industry in Heidelberg]". After accidental finds, renewed processing of the sources and scientific research from the circle of archive users as well as hints from descendants, a completely revised biography has been produced. To bring together the state of knowledge, fragmentary and further information has also been left in the text.

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker and his Family

Beer brewer and cement pioneer

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Invention of a new binding agent

PANTHEON IN ROME. The walls are largely built **OPUS CAEMENTITIUM** walled with bricks and rest on a ring of cast masonry 7.50m wide and 4.60m deep as a foundation. For the dome, concrete was mixed with lightweight volcanic tuff and pumice. To save further weight, it was divided by five concentric rings of 28 cassettes each, with the cassettes of the individual rings becoming smaller and smaller towards the top. At the apex of the dome is a circular opening nine meters in diameter, the oculus, which is the only source of light in the interior besides the entrance portal. In order to drain off the rainwater that penetrates through this, the floor of the dome hall is slightly arched towards the center.

Concrete as a building material is present everywhere in our everyday lives. Modern infrastructure and bold buildings are an expression of a building material with almost infinite malleability. Concrete essentially consists of the aggregates sand and gravel and the binding agent cement. The Romans played a major role in the spread of stone buildings. From the 2nd century BC onwards, the use of stone as the primary construction material within Rome became dominant, as opposed to previous emphasis on timber. The Romans perfected the technique of cast masonry (emplecton) first developed by the Ancient Greeks.¹ Thus, 2,000 years ago, the Romans had already succeeded in developing a building material similar to what we know as concrete. The Romans referred to it as opus caementitium, a mixture of burnt lime, brick chippings, quarry stones and volcanic ashes (pozzolans). In most cases, the cast masonry was executed with lost formwork, i.e. the mortar was tamped between quarry sto-



nes piled up in a formwork with brick penetration. Well known Roman era buildings made of opus caementitium, such as the Pantheon built around 120 AD, have survived to this day. The Pantheon dome boasts diameter of 43 m, a span that was not achieved again until the 18th century. With the gradual decline of the Roman Empire, stone construction also declined in favour of more simple wood and clay construction.

As a result, mortar and binders became less relevant. It was not until the slow upswing of construction within the cities during the late Middle Ages and early modern period, supported by an aspiring middle class, that the demand for mortars rose again. This was triggered in the 16th century primarily by decrees on fire protection, which prescribed a tiled roof and the requirement that the basement as well in part the gable walls to be made of stone construction. However, cast masonry as the Romans had done was very much still a lost art.²

It was not until the end of the 18th century and the rise of early industrialisation, that hydraulic limes gained importance again. In this context, hydraulic refers to the hardening by reaction with water.³ However, there was still no clarity about the cause of the hydraulic effect and the function of the additives brick chippings and pozzolans. In the scientific research of the binding processes of limestone, the English initially took a pioneering role. In 1791, John Smeaton published his investigations on the connection between the clay content of limestone and the suitability of the cement made from it for hyd-

raulic engineering. Based on this discovery, five years later James Parker produced a cement from burnt and ground marl kidneys that contained clay and lime in the correct proportions. In reference to the similar qualities of the Roman opus caementitium, he called his product "Roman cement".⁴ Since the new cement did not need to be slaked like burnt lime, had good water resistance, and cured quickly, it soon enjoyed great popularity.⁵

The most important patent No. 5022 for artificial mortar materials, entitled "An improvement in the modes of producing an artificial stone"⁶, was registered in 1824 by the mason Joseph Aspdin (*1778 †1855) from Leeds. In it, he described a process for producing an artificial Roman cement, which he called "Portland cement". The naming was intended to make clear that the new cement had similar properties and appearance to the then sought-after building stone from the southern English peninsula of Portland.⁷ Aspdin made a mixture of burnt lime and clay and burnt it again. The product of the burning process was ground but not slaked. It was therefore an "artificial" Roman cement and not yet the Portland ce-

ment we know today, which was burnt to the point of sintering (heated to just below the melting point). Nevertheless, the product, which was superior to the "natural" Roman cement, enjoyed great popularity in Britain from the 1840s onwards, of course due in no small part to its cleverly chosen name.⁸

In order to achieve the higher burning temperatures for burning Portland cement, the conventional fuels wood and peat had to be replaced by those with a higher calorific value (e.g. coal or coke). In addition, Portland cement required a special composition of the raw material, which could generally only be achieved by a specific mixture of lime or chalk with clay. To guarantee the highest possible quality of the cement, this mixture also had to be as uniform and fine as possible, which required a not inconsiderable amount of specialised corresponding crushing, grinding and mixing equipment.

The dry and wet mixing processes (grinding process) were developed for this purpose. The lime-clay mixture resulting from these processes were then pressed into so-called "blanks" on brick presses before being fired, then dried and placed in kilns. Because of

their clinker-like shape, they were called "cement clinker". After burning and cooling, this clinker still had to be crushed into a fine powder in tamping and rolling mills using various grinding processes before the finished Portland cement could be filled into drums and shipped.⁹

The person responsible for first succeeded in producing Portland cement by sintering at 1,450 °C has not been conclusively clarified. Apart from Aspdin's son, William, other manufacturers in England also endeavoured to improve their cement. One of them was Isaac Charles Johnson (*28.01.1811 London †29.11.1911) of the White & Sons company, who in 1844 - possibly as the first - fired a scheduled sintered cement from a uniform raw mixture. Even though the quality of Aspdin's cement fluctuated due to the lack of a uniform raw material mixture, no one at that time achieved his product's strength.¹⁰

From the mid-1840s, Portland cements were also on the market in England alongside the various Roman cements. Both types of cement were also exported from England to other countries, where Portland cement reached very high prices due to its advantageous properties. In the other

Watercolor of the **PORTLAND CEMENT PLANT INGELHEIM**, approx. 1900.



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European countries, every effort was therefore made to produce a product comparable to the English cement. As it was still assumed at this time that only the septarian clay from the chalk formation used in England could be used, two small factories in Buxtehude and Uetersen also started burning artificial Portland cement from English marl ores and coals in 1850/51, in addition to the production of Roman cement. However, these did not have any lasting economic success.¹¹

It was not until 1855 that mine owner and chemist Dr. Hermann Bleibtreu (*4.3.1821 Pützchen near Bonn †25.4.1881 Bonn)¹² succeeded in producing Portland cement on a modest scale in the Portland Cement Factory Lossius & Delbrück in Züllchow near Stettin. Bleibtreu had previously travelled to England to learn more about the recipe, which had been kept secret until then. Following the English example, he had also used septarian clay, as it was also found on the islands off the Oder. The daily output of his only German Portland cement factory was very low, at 50 to 100 barrels (8.5 to 17 tonnes). Nevertheless, the



BARREL LABEL Portland Cement Factory Krebs in Ingelheim, approx. 1900.

product was of good quality and even won an award at the Paris World's Fair in 1855.¹³ Bleibtreu himself went to Obercassel near Bonn in 1856, where the supervisory board of the alum smelters of the Bonn Mining and Steelwork Association, founded by his father, decided to start Portland cement production.¹⁴ Following Züllchow's example, Portland cement factories soon sprang up all over Germany.



MANNHEIM PORTLAND CEMENT FACTORY after the rebuilding and the new plant in Weisenau near Mainz, 1890.

By the time the German Empire was founded on 18 January 1871, a total of 14 Portland cement factories had been established. Of particular importance for HeidelbergCement AG was the Mannheim Portland Cement Factory, founded in 1862, and its later branch plant in Mainz-Weisenau, founded in 1864. Another factory that emerged during this pioneering phase was the Portland Cement Factory Krebs in Ingelheim, founded in 1863, which was taken over by Heidelberger Werke in 1907.¹⁵ Thus, the roots of today's Heidelberg-based company go back to the earliest beginnings of German Portland cement production. In a commemorative publication for the 50th anniversary in 1910, reference was made to the founding of

the Mannheim Portland Cement Factory, with which the company merged in 1901. Later, however, the year of foundation was determined to be the construction of the Heidelberg Portland Cement plant in 1873. More precisely, it was the date of the purchase of the property on which the cement plant was later built upon by Johann Philipp Schifferdecker.

The rise of the beer brewer

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker

8

The Schifferdecker family can be traced back to Johann Schifferdecker, a lawyer from Breslau (today Wrocław in Poland). His descendants scattered to Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria, Austria and Baden. The Mosbach line of Schifferdecker goes back to 1580.¹⁶ In the Protestant family tradition, the Schifferdeckers practised the cooperage and beer brewing trade within Mosbach and had been influential as councillors or mayors.¹⁷

The first verifiable master cooper and mayor was Johann Georg Schifferdecker (*1679 Mosbach †1731 Mosbach). His son bearing the same name, born in 1717, as well as his son Philipp Martin (*1743 Mosbach) and his son Johann Georg (*30.3.1782 Mosbach †21.12.1842 Mosbach) were all master coopers.¹⁸ Johann Georg worked as a brewer in the monastery brewery. Later he became brewery owner and publican of the Deutscher Hof (formerly "Braustüble") - today Restaurant Ludwig on Ludwigsplatz.¹⁹

At the age of 29, Johann welcomed the birth of his son. The mother of the child was the 21-year-old Eva Maria Schifferdecker, née Ritzhaupt (*1790 Wiesloch †22.9.1835 Mosbach), daughter of Jakob Ritzhaupt and his wife Maria Katharina from Wiesloch.²⁰



JOHANN MARTIN, a brother of Johann Georg Schifferdecker (*30.3.1782 Mosbach †21.12.1842 Mosbach), owned the **INN „ZUM WEISSEN SCHWANEN“** including brewery, distillery, vinegar factory, barn and stables at **HAUPTSTRASSE IN MOSBACH**. His family coat of arms from 1834 can still be seen on the brewery building in Hospitalgasse.²³

The following passage is preserved about the birth of the son Johann Philipp:

"On Friday the thirtyfirst of May in the morning at nine o'clock, a son was born to the local burgher and beer-brewer Johann Georg Schifferdecker and his wife Eva Maria, née Ritzhauptin, under the supervision of the midwife Schifferdeckerin and after certification of the two witnesses: The local burgher and beer-brewer Jakob Kraut; and the burgher and host to Prince Karl, Joh. Michael Stern, a legitimate son was born, who was baptised in the presence of the aforementioned witnesses on the first of June in the afternoon after three o'clock in the church and received the name: Johann Philipp; with the aforementioned citizen and host Joh. Michael Stern acting as godfather."²¹



DEUTSCHER HOF in Mosbach, approx. 1930.

The quote originates from the baptismal register of the Reformed congregation of the Baden town of Mosbach from May 1811. The birth of Johann Philipp Schifferdecker was described on 31 May 1811.²²

The young family had to cope with existential crises in the early years. Volcanic eruptions, especially that of the Tambora volcano on the island of Sumbawa in present-day Indonesia, hurled large quantities of ash and sulphur compounds high into the atmosphere in April 1815. As a result, there was a drastic cooling with extreme weather events. The year 1816 went down in history as the "year without a summer". Crop failures and famines weakened the population and made them vulnerable to epidemics such as typhus and plague. Nevertheless, the population in the Grand Duchy of Baden increased by 25% between 1810 and 1834. The Schifferdecker family would go on to have 24 children born during this period. 18 of these births are recorded in the Mosbach church records.²⁴

Like his ancestors, Johann Philipp learned the cooperage trade in the renowned Mosbach monastery brewery, which at that time still combined the traditional trades of cooper, beer brewer and wine cooper and was closely connected to viticulture in Mosbach. After his apprenticeship, he worked in his father's brewery attached to the Deutscher Hof.²⁵

Johann Philipp had barely become of age when his mother died on 22 September 1835. The high population pressures of the time caused a large part of the youth to seek their fortune abroad. By the middle of the century, the wave of emigration had developed into a veritable mass exodus.²⁶

When Johann Philipp was offered the prospect of his own brewery in Königsberg by a maternal uncle in 1838, he had a unique opportunity to escape the confines and lack of prospects at home. His uncle Ritzhaupt had been co-owner of the wine shop Koch & Richter since 1816, which operated the bar and the wine cellar in the "Blutgericht" of Königsberg Castle.



MAIN HOUSE OF THE SCHIFFERDECKER FAMILY and residence of Johann Philipp Schifferdecker at Tuchmacherstraße 22 in Königsberg, built in 1815.

Uncle Ritzhaupt had already acquired several buildings at 20-22 Tuchmacher Strasse, including a brewery building, in the immediate vicinity of Königsberg Castle, from Jacob Latterner in 1815.²⁷

Johann Philipp began to set up the brewery in Tuchmacher Straße for his own purposes immediately after his arrival in Königsberg, a risk in view of the then faltering Königsberg brewery industry. The first tapping of the barrel followed just two months later. Unlike his competitors, Schifferdecker brewed bottom-fermented Bavarian beer. Contrary to the reservations of some locals, the bottom-fermented beer sold successfully. His knowledge of the craft and his uncle's social and economic connections helped him achieve success within a short period. The customers were enthusiastic about the new beer, Johann Philipp's willingness to take risks had paid off.²⁸

After only one year, on 8 November 1839, he became a citizen of the city of Königsberg in Prussia. The following entry can be found in Kö-



BEER MAT of the Ponarth Brewery, approx. 1939.

nigsberg's register of citizens: "Johann Philipp Schieferdecker (Protestant confession) *Mosbach 31.V.1811, maltster brewer, landowner, not in military service, took the oath of citizenship on 8.XI.1839, pays 30 Thaler. 5 Groschen citizen's money, lives at Tuchmacherstraße 22".²⁹

Just three years after the company was founded, the brewery's warehouses were reaching capacity, resulting in spacious cellar facilities being rented under the castle church to store excess stock. To boost beer sales, he set up a special bar himself in the nearby Gambrinushalle. Eventually, distribution and demand increased so much that delivery delays occurred.³⁰

In the "Königsberger Skizzen" published in Danzig, the holder of Kant's chair of philosophy, Johann Karl Friedrich Rosenkranz (*23.4.1805 Magdeburg †14.6.1879 Königsberg) wrote: "[...] in the Schifferdeckers' brewery, Bavarian beer has joined the porter-like old local Löbenicht beer as a rival and enjoys a very large consumption."³¹



BREWERY IN PONARTH, approx. 1939.

It is to be assumed that Johann Philipp came into contact with miller Johann Benjamin Reinicke from Königsberg while buying grain or through other business-related means. In any case, he fell in love with Reinicke's eldest daughter Louise Friederike Antonie Reinicke (*13.8.1821 Königsberg †1909 Königsberg) and married her on 8 March 1842. The Löbenicht-Königsberg marriage register contains the following surprising details:

*"On 8 March 1842, Johann Philipp Schifferdecker, brewery owner, was married to Louise Friederike Antonie Reinicke, the eldest daughter of the local mill owner Joh. Reinicke eldest daughter. (Procl. Gov. p. 94) (Marriage with Gov. Consent). In addition, court-certified consent of the absent father and declaration of celibacy of the groom. Sponsus coelebs 31 years, Sponsa virgo 20 1/2 years."*³³

It is unusual that the father of the bride was not present, possibly



Gruss aus Ponarth

Verlag O. Ziegler, Königsberg i. Pr.

POSTCARD with the Ponarth Brewery, 1939.



Sister-in-law Anna Reinicke, wife Friederice Louise Antonie, née Reinicke, Johann Paul, Marie Olga Luise, Johann Philipp and Friederike Antonia Helen, approx. 1862.

prevented by illness. Likewise, a house wedding by a Protestant pastor is to be regarded as a privilege that could only take place with an exceptional permit. The happy events were however overshadowed by the death of his father Johann Georg (*30.3.1782 Mosbach †21.12.1842 Mosbach). Johann Philipp's numerous siblings were now left to fend for themselves in Mosbach. As he felt obliged to his youngest 10-year old brother Georg Leonhard Eduard (*5.5.1833 Mosbach †8.12.1915 Königsberg), he brought him to Königsberg for education and training. Eduard was happy to follow the example of his brother, 22 years his senior, and soon learned the brewing trade as well.³⁶

The production facilities in Königsberger Tuchmacherstraße, which had expanded over the years, could not be expanded without fundamental reconstruction and rationalisation measures. Moreover, these would have necessitated a temporary shutdown of the factory. Schifferdecker therefore searched for ways to relocate production. By the end of the 1840s, the bre-

very had expanded to such an extent that more land had to be acquired. On 2 August 1849, he bought a small estate of 240 acres with a farm and Inn in the village of Ponarth near Königsberg. The land was owned by eight individual large farmers and the purchase of the land was finalised quickly. After more than ten years of successful entrepreneurship, Johann Philipp had gathered enough experience and capital to plan a new brewery. At that time, large quantities of bar ice, which had to be imported from Sweden, were needed to cool the beer. To become independent of ice imports, he had various purpose made ponds built in Ponarth, which were also available for use by the local population. The new brewery developed into a large-scale operation, reaching a beer output of 20,000 t in 1860 and already producing 34,000 t in 1869.³⁷

Luck, discipline, and diligence had helped Schifferdecker achieve this success. Some changes had also occurred in his private life during this time. His son Johann Paul (*14.1.1846 Königsberg †24.7.1889 Heidelberg) and his daughters Maria Olga Luise

Daguerreotype of the SCHIFFERDECKER FAMILY: daughter Marie Olga Luise, Friederice Louise Antonie, brother (of Johann Philipp) Eduard, Johann Philipp with son Johann Paul, approx. 1850.



(*16.6.1848 Königsberg) and Friederike Antonia Helen (*28.2.1852 Königsberg †March 1935 Vienna) were born. Although his brother Eduard had been running the administrative side of the business since the 1860s and assisted him as an expert, he never missed the chance to ride into the brewery every morning on his Trakehner grey horse to offer hands on help. It was at this time that Johann Philipp's decision to sell the brewery matured. There has been much speculation about his real reasons.³⁸ In a letter written at the age of 56, he explains his decision:

"If I now disregard any further consideration of the reasons which make a sale desirable to me, I do another thing when I say that I formerly counted on my children entering the business and remaining in the family, but this has been changed by external circumstances, just as my advanced age, after so many labours, strivings and labours, at last demands more rest."³⁹

The external circumstances cited were various. Only a few years earlier, when he enabled his son Paul to study chemistry at the Karlsruhe Polytechnic, he was under the assumption that Paul would eventually return to Königsberg. The modern

chemistry taught in Karlsruhe could certainly have been profitably applied in his own company. At that time, Carl Weltzien (*1813 St. Petersburg †1870 Karlsruhe), who is today considered the founder of scientific chemistry, was teaching in Karlsruhe. On 2 November 1866, Paul had enrolled for doctoral studies at the University of Heidelberg and presumably also expressed the intention of staying in Heidelberg.⁴¹

Meanwhile, his youngest daughter, Friederike Antonia Helen, only 15 years old, developed into an 'enfant terrible' and was placed under "house arrest" by Johann Philipp after improper and illicit contacts. Presumably either to escape family control or because her parents had arranged the marriage for her, she finally agreed to marry Rudolf Heubach (*1838 †24.1.1895 Heidelberg), a public prosecutor in Bromberg, now Bydgoszcz, in 1867, who was 14 years her senior.⁴²

The elder daughter Marie Olga Luise also pursued other goals. Not long after her sister's marriage, she married the Königsberg merchant Gustav Schmidt (*1839 †23.1.1913 Königsberg)⁴³ and as a result was able to lead an upper-class lifestyle due to his wealth.⁴⁴



BREWERY PONARTH, 8.6.2016.

Although it may seem a contradiction at first, Johann Philipp's decision was calculated. Schifferdecker was a man of pragmatic solutions, which had certainly contributed significantly to his success. Accepting his only son's career choice and supporting him in it also meant being prepared to invest money in another venture. Despite his advanced age, he still considered himself in a position to actively participate in building a new business.

It is presumed that the tasks of the brewery were becoming increasingly more difficult for him. And no doubt there were also the memories of his own youth, when, encouraged by his uncle Ritzhaupt, he had first been put in a position to build up a successful business. His son's chemistry studies, refusal to continue the brewery and the prospect of seeing home again were certainly the main reasons for his decision. In addition, he knew that

the brewery was in good hands with his brother Eduard. On 2 July 1869, Eduard's efforts to sell the brewery finally led to success. In addition to Eduard, the merchant Johann Eduard Kemke and several Königsberg merchants held shares in the new company, which was named Limited Partnership Brewery Ponarth E. Schifferdecker & Co. The purchase price was 280,000 Taler. Johann Philipp only had a share of 80,000-100,000 Taler (240,000-300,000 Marks) guaranteed from the sale. At the time of the conversion, the total capital amounted to 320,000 Taler, in which Johann Philipp still retained a 30% share. The annual production capacity of 51,000 t predicted at the time of the purchase was clearly exceeded just three years later with 51,493 t.⁴⁵ Schifferdecker initially invested part of the money in the newly founded Königsberg Real Estate Company, which promised a high return of 11 %.⁴⁶

The Ponarth Brewery remained in family ownership long afterwards. Eduard Schifferdecker managed the brewery until 1900, when his son Adolf Schifferdecker took over until 1929. In 1939, the brewery's 100th anniversary was celebrated with a grand ceremony in the theatre of Königsberg.⁴⁷

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71, to which son Paul was called up, had delayed his studies. In 1872, he was about to receive his doctorate, and Johann Philipp was now urged to implement his plan to return to his native Duchy of Baden.

Purchase of the Bergheim Mill in Heidelberg

16

On the train journey from Königsberg to Heidelberg, the much-quoted conversation with a fellow passenger is said to have taken place. During the train ride Johann Philipp is said to have received the hint to invest his fortune in a Portland cement factory.⁴⁸ What is legend and what is fact can no longer be proven today. However, it must not have escaped the notice of a prudent entrepreneur like Johann Philipp Schifferdecker, even without external stimuli, that a boom in the foundation of Portland cement factories had begun. The fact that good money could be earned in this way was shown by the already existing cement factories of J. F. Espenschied in Mannheim and Dyckerhoff & Sons in Biebrich near Wiesbaden. The victorious war against France also boosted the construction industry. The expensive Portland cement was still a distinctly retail product at that time and was sold per pound in paper bags in many material goods shops. A single barrel of 180 kg gross, imitating the English weight of 400 pounds, cost 9 guilders, or over 15 marks (in 1910 a barrel cost 5.50 marks).⁴⁹

It remains unclear why Johann Philipp favoured Heidelberg as a location. The immediate surroundings of



J. Ph. Schifferdecker.

JOHANN PHILIPP SCHIFFERDECKER, approx. 1880.

his hometown Mosbach had also offered good conditions for the construction of a Portland cement plant, as later foundations showed. It is not possible to determine exactly when Johann Philipp Schifferdecker became aware of the Bergheim Mill in Heidelberg. However, it was generally

Dungversteigerung.

Dienstag, den 19. November,
Nachmittags 2 Uhr, wird bei Un-
terzeichnetem eine große Grube
Dung versteigert.

Bergheimer Mühle, den 12.
November 1867.

[1]³

M. Reiffel.

ADVERTISEMENT in the Schwäbische Kronik of the Schwäbischer Merkur about **MANURE AUCTIONS** of the miller Martin Reiffel.

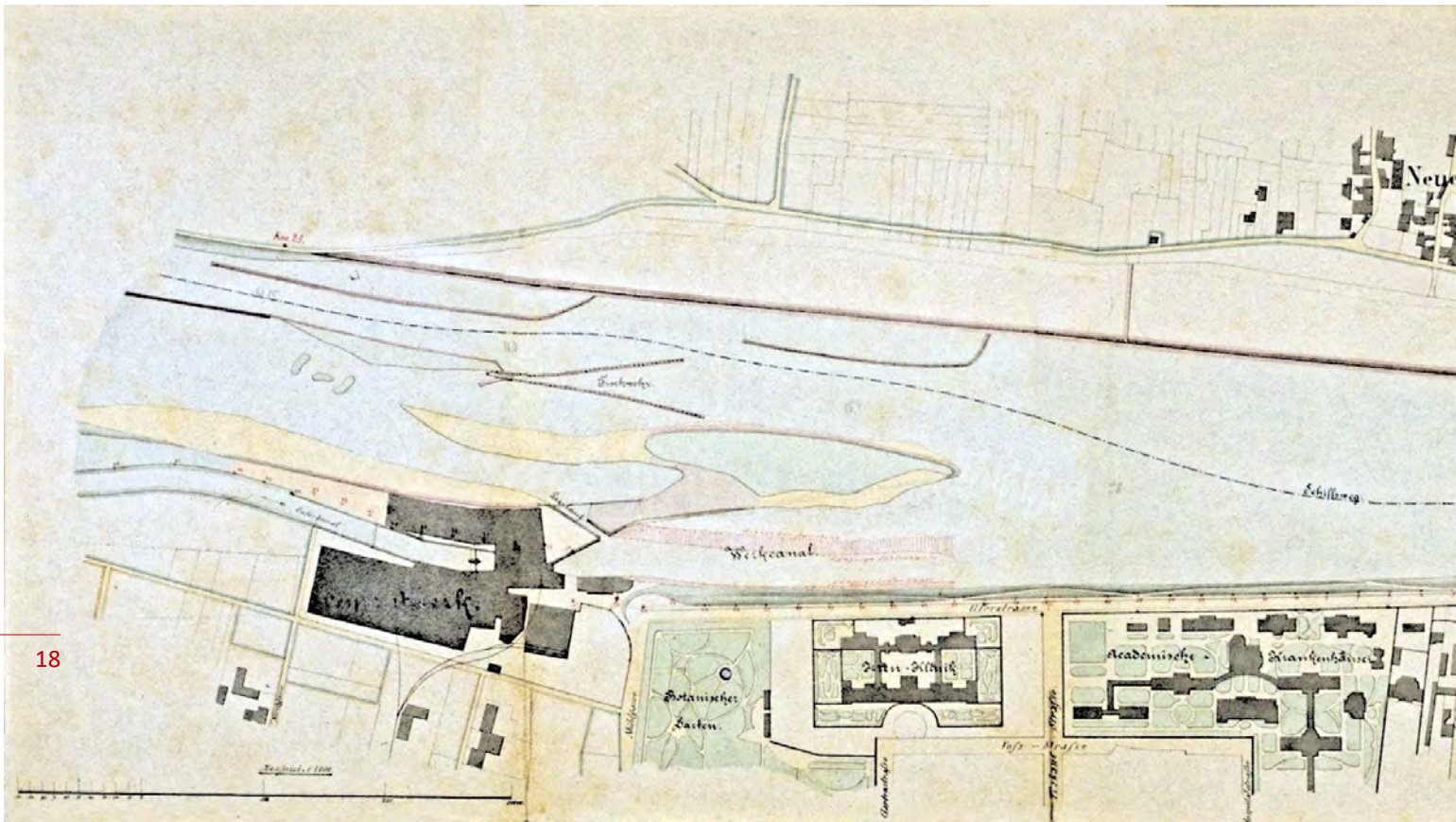
known that the mills on the Neckar came with issues. The river was wild and constantly shifted. It had many shallow areas and the current strength fluctuated greatly. Numerous line constructions (constricting embankments arranged in the direction of flow), which were intended to enable increasing shipping in the Neckar, changed the flow conditions drastically and uncontrollably. This led to large build-ups of silt and deposits in the mill channels, especially during floods. With low yields, the ongoing high investments in cleaning work led to gradual over-indebtedness for many hydro-powered mills.

At that time, the Bergheim Mill was run by Johann Martin Conrad Reiffel (*11.6.1833) and his wife Eva Catharina, née Bühler (*26.11.1832). Only a few years earlier, on 23 November 1864, he had taken over the property from his father Georg Leonhard (*1809).⁵¹ The grinding and cutting mill had: "6 grinding gears, 1 peeling mill, double oil mill, grist mill, gypsum mill with poaching mill, hemp grater with standing friction blade and a sawmill, for which plaintiff owed his parents a transfer price of 90,000 fl".⁵²

Reiffel's independence was thus burdened with debts from the very

beginning. But there were also other old existing debts. The land between the town centre to the mill along the Neckar belonged to the city. For years, the city had allowed building rubble and all kinds of stones, earth and rubble to be piled up for land reclamation to create a foreshore. Reiffel complained for years, and rightly so, because §11 of the mill regulations forbade land reclamation measures that interfered with mill operations. On 4 August 1863, his father had already asked the local council for a remedy.⁵³ With the help of legal counsel, Martin Reiffel again demanded compensation from the municipality on 14 June 1866:

"Instead of ensuring that this loose and loose material is immediately properly laid, rolled and generally secured, this is often not done for a long time and when it is finally done, it is done poorly and badly. The inevitable consequence of this is that every time the Neckar swells, this material is soon more or less washed away and fed into the plaintiff's mill canal. As a result, it is fed into the plaintiff's millrace. As a result, this millrace, through which the plaintiff's mill has its water supply, becomes so silted up, even partially drained to such an extent, that the in-



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Site plan of the **BERGHEIM MILL**, status 1879, 1885. Source: General State Archive Karlsruhe 356/5578.

flow of motive water is extraordinarily impeded, the driving force of the water is significantly weakened and the mill is disturbed in its operation, sometimes even to the point of standstill, thereby causing the plaintiff serious damage."⁵⁴

The city delayed the case in order to refer it to the district office on 25 June 1866. Without a result, Reiffel had no choice but to have the mill canal cleaned on a daily wage for 1500 fl. Among other things, the shifting of siltation masses had also led to the abandonment of the city's winter harbour, near the later Bismarckplatz.⁵⁵

From 1839 onwards, the line was built to narrow down below the Bergheim Mill, which led to silting up towards the shore.⁵⁶ Reiffel tried to control silting up above the mill by building a 180 m long, 9 m wide and around 0.7 m deep canal. This was intended to bring more water to the mill. But the very next flood washed out the ditch.⁵⁷

However, it was difficult to pro-

ve the causes and responsibilities. At that time, the responsible higher authorities had in any case given priority to the construction of channels for shipping and rafting, and rather pursued the dismantling of the mills. All kinds of straightening and narrowing were therefore rather welcomed. In the end, an expert opinion stated that the hydropower available to Bergheim Mill was already insufficient for the numerous mills in their normal operation. However, the bank stabilisation and constrictions on the Neuenheim side, as well as those on the Bergheim side after their completion, would only bring advantages for the mill. In the meantime, precautionary measures had also been taken against flood damages. The expert opinion concludes with the recommendation that the mill owner should extend the line construction.⁵⁸

The mill alone did not yield enough income, so Reiffel tried to obtain additional income through far-



ming. He regularly advertised manure, box, and wood auctions. Nevertheless, Martin Reiffel was convinced that he could make the mill profitable and solve the water problem. This was to be done by installing three turbines. The delivery of the various materials and the complete reconstruction of the mill equipment was carried out by the Jakob Schlicksupp iron foundry and machine factory located on Handshuhsheimer LandstraÙe.⁵⁹

Soon afterwards, Martin Reiffel apparently threatened to default on payments and signed two bills of exchange with the Jewish moneylender Samuel Kahn in Heidelberg in the amount of 1300 fl. dated 6 September 1870 and 1500 fl. dated 4 October 1870.⁶⁰

However, not even this measure could not avoid insolvency. Official proceedings were initiated against him on 26 January 1871.⁶¹ As a consequence, the mill had to be foreclosed, the first appointment for which took

Heidelberg.

Mhlen- und Gtterversteigerung.

In Folge richterlicher Verfgung werden die zur Eigentmsee des Mllersmeisters Joh. Martin Conrad Reiffel auf der Bergheimer Mhle gehrigen, in der Anstundigung vom 12. April d. J. beschriebenen Liegenschaften am

Donnerstag den 13. Juni d. J.
Mittags 2 Uhr,
auf der Bergheimermhle

zum zweitenmal ffentlich versteigert und endgltig zugeschlagen, wenn der Schtzungspreis auch nicht erreicht wird.

Der Schtzungspreis der Mhle mit dazu gehrigen Grundstcken, Mhlenberechtigung, Wasserkraft, Maschinen etc. betrgt 173,860 fl. Die in 12 Parzellen zur Versteigerung kommenden Gterstcke sind taxiert zu 15,819 fl. Die Versteigerungsbedingungen knnen auf die hiesige HauptstraÙe 52, und die Schtzungsurkunde auf hiesigem Rathhause von Jedermann eingesehen werden.

Nach erfolgtem Zuschlag der Immobilien werden die zum Mhlenbetrieb nthigen Gerthchaften, als: Waagen, Scke, Siebe, Rannen, Binden etc. gegen Baarszahlung versteigert.

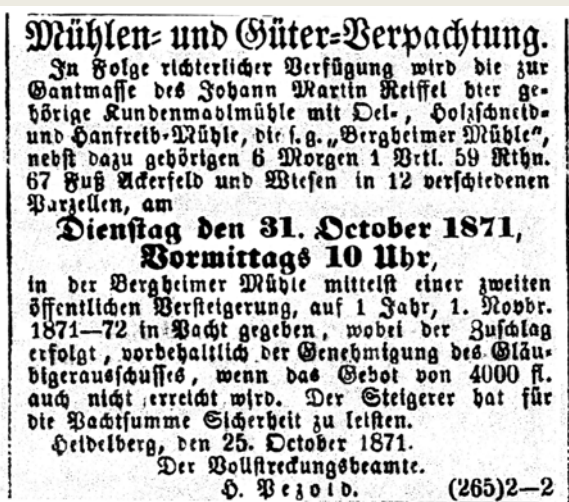
Den 22. Mai 1871.
Der Vollstreckungsbeamte.
D. Weald.

Official advertisement in the Schwbische Kronik of the Schwbischer Merkur for the **AUCTION OF THE BERGHEIM MILL** on 10.6.1871.

place on 22 May 1871.⁶² As the estimated price of the mill, 173,860 fl. for the furnishings and 15,819 fl. for the land, was not reached on this day, a second auction date was held on 15 June. On this day, the mill would have had to be finally auction-



Advertisement in the Schwäbische Kronik of the Schwäbischer Merkur on the **WITHDRAWAL OF THE BERGHEIM MILL FROM AUCTION** withdrawal of the Bergheim mill from auction on 13.6.1871.



Advertisement in the newspaper Karlsruher Zeitung for the **AUCTION** of the Bergheim Mill.

20

ned off, below the estimated value.⁶³

With an unknown act, Reiffel managed to obtain a stay of execution shortly before the announced auction date.⁶⁴ Perhaps this was related to the pending lawsuit against the factory owner Schlicksupp, one of the main creditors.⁶⁵

Schlicksupp quantified his claim at 16,000 fl. and wanted to assert his preferential right by dismantling and taking back the delivered mill equipment. The insolvency court rejected the preferential right, as there was no purchase but a contract for work and services and because the plant parts had been immobilised by the supplier himself. A removal would have caused a reduction in the value of the property and possibly violated the rights of older debtors. The latter point also remained valid in the second instance (judgement of the Grand Ducal Supreme Court 29.10.1872), so that Schlicksupp had to join the creditors.⁶⁶

However, Reiffel's liquidity problem still existed. Although he was able to prevent the auction, a forced lease of the mill and the land belonging to it took place on 25 October 1871. The lease was set for one year, starting on 1 November 1871, for 4,000 fl.⁶⁷ As the intended sum was not reached on this

day, there was a second auction of the leasehold rights, on 31 October, this time also under the sum of 4,000 fl.⁶⁸ On 30 and 31 October, however, part of the livestock and fruit stock, as well as numerous furnishings, were sold.⁶⁹

The auction of the lease was most likely successful, as there were no more reports about the mill in the newspapers for more than a year. Who had become the tenant is not known. Whether Schifferdecker took part in the proceedings is also unclear. However, it is quite conceivable that he may have already been involved in the suspension of the forced sale. Perhaps he made agreement with Reiffel's creditors and thus ensured that the sale of the mill was averted. Likewise, it cannot be ruled out that he was the person who took the mill on lease. This also enabled him to gain time and raise money for a planned purchase.

The equipment of the mill with a gypsum grinding train with a poaching mill and a sawmill was advantageous, at least for the experimental start-up phase of a Portland cement factory. The available hydro-power of around 96 hp (70 KW) was expandable with appropriate invest-

D. 294. 1. Heidelberg.
**Mühle- und Güter-
 Versteigerung.**



In Folge richterlicher Verfügung werden die unten beschriebenen, zur Genossenschaft des Müllers Johann Martin Konr. Reiffel auf der Bergheimer Mühle gehörigen, auf der Gemerkung Heidelberg liegenden Realitäten am **Donnerstag den 19. Dezbr. d. J. Mittags 2 Uhr**

auf der Bergheimer Mühle dahier öffentlich versteigert und enöglich zugeschlagen, wenn der Schätzungspreis oder mehr erreicht wird.
 Beschreibung der Liegenhäuser.

Die sogenannte „Bergheimer Mühle“, bezeichnet mit Nr. 1 der Bergheimerstraße, bestehend in:

- a. einem zwei-stöckigen Wohnhaus mit Balken Keller, nebst Kitzelbau und Dachzimmer, von Stein;
- b. einem zwei Stock hohen Mühlenbau mit Knieböden, Dachzimmer, Blechdecke und Giebelvorhaus, von Stein;
- c. einem zwei Stock hohen Mühlenbau, an b. angebaut, von Stein;
- d. einer zwei-stöckigen Schneidmühle von Stein;
- e. einer ein-stöckigen Handreibmühle, an d. angebaut, von Stein;
- f. einem ein-stöckigen Schopf von Holz, an d. angebaut;
- g. einem Wohnhaus bei der Schneidmühle, ein-stöckig, mit Stall, Remise und gewölbtem Keller, von Stein;
- h. einem kleinen Kuchel bei g., ein-stöckig, von Stein;
- i. einem ein-stöckigen Badhaus von Stein;
- k. einem Kuchel, ein-stöckig, mit gewölbtem Keller, von Stein;
- l. einem Kuchel mit Heuraum, zwei-stöckig, von Holz;
- m. einer ein-stöckigen Scheuer von Stein;
- n. einer ein-stöckigen Wagenremise von Holz;
- o. einer ein-stöckigen Scheuer, an m. angebaut, von Stein;
- p. einem ein-stöckigen Turbinenhaus und
- q. einem über dem Mühlengraben erbauten Spreubau.

Der Platz, auf welchem diese Gebäulichkeiten errichtet sind, enthält:

2 Brl. 6 Rth. 24 Fß. n. b. M. Flächenraum, die Hofstraße 60 Rth. 28 Fß., das Wehr 1 Wegn. 3 Brl. 46 Rth. 32 Fß. und die Zeit 1 Brl. 74 Rth.

Hierzu gehören: 3 Brl. 41 Rth. 72 Fß. n. b. M. Garten zwischen der 1. u. 2. Mühlgasse hinter der Mühle, 3 Brl. 32 Rth. 3 Fß. Acker zwischen der 2. u. 3. Mühlgasse am Schließpfad und 1 Brl. 10 Rth. 6 Fß. Wiesen elwa, sowie 2 Brl. 64 Rth. 67 Fß. Wiese, das Einweichelein am Redar.

Der Schätzungspreis beträgt, und zwar:

a. der sämtlichen Wohn-, Mühlen u. Oekonomiegebäude, sammt Kuchel, Hofstraße, Wehr, Zeile, Wasserbauten und den vier vorbezeichneten Grundstücken	90,710 fl.
b. der Mühlenberechtigung	6,000 fl.
c. der Wasserkraft, welche 90 Pferdekraft gleichkommt	35,000 fl.
d. der Motoren (drei neugebaute, nach dem besten System konstruirte Turbinen) u.	15,000 fl.
e. der Mahlmühle, bestehend aus einer solid gebauten Mühle, 12 Mühlgängen, bei welchen 5 Br. Dampfaggregat u.	15,000 fl.
f. der Deilmühle, bestehend aus 2 Br. Wehrsteinen, 4 Pressen u.	5,000 fl.
g. der Holzschneidmühle	3,500 fl.
h. der Handreibmühle	650 fl.
Zus.	173,860 fl.

6 Wegn. 1 Brl. 59 Rth. 20 Fß. n. b. M. Acker und Wiesen, 12 verschiedene Parzellen bildend, u.

Die Versteigerungsbedingungen können auf brieflicher Kartei, welche Hauptstraße 52, und die Schatzungsurkunden auf brieflichem Rathhause von Ledermann eingesehen werden.

Heidelberg, den 14. November 1872.
 Groß. Notar
 D. Reiffel.

D. 335. Nr. 18,793. Raftatt. Die von uns ausgeschriebene Auktionsstelle ist besetzt.

Raftatt, den 20. November 1872.
 Gerichtl. Adv. Bezirksamt
 F. Brenner.

D. 175. 2. Der heutigen Nummer liegt ein Extra-Blatt bei, enthaltend Anzeigen über die Heilwirkungen der Hoffschen Walzpräparate bei Hämorrhoiden, Leugnen, Nagen und salarhaltigen Leiden u. — Verkauf bei Herrn Michael Hirsch, Kreuzstraße Nr. 3 in Karlsruhe.

(Mit einer Beilage.)

Advertisement for the **AUCTION OF THE BERGHEIM MILL AND ITS GOODS** in the newspaper **Karlsruher Zeitung** of **14.11.1872.**

ment. There was the possibility of transport by barge and the distance to the railway depot was short. He had found the limestone in the nearby Rohrbach. In addition, the basic suitability of the material seemed to be guaranteed, as a roman cement factory was already located in the area.

After the lease expired on 1 November 1872, Reiffel's financial situation still looked bad despite the extra 12 months he had gained. The mill was put up for auction again on 19 December 1872.⁷⁰ However, it was only sold if the unchanged estimated price of 1871 or more was reached. This was not the case.

Remarkably on the same day, Schifferdecker signed a contract with a Mr Wittwer, owner of a cement factory in Neckargemünd. Wittwer was to be hired as technical director for the cement factory to be built on the property of the Bergheim Mill.⁷¹ He had a five-year contract with Schifferdecker and was to receive a 12 to 15 % share of the profits of the Heidelberg Portland Cement Work. However, he went bankrupt with his cement plant in Neckargemünd as a privately liable partner, whereupon Schifferdecker already took the opportunity to dismiss him as Plant Manager in May 1873. Wittwer's



Philibert von Graimberg (*9.7.1832 †28.10.1895), the **BERGHEIM MILL**, approx. 1870.

legal challenge, however, dragged on for two years.

Schifferdecker thus seemed to be certain as early as December 1872 that he would build a cement factory on the mill site, even though he did not yet own the land. He presumably attended the auction on 19 December 1872 and was well able to assess how much interest there was in buying the plant. It was most probably rather low, resulting in him waiting for the next date, knowing that it would then be possible to buy the mill for less than the estimated price. This last auction took place on 2 January 1873.⁷² On January 18, the *Karlsruher Zeitung* reported: "*Heidelberg, 14 January. The so-called Bergheim Mill here has recently passed into other hands. It was purchased together with a few acres of land by a Mr Schifferdecker from Königsberg for the sum of 152,000 fl. As far as one hears, the new owner intends to build a cement factory there.*"⁷³

Although Schifferdecker was apparently sure that he would be able to buy the mill at a favourable auction before it could be finalised, his tactics turned into a poker game in the end.



Advertisement of the **NECKARGEMÜND CEMENT FACTORY** from 1868, in which **WITTWER** was a personally liable partner.

Several days later it turned out that there were other parties interested in the site who would have been willing to pay approximately the estimated price for the mill. However, they came too late:

"Heidelberg, 22 January. As proof of how quickly the value of real estate often increases, I would like to inform you that Mr Schifferdecker, who bought the local Bergheim Mill at auction for 150,000 fl. barely 14 days ago, has already been offered 25,000 fl. more for it by a third party, naturally without success, since the cement factory to be built there on a large scale promises even higher profits."⁷⁴

From the above-mentioned court proceedings dealing with the dismissal of the technical director Wittwer, we know that in the course of 1873, a modest production of Portland cement was achieved with the existing mill facilities and clinker delivered from Neckargemünd. Accord-

Mühlen- und Güterversteigerung.

In Folge richterlicher Verfügung werden die zur Gantmasse des Mül-
lermeisters Joh. Martin Keißel dahier
gehörigen, in der Ankündigung vom
14. November d. J. beschriebenen Lie-
genenschaften am

**Donnerstag, den 2. Januar l. J.,
Mittags 3 Uhr,**

auf der Bergheimer Mühle hier
zum zweiten Mal öffentlich versteigert
und endgültig zugeschlagen wenn der
Schätzungspreis **auch nicht** erreicht wird.

Der Schätzungspreis der Mühle mit
dazu gehörigen Gebäulichkeiten, Grund-
stücken, der Wassertrakt, Mühlenberech-
tigung, Maschinen etc. beträgt 173,860 fl.

Die in 12 Parzellen zur Versteige-
rung kommenden Grundstücke sind taxirt
zu 15819 fl.

Die Versteigerungsbedingungen, so-
wie die Schätzungsurkunden, von denen
auf Verlangen Abschriften ausgefertigt
werden, können auf der Kanzlei des
unterzeichneten Notars, westliche Haupt-
straße Nr. 52, eingesehen werden.

Heidelberg, den 19. Decbr. 1872.

Der Vollstreckungsbeamte.

H. Pezold. [302]1-2

Official advertisement in the news-
paper Heidelberger Zeitung für the
AUCTION OF THE BERGHEIM MILL
from 19.12.1872.

ing to Wittwer's description in the hearing of 7 December, he: "[...] had to ensure that the raw materials were procured in consistent quality and on time and processed into a good product; the timely, reasonably priced procurement of wood for barrels for packaging, the correct, good production of the same, the correct packaging, the dispatch in the correct order were also under his direction and supervision; finally, his service included the division and employment of the workers, as well as the arrangement of the workers suitable for the job."⁷⁵

With the dismissal of Wittwer in May 1873 and his presumed release, the provisional business likely came to a standstill. The legal form of the company is uncertain at this point, as it was not until more than a year later on 1 June 1874 (registered on 5 June 1874) that the newly founded general partnership with Johann Philipp Schifferdecker, his son Dr. Paul Schifferdecker and son-in-law Rudolf Heubach as partners began operations.⁷⁶

Foundation of the Portland Cement plant Heidelberg

24

After the purchase of the mill property, half a year passed, during which Johann Philipp Schifferdecker, presumably with the support of his son, undertook preliminary work and planning for the conversion into a Portland cement factory. This included, in particular, the expansion of the hydroelectric motors and the conversion of the existing turbine building. On 20 June 1873, Johann Philipp submitted the building application to the Grand Ducal Baden District Office in Heidelberg, which was passed on to the Heidelberg Local Building Commission for review on the same day.⁷⁷

*"The undersigned intends to convert the existing water and cutting mill, the so-called Bergheim Mill, into a cement factory and hereby submits in Annex A. the overview of the disposition of the turbines."*⁷⁸

The first repair measures were for the hydraulic structures. Ceilings

were to be installed in the turbine house and the relatively new three turbines, each with an output of 32 hp, were to be brought up to 50 hp by changing the water intake. To do this, the water outlet had to be widened to 15 m by widening the mill channel and secured with walls and wooden planks. The island upstream of the Neckar was to be used for loading barges and as a warehouse and thus also had to be redeveloped. The 45 m long bank wall destroyed by ice in 1869 was to be rebuilt so that vessels could reach the loading facilities again.⁷⁹

In a second construction phase, Johann Philipp Schifferdecker tackled the construction of the kilns. When it came to the type of kiln, the inexperienced builders opted for the simple shaft kiln. The firing in the shaft kiln takes place - after the amount of firing material and the method of setting



Advertisement for the **SALE OF THE PROVISIONAL PLANT**, a mill for cement on 4.6.1874, second publication in the Schwäbischer Merkur from 10.7.1874.



Representation of the **PORTLAND CEMENT WORKS HEIDELBERG, SCHIFFERDECKER AND SONS** with medals of the trade fairs Sydney and Heidelberg, 1879.

have been tried out once - in a largely constant manner after lighting. At that time, the competitor Dyckerhoff was building the first ring kiln in the cement industry in Amöneburg.⁸⁰ Hoffmann ring kiln had been used in brick production since the early 1860s. The ring kiln achieved a firing material saving of up to 60% and could be heated with hard coal. Compared to the ring kiln, the shaft kiln had the advantage of being simpler to operate but had to be heated with expensive coke because the fuel was alternately stored with the firing material.⁸¹ On 9 October 1873 Johann Philipp Schifferdecker submitted planning applications for two shaft kilns 47.5 feet high (about 15 m) and for the coke and stone kilns to dry the material.⁸²

The extensive construction measures soon brought the first plaintiffs onto the scene. On 20 August, Sophie Hirschel⁸³, who had a fishing business with a fish weir at the level of

the planned cement plant, complained against the construction measures. She cited the alleged lengthening of the millrace, the lowering of the mill channel and the dumping of the excavated stone rubble on the millrace as the reason for siltation in the area of her set nets. As a result, it would no longer be possible for her to reach these areas by boat. Although she was ultimately unsuccessful with her complaint, complaints from the neighbourhood for various reasons were not uncommon from then on.⁸⁴

Presumably, the two shaft kilns were ready for operation in the spring of 1874, so that the first experiments with the Rohrbach lime marl could take place. Stone extraction was largely uncontrolled. Farmers from the surrounding area broke up the stones on their fields and transported them to Heidelberg in carts. After one and a half years of construction and considerable investments, the com-



pany finally wanted to start operations. Only now did the actual founding of the company take place, which was confirmed by the Heidelberg city council on 2 June 1874. On 5 June 1874, the company was registered as a general partnership at the Heidelberg District Court. The company had a share capital of 1,200,000 marks and was represented equally by the three partners, Dr. Paul Schifferdecker, Johann Philipp Schifferdecker and son-in-law Rudolf Heubach.⁸⁵

Paul seemed to be convinced of the success of the new company and his own abilities. Thus, on the day following the founding of the company, he married Maria Elisabeth Anderst (*16.5.1856 Heidelberg †20.5.1931 Heidelberg).⁸⁶ Paul is not to be found in the address books before 1874, as he had been living as a student in subletting since his matriculation in 1866. However, his places of residence are listed in the address books of the university.⁸⁷ After the wedding, however, he lived with his wife in the Bergheim Mill, presumably in the former miller's flat. Johann Philipp Schifferdecker probably also lived there temporarily after purchasing the mill. From the date of the company's founding until 1875, Johann Philipp



The **FLIEGENDE BLÄTTER** was first published in 1845 as a supra-regional, humorous, richly illustrated German weekly, and from 1870 it also carried an advertising section.

Source: University Library Heidelberg

then lived in the immediate vicinity of the cement factory at Bergheimer Straße 63, the location of today's Leonardo Hotel. At the beginning of 1875, Maria Elisabeth gave birth to daughter Anne Louise Elisabeth (*27.2.1875 Heidelberg †29.7.1923 Berlin).⁸⁹

After the regular start of Portland cement production in the sum-

Für eine große chemische Fabrik

wird ein

Ingenieur

zur Leitung der Reparaturwerkstätten, Neueinrichtungen und Bauten gesucht. Die Stelle ist eine dauernde und ziemlich selbstständige und wird gut honorirt. Allgemeine Geschäftstüchtigkeit ist Hauptbedingung, Erfahrung in der Einrichtung chemischer Fabriken erwünscht. Die Anmeldungen müssen ein curriculum vitae, Angabe der Gehaltsansprüche, des eventuellen Eintrittstermines und Referenzen enthalten, sonst werden sie nicht berücksichtigt. Zeugnisse werden in unbeglaubigter Abschrift erbeten. Geseh. Offerten sind franco sub Chiffre L. 2169 an **Rudolf Mosse in Frankfurt a/Main** zu richten. 4519 c

ADVERTISEMENT in the Fliegende Blätter of 23.1.1875.

mer of 1874, the factory was soon confronted with its first complaints about the "floating" of the product. The Rohrbach Roman cement factory also struggled with the same difficulties, which suggested the incorrect composition of the raw material. The higher requirements of Portland cement⁹⁰ compared to Roman cement⁹¹ in terms of raw material quality exacerbated the problem. On a trial basis, extremely hard limestone was purchased from Haßmersheim, up the Neckar River, at high freight costs. Clay was ordered by rail from Langenbrücken.⁹²

The annual accounts for 1874 showed a deficit of 150,000 marks. The company seemed to be at risk, further exacerbated on 24 February 1875 when the wooden roof structure spanning the three shaft kilns caught fire. Luckily the local fire brigade was able to prevent the fire from spreading to other factory buildings and insurances covering the damages. The kilns themselves remained undamaged and factory operations could continue without interruption. This event was recorded in a report in the *Karlsruher Zeitung* of 27 February 1875, which names Dr. Schifferdecker, i.e. Paul, as the Director of the factory.⁹³

Portland-Cementwerk Heidelberg.



Zur Bequemlichkeit unserer geehrten Abnehmer in der Stadt und Umgegend haben wir bei **Herrn Fritz Werner** hier ein Lager unseres Fabrikats errichtet und denselben in die Lage gesetzt, unsern **Portland-Cement** in stets frischer Waare zu **Fabrikpreisen** zu verkaufen.

Bestellungen auf größere Lieferungen können hieselbst abgegeben werden, sowie Herr Werner auch jede Auskunft über Betonungsarbeiten und deren Preise (109)6

gerne ertheilen wird.

Heidelberg, im Mai 1876.

Schifferdecker & Söhne.

ANNOUNCEMENT by the Portland-Cement-Werk Heidelberg about the RETAIL SALE OF PORTLAND CEMENT by the WERNER MATERIALS SHOP in the Heidelberg *Zeitung* of May 1876.

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SALE OF PORTLAND CEMENT IN SMALL QUANTITIES at the Werner drugstore on Hauptstraße in Heidelberg, presumably re-enacted situation, 1961.

Portland-Cement-Werk Heidelberg.

Schifferdecker & Söhne.

Als Vertreter desselben unterhalte ich stets Lager in **Portland-Cement** obiger Marke und biete solchen in jeder Menge zu den vortheilhaftesten Bedingungen an.

Fritz Werner,
Materialhandlung.

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE WERNER MATERIALS SHOP in the newspaper of Heidelberg from 12.10.1876.

The latter is also probable, since after Wittwer's pending dismissal and release, his son Paul managed the business on a transitional basis. Soon after the foundation of the general partnership and the start of production on a larger scale, the factory had to struggle with quality deficiencies of the cement. Although Paul Schifferdecker had a doctorate in chemistry, he lacked basic knowledge in the raw material preparation. Only a scientifically sound approach to raw material extraction could save the company. About ten years earlier, J. F. Espenschied in Mannheim had struggled with similar difficulties and had finally been able to solve the raw material composition with the help of an experienced chemist, his cousin Dr. Richard Espenschied.⁹⁴

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker advertised in the supplements of the *Fliegende Blätter* from the end of October 1874 until January 1875 a total of seven times for an engineer for the management of a chemical factory who was also familiar with "construction matters". The name of the company is not mentioned, the whole application procedure is run through a Frankfurt advertising agent of the

newspaper. The advertisement was only slightly altered over this period, thus the lack of producing a successful candidate can certainly be explained by the unspecific information given.⁹⁵ The secrecy had its reasons, on the one hand in the bad situation of the factory itself, but also in the pending proceedings with Wittwer. It would have weakened Schifferdecker's negotiating position if the search for a successor had become known before the verdict was announced. When Wittwer's dismissal became legally binding on 4 June 1875 with the judgement of the Imperial High Commercial Court, it did not take long for Friedrich Schott to take his place on 1 July.⁹⁶

Chemist Friedrich Schott joins the company

It was rather a coincidence that Friedrich Schott (*27.12.1850 Gandersheim †20.2.1931 Heidelberg) came across the job offer on a business trip to Hamburg, where he was on a customer visit on behalf of his father, who ran a lime kiln and a brickyard in Kreiensen. He had not worked in his parents' business for long and did not find any personal fulfilment in this activity.⁹⁷

Friedrich Schott was born as the eldest of 19 children in the Harz Mountains on 27 December 1850. His father worked for a time as a forester in the service of the prince of Brunswick, but increasingly occupied himself with a wide variety of private undertakings. At the age of 17, Friedrich Schott attended lectures in technical chemistry at the Technical University of Braunschweig. The director of the department of chemical technology, Privy Councillor Prof. Dr. Friedrich Knapp, encouraged Friedrich Schott in cement production to which Schott gained interest. Schott's father had already introduced his son to cement production when he had tried to produce Portland cement according to an English recipe. Under Knapp's supervision, Schott investigated the properties of Scott's cement.⁹⁸



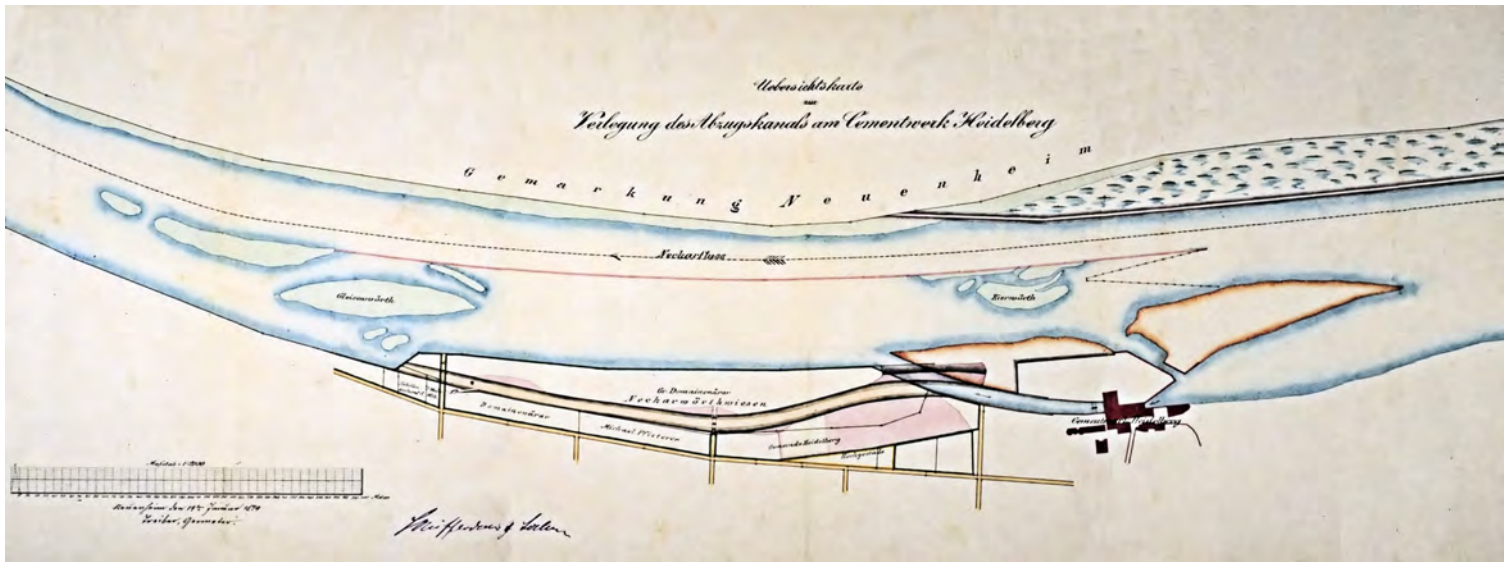
FRIEDRICH PAUL JULIUS SCHOTT (*27.12.1850 Gandersheim †20.2.1931 Heidelberg), approx. 1880.

After completing his studies, he received a job as a laboratory manager at the Vorwohle Cement Factory, which was currently under construction, through the mediation of his teacher Prof. Knapp. Here he was also responsible to partake in practical activities during construction and commissioning which enabled him to expand his practical knowledge considerably during the construction of the mechanical plants. In his scientific research, he continued his earlier work by investigating the hydraulic properties of annealed gypsum.⁹⁹ His further studies and research work were now exclusively focused on Port-

land cement. Again, it was the hardening processes that Friedrich Schott sought to fathom. He concluded that the entire hardening processes take place with the formation of different silicates, depending on the process conditions. In addition to his scientific work, however, his job at the Vorwohle Portland Cement Factory did not seem to offer him any satisfaction. He quit to go work for his father, who had acquired a brickyard and lime kiln in Kreiensen after leaving the Brunswick civil. His entry into his father's business was probably more out of a sense of duty, because here, too, scientific work and business requirements could hardly be reconciled.¹⁰⁰

The attraction of the new position offered by Schifferdecker for Schott was likely that he could prove his knowledge and research in a leading position without professional competition. When negotiating the job offer, he had demanded to be allowed to solve the upcoming problems independently "[...] otherwise he could not guarantee anything". Johann Philipp Schifferdecker agreed despite the high demands of Friedrich Schott, who was only 25 years old. The other partners, Paul Schifferdecker and Rudolf Heubach also seemed

to have agreed with the decision of Schott's employment from the beginning. Later, it was repeatedly apparent that there was a good relationship of trust between the Schifferdecker family and Friedrich Schott. On 1 July 1875, Friedrich Schott joined the Portland Cement Work Heidelberg, Schifferdecker & Sons General Partnership. The Rohrbach deposit belonged to the sharply defined magnesium-bearing strata of the Muschelkalk formation. As early as the beginning of 1876, he therefore succeeded in developing suitable raw material almost free of magnesia in the vicinity of the previous extraction sites on the Rohrbach-Leimen district boundary.¹⁰¹ Through the improvements in raw material preparation, he was able to noticeably increase the cement quality. After four years, he finally succeeded in bringing the plant to turn a profit. The raw material, which had previously been supplied on a contract basis, mainly by farmers, could be procured on his own account through the acquisition of land and quarries. In the preparation of the raw material, the ground lime marl had previously been mixed with water to form a kneadable mass, shaped into bricks on ordinary brick presses and fired in intermittent



The lengthened **MILL CANAL**, in red fillings, site plan, 19.1.1879. Source: General State Archive Karlsruhe 356/5578 .

shaft kilns. The burnt-through bricks (clinkers) could only be unloaded by hand after the kiln had cooled down. Here, Friedrich Schott was able to contribute his experience from the Vorwohle Cement Factory where they had successfully switched to the dry process and replaced the shaft kilns with energy-saving ring kilns. Thus, the installation of dry presses and a ring kiln in 1880 brought about a fundamental change in the production process. The dry process brought considerable fuel savings, as no energy was required to evaporate the added water. As a disadvantage of the dry process however higher dust emissions had to be accepted.¹⁰²

In a relatively short time, the quarry was connected to the main railway by connecting tracks in 1881. Over a length of 2,120 m, the properties of more than 600 farmers were cut through. Amicable individual agreements had to be reached with these in lengthy negotiations. With the increased transport capacity for the raw material, the so-called 'Rüdersdorf fall operation'¹⁰³ was introduced in the quarries at the same time to increase the mining output.¹⁰⁴

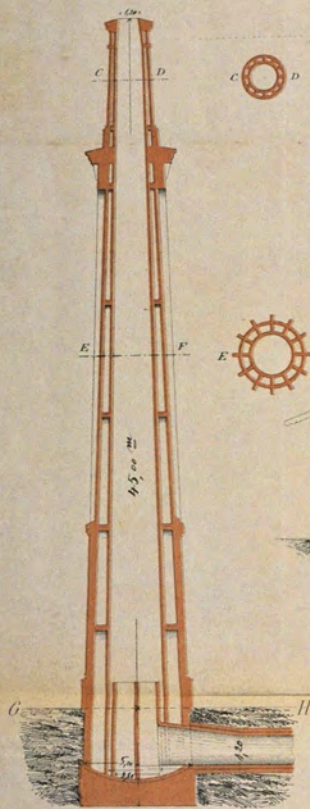
Today, Friedrich Schott can be counted as one of the co-founders of

Portland Cement Works Heidelberg, as he played a significant role in the success of the company during its first 50 years of existence. A separate biography about him is available in the series "Der Heidelberger Portländer, Issue 13, 2021", and the focus of this publication is to be continued on the Schifferdecker family.

ZEICHNUNG

zum Neubau eines oblongen Zement-Ring-Ofens
für die Herren Schifferdecker & Söhne in Heidelberg.

Schnitt A-B



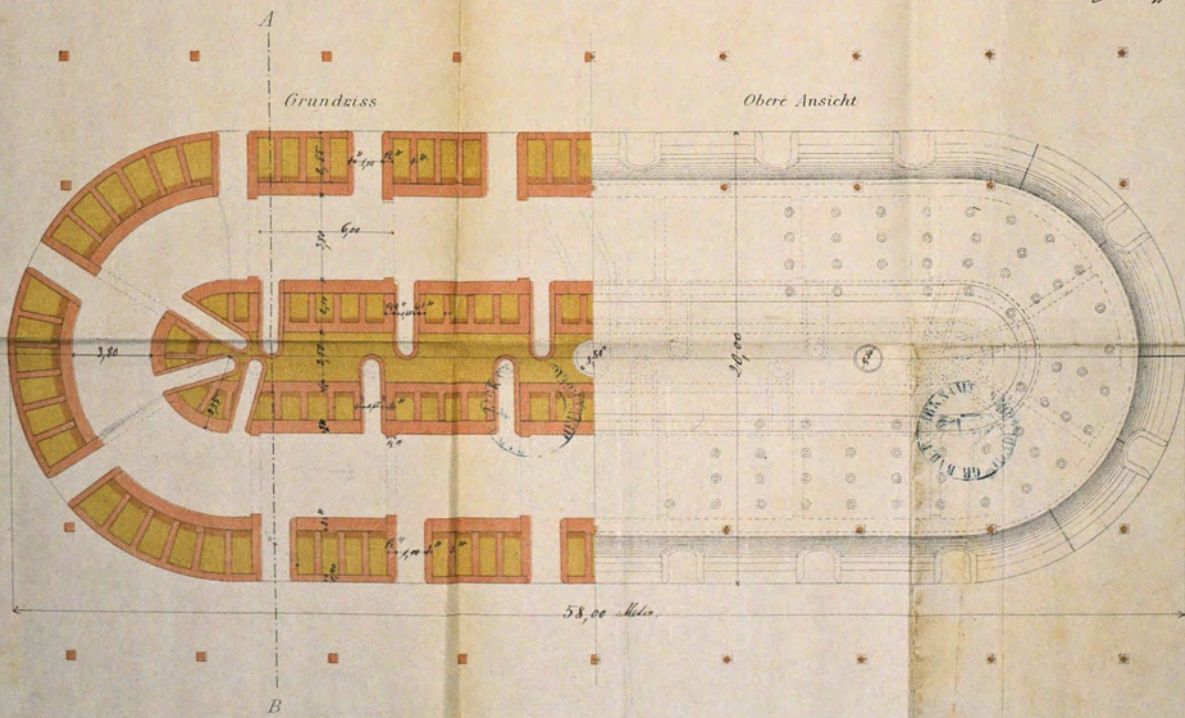
Berlin, März 1879.

F. Friedr. Hoffmann
Baumeister
(Kessel Str.)

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Grundriss

Oberer Ansicht



Return to Königsberg



Rudolf Heubach

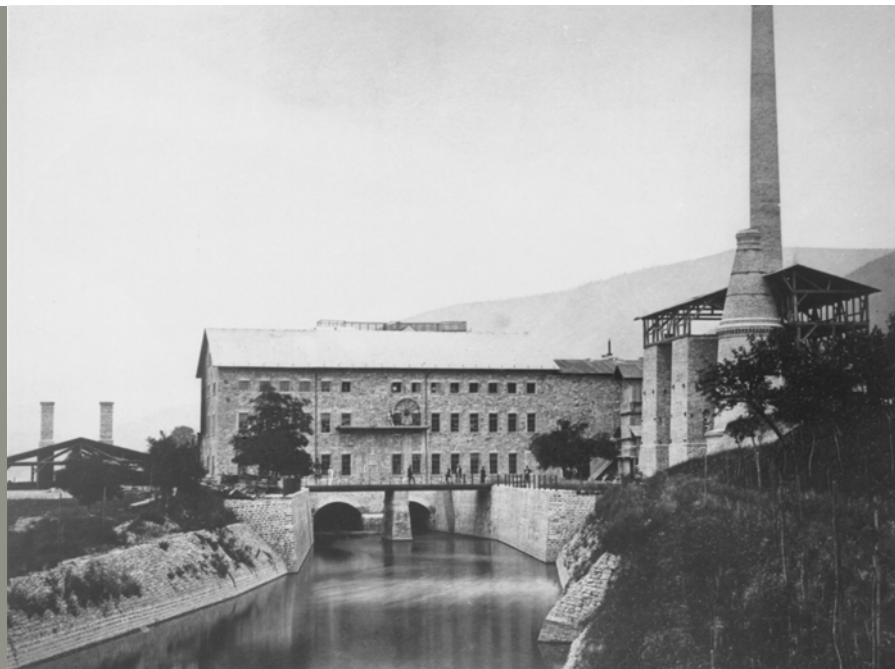
Portrait of **RUDOLF HEUBACH**,
approx. 1890.

In 1876, with support of the new factory manager Friedrich Schott, the downward trend had been reversed and product quality had reached high levels with excellent consistency. Friedrich Schott married his childhood sweetheart Emma on 21 May 1876, likely residing on the factory premises at this time.¹⁰⁵ Just one year later, he built a spacious villa with a garden on his own land in Mühlenstraße, today Fehrentzstraße 8, directly adjacent to the Heidelberg factory.¹⁰⁶ This new villa can attest to the newfound profitability of the business.

In turn, the Schifferdecker family withdrew more and more from the construction work and production operations. The noise of the factory and the constant construction work were no longer an appropriate place for aspiring entrepreneurs to live. At this time, the cotton manufacturer Wilhelm Reis built a new residential

building at Bergheimer Straße 59-63. Paul's family was able to move into this building at the end of 1876.¹⁰⁷ Before the flat was completed, however, they had to move into temporary accommodation. At Rohrbacher Straße 11, a house had been empty since the end of 1875, as it was destined for demolition for a new Grand Hotel.¹⁰⁸ Johann Philipp also moved to Gaisbergstraße 1 in 1876 due to the demolition and new construction activities of the factory owner Reis and thus lived only a few hundred metres away from his son. In September 1877, Johann Philipp Carl (*24.9.1877 Heidelberg †29.11.1939 Heidelberg) was born into Paul's family. When the family was expecting their third child, Anne Marie Antoinette (*8.9.1882 Heidelberg †10.3.1945 Lauenburg in Pomerania), they decided to move again, this time to Luisenstraße 6.¹⁰⁹

For Johann Philipp Schifferdecker, the consolidation of the company now also seemed to bring the long-awaited peace and he returned to Königsberg in 1877. Johann Philipp Schifferdecker's youngest daughter Friederike Antonia Helen was, as mentioned above, married to the 14 years her senior, Rudolf Heubach who was a partner in the company. They lived



RAW MILL BUILDING built by Schifferdecker presumably in 1875, today clubhouse of the Heidelberg Rowing Society 1898 e.V., 1875.

with their young children Margarete (*21.2.1870 Königsberg †19.4.1959 Bonn) and Rudolf (*1.7.1871 Königsberg) at Leopoldstraße 43, today Friedrich-Ebert-Anlage 43, which is part of the old town of Heidelberg. Friederike, who had already caused Schifferdecker grief when she was young, left her husband Rudolf Heubach around this time (probably in 1876). She left the young children with him. Although she never inherited any company shares in the Portland Cement Work Heidelberg, she probably received a settlement when their divorce was settled. Finally, she reappears in connection with her remarriage in London, which will be discussed later.¹¹⁰ Heubach then moved to Sophienstraße 13.¹¹¹

It is possible that the family strife had influenced Johann Phillip's decision to return to Königsberg. It is also unclear whether his wife Louise Friederike Antonie had come to Heidelberg at all. Schifferdecker still owned larger shares in the Ponarth brewery and apparently continued to see his centre of life within Königsberg, where he was a well-respected personality.

Back in Königsberg, Schifferdecker turned to enlightened Freemasonry in retirement. The Masonic lodges at this time were predominantly Protestant dominated. In Prussia in the 1870s and 1880s, the Protestants supported Otto von Bismarck in the Kulturkampf against the Catholic Church. Liberal circles met in the lodges to exchange opinions. Presumably under the influence of the Protestant pastor of the city church Carl Ludwig Sagelsdorff¹¹², who was Lodge Master "Zum Totenkopf und Phoenix" (Skull and Phoenix) from 1876 to 1881, Schifferdecker himself also became a member of the Masonic Lodge in 1878. It is unknown to what extent Schifferdecker shared the five basic ideals of Freemasonry (liberty, equality, fraternity, tolerance, and humanity). However, his membership testifies to his civic commitment and liberal thinking.¹¹³

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker remained an active entrepreneur as a shareholder in Königsberg until his death and sat on the supervisory board when the brewery in Ponarth was converted into a public limited company in 1885.¹¹⁴

Expansion of the Portland cement plant

More than ten years had passed since the company was founded and the factory had been able to increase cement production from 19,000 barrels (3,420 t) in 1875 to 213,173 barrels (38,371 t) in 1886. From modest beginnings, a stately factory had grown. However, at the same time, the first limits to growth, resulting from the proximity to the city of Heidelberg, had become apparent. The westward expansion of the city of Heidelberg had led to the revival of Bergheim in the second half of the 19th century. The first step was to fill in the winter harbour and plant it with greenery in 1850. It was not until 1875 that the newly created square was given its present name, Bismarckplatz. Between Bismarckplatz and the Bergheim Mill, the New Academic Hospital of Heidelberg was constructed from 1869 to 1876 and inaugurated on 1 October 1876.¹¹⁵ Its location east of the cement plant meant that the clinics were strongly affected by the high dust emissions during the prevailing westerly winds. Moreover, the Botanical Garden had been relocated to the immediate vicinity of the cement plant in 1880.¹¹⁶ When the development application for the second ring kiln was submitted, massive protests were



LETTERHEAD of the Portland Cement Work Heidelberg, Schifferdecker & Sons, approx. 1885.

voiced from the neighbourhood of the cement plant.

In particular, the Academic Hospital Commission of Heidelberg University complained about the smoke and dust nuisance and demanded a remedy. Not infrequently, admirers of the city of Heidelberg complained that the castle could no longer be seen because of the clouds of smoke. The protests were reflected in stricter approval conditions for future plant expansions, which, however, could not significantly reduce the dust problem due to the lack of suitable technology.¹¹⁷

From the mid-1880s onwards, the consumption of Portland cement increased considerably, and at the same time, prices softened. At this time, the plant reached a shipment of 300,000 barrels (54,000 tonnes). Numerous large construction sites such



Poster of the **PORTLAND CEMENT WORK HEIDELBERG, SCHIFFERDECKER & SONS, 1887.**

as weirs, locks and harbour facilities on the Rhine, Moselle, Lahn and Neckar as well as bridge, railway and tunnel structures in Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Prussia and Amsterdam were supplied. Cement was also used in the construction of the municipal sewage systems in Heidelberg, Karlsruhe, Augsburg, Munich and Zurich. To remain competitive, an investment programme was started in 1885, with a new steam plant and new mills initially being purchased. Between 1886 and 1887, the mill channels were cleaned and improved, the turbines were upgraded and the shaft kilns were replaced by ring kilns. When the construction work was completed, the factory had a production capacity of 400-450,000 barrels (68,000-76,500 t). The factory now employed 800 workers.¹¹⁸ Another steam engine plant followed in 1888, which significantly increased productivity. The profit margin doubled and thus rose disproportionately to sales, with cement shipments only increasing from

261,828 barrels (44,511 t) to 369,342 barrels (62,788 t) compared to 1886/87. The modernisation refurbishment resulted in a strong reduction of production costs, which significantly increased competitiveness in the face of sharply falling cement prices. As a reaction to the falling cement prices, a cement good factory was built on the company premises in 1888 to expand the product range.¹¹⁹

In the same year, the Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden paid a two-day visit to Heidelberg and visited numerous university facilities and factories. On the second day, 12 October, he also visited the cement plant for 45 minutes. Rudolf Heubach welcomed the distinguished guest and "[all] 500 workers, lined up in rows, offered their reverence in thunderous cheers."¹²⁰

After 15 years of operation, the factory had reached a respectable size and was one of the most important Portland cement factories in southern Germany.

Foundation of the public limited company

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker did not live to see the success of the last modernisations. He died of lung failure in Königsberg on 1 October 1887 at the age of 76.¹²¹ After his death, the heirs and the previous partners Paul Schifferdecker and Rudolf Heubach looked for a new legal form for the company. Following the trend of the time, the general partnership was converted into a joint stock company with a share capital of 5,500,000 marks on 17 March 1889. The entry in the Heidelberg Commercial Register was made on 21 March 1889, and the general partnership was removed two days later. The public limited company took over the entire fixed assets of the company amounting to 4.8 million marks (balance sheet total 7 million marks) as of 1 December 1888. Two years earlier, the Ponarth brewery near Königsberg had already been converted into a public limited company by Johann Philipp Schifferdecker himself, as none of his children expressed interest in taking it over.¹²²

The new company operated under the name "Portland Cement Work Heidelberg, formerly Schifferdecker & Sons AG". The nominal capital of 5,5 million Marks was divided among the shareholders in a first step,



CEMENT BRAND of the joint-stock company, approx. 1895.

with the aim of liquidating some of the company assets to free some capital. Paul Schifferdecker held the largest share with 2,250 shares at 1,000 marks each. Rudolf Heubach received 1,750 shares, his children received 250 shares each, instead of their mother Friederike. As mentioned before, Friederike had obviously reached a settlement when she divorced Heubach and had no longer held any shares in the company. Olga Schmidt, Paul Schifferdecker's second sister, who continued to live in Königsberg, received 1,000 shares.¹²³ She was represented on the supervisory board by her husband and "former" partner Gustav Schmidt. Rudolf Heubach took over the Chairmanship, Dr. Paul Schifferdecker became deputy Chairman.¹²⁴

Shortly afterwards, the Schifferdecker family placed 2,500 shares at 1,000 marks each on the market, the rest remained family owned. Since 3 April 1889, the shares could be subscribed at 152.5% at Bass & Herz, Frank-



STAMP of the joint-stock company, after 1889.



Portrait of GUSTAV SCHMIDT, approx. 1890.

furt, Guggenheimer & Co. Munich, Koester's Bank Heidelberg, and Koester's Bank Mannheim at the subscription price. The shares were issued from 15 to 30 April. The first trading day was Tuesday, 16 April 1889. The 1,000 Mark share reached 163.9% of the nominal value (issue value 152.5%).¹²⁵ On 1 December, an additional interest payment was made as an incentive for the shareholders. The share price fell slightly over several years, not least due to the onset of fierce competition.¹²⁶

The first Board of the company consisted of Friedrich Schott (Technical Director), Otto Hornung (Accountant) and Otto Wagenbichler (Cashier). For Friedrich Schott, it meant due recognition of his services. He chaired the Board of Directors for a total of 30 years. From March 1916 onwards he held the title of General Director. He was Chairman of the Supervisory Board until his death on 20 February 1931. Otto Wagenbichler retired due to illness on 1 April 1893. Carl Leonhard, former Commercial Director of Portland Cement Factory Halle AG, joined the company in his place. He accompanied the company until spring 1916 as a member of the Managing Board and until his death in

1930 as a member of the Supervisory Board.¹²⁷ In the mid-1930s, the Schifferdecker family's influence on the company ended as well. Continuous capital increases reduced the relative proportion of shares held by the family. The children of Dr. Paul Schifferdecker, namely Carl, Elisabeth and Marie, held a constant block of shares of less than one percent of the voting rights until around 1935. Emil Anderst, the brother of Paul's widow Anna Maria¹²⁸, represented the family and that of Olga Schmidt at the General Meeting.¹²⁹

Fire disaster

RAW MILL BUILDING after the fire, February 1895.



Curiously enough, a fire disaster on 4 February 1895 had contributed to the success of the Portland Cement factory in Heidelberg. The fire had broken out in the coopeage and was spread throughout the factory by the leather belts of the transmission catching fire. This initially made it appear that arson was the cause, as the fire broke out in several places. The local fire brigade could do little against the simultaneous sources of fire. The factory, which consisted largely of wooden structures, burned to the ground. Apart from the roof structures, the brick mill building, the ring kilns and the steam engines survived the fire almost undamaged.¹³⁰

After the major fire, there was a brief slump in the share price. However, it recovered within a few days after it became clear that several fire insurance policies would pay out a total 1.27 million marks. Immediately, the plant's critics were on the spot and demanded that a new operating licence not be granted, and that another location be found for the plant. The plant management initially tried to get permission to rebuild, this was however rejected by the city. The city administration was prepared to make sacrifices in the face of many

complaints about smoke and dust pollution, fire hazards and the factory being perceived as damaging to the landscape. Finally, the city of Heidelberg was able to acquire the approximately 6-hectare site in cleared and unencumbered condition for 900,000 Marks. In return, the Portland Cement Work Heidelberg had to commit to keeping the administration in Heidelberg for at least another 15 years and to pay 20,000 Marks annually to the city. The purchase sum was paid in three instalments, on 1 April 1897, 1900 and 1903 respectively.¹³¹ For the city of Heidelberg, this meant a major financial sacrifice. All attempts to quickly resell the land and turn the area into an upscale residential neighbourhood failed due to the lack of demand. For years, the derelict plots had to be leased out for various purposes. The remaining turbine house in Heidelberg was connected to the new plant site in Leimen by an overhead line. The quay facilities also remained in operation for decades to come.¹³²

Portland cement plant relocation to Leimen

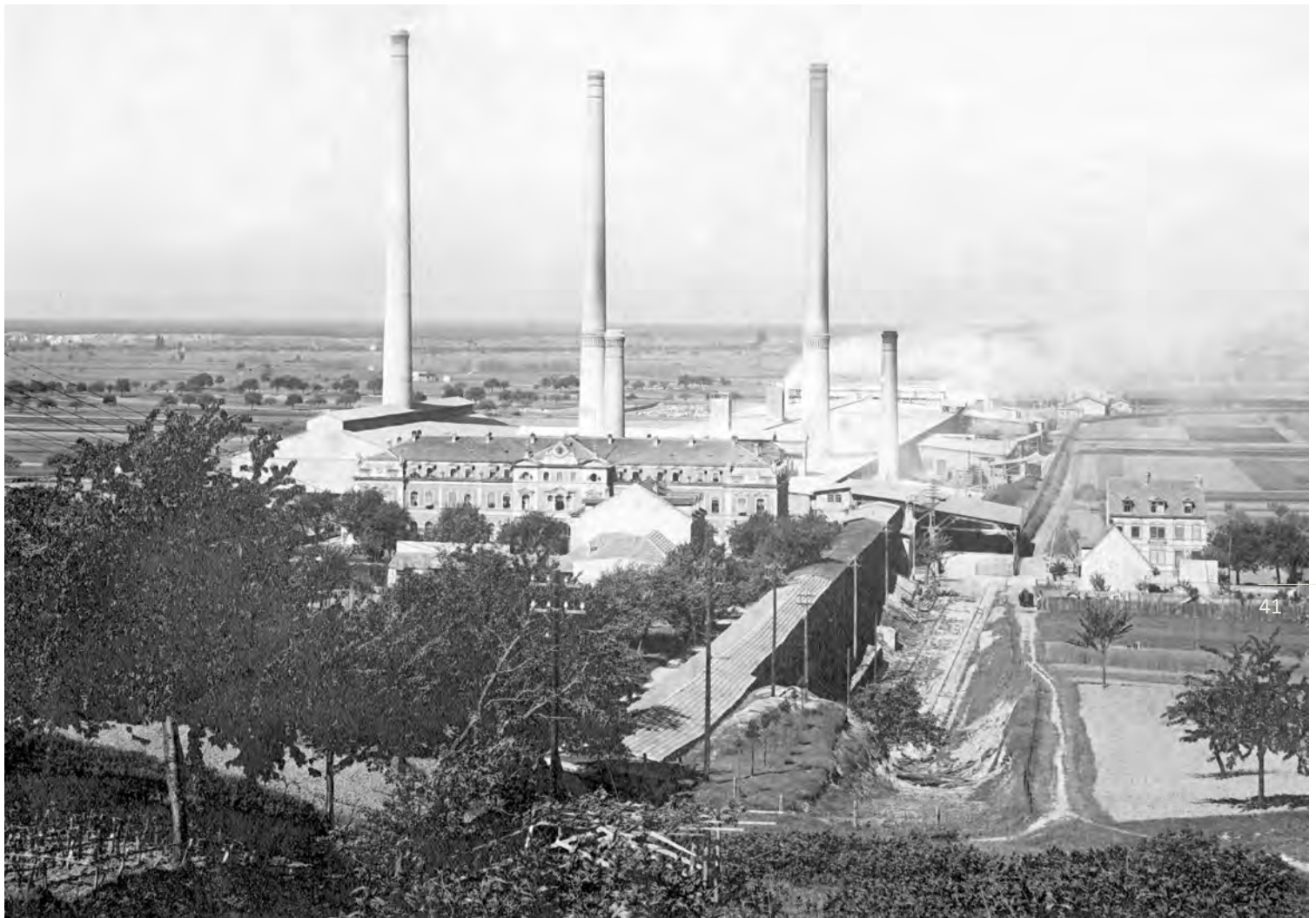
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As early as 13 March 1895, Friedrich Schott signed a contract with the municipality of Leimen to relocate the cement plant on their land. In contrast to Heidelberg, Leimen had even undertaken to accommodate the plant by offering tax reductions on the purchase of land.¹³³

The municipality of Nußloch was also included in the search for a relocation site due to the area's high-quality limestone deposits but was initially abandoned because of its unfavourable traffic situation. It was not until the end of 1899 that the company acquired quarries in Nußloch, when the completion of the Nußloch-Heidelberg tramway had been realised. Stone trains were operated on this route until the construction of the overhead cable car carriageway in 1917. The existing connecting track and the settlement subsidies finally tipped the scales in favour of setting up the new plant in Leimen. Planning and construction preparations began immediately, and on 5 April the city of Heidelberg finally approved a temporary provisional continuation of the Heidelberg plant's operations.¹³⁴

Under rapidly erected roofs, 300,000 barrels (54,000 tonnes) of cement could still be produced in the

current year. On 24 November 1895, Otto Hornung died unexpectedly of a stroke. The company was now managed solely by Friedrich Schott and Carl Leonhard. In Leimen, the largest industrial building in the German Empire was built according to Schott's plans. A 500 m long and 60 m wide factory building was erected on wrought-iron pillars poured with concrete. Only the potentially fire-prone cooperage and some ancillary operations were located outside the building. The factory started production at the end of December 1895. It was built according to modern process engineering standards. The product was transported and processed by machines without manual labour.¹³⁵ Manual labour had only remained necessary to a greater extent in the kiln operation. Although the first rotary kilns had been introduced in Germany in the same year, Schott had ring kilns, which had already proved successful in Heidelberg, built in the Leimen. Increasing production on this kiln line was only possible by simultaneously increasing the number of workers. The manual unloading of the fired clinker bricks was hard physical work that had to be done while exposed to excessive heat. Foreign workers primarily from Italy were



View from the east of the newly built **PORTLAND CEMENT WORK HEIDELBERG** on the boundary of the Leimen district, 1900.

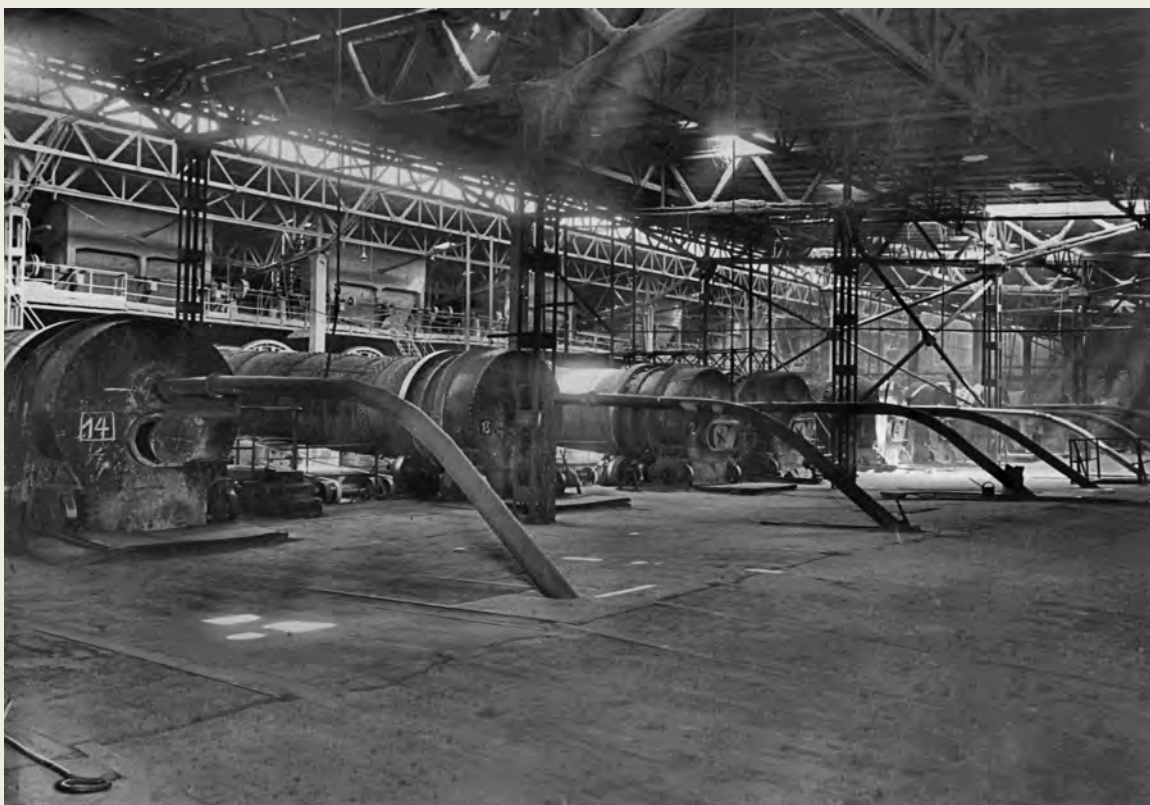
employed for this task. In 1899, a total of 1,110 factory workers and administrative employees were employed. The good development of sales soon made it necessary to further expand production. Thus, a seventh large ring kiln was added in 1898. At the turn of the century, the Portland Cement Work Heidelberg in Leimen had already reached the limits of its capacity, despite its modern construction. For a further capacity increase, it was essential to change the existing kiln system. In 1902, the first rotary kilns came into use. These kilns however had some initial difficulties. For example, the shell plates turned out to be too thin within a short time. The increase in production also demanded an increase in rock quarrying, which from

1909 was carried out using the so-called 'roll-hole' method.¹³⁶ The boreholes were already drilled with compressed air impact machines, making the use of picks and shovels unnecessary for the most part.¹³⁷

There was a ruinous price and takeover battle in the cement market. In the period between 1877, the founding year of the Association of German Portland Cement Manufacturers, and 1892, 31 new cement plants had joined the association. Between 1895 and 1914, 62 cement plants had been founded. Cement production had thus increased faster than consumption. In the founding phase of the Heidelberg cement plant in 1873, the cement price was at a peak of 60 marks per tonne (10.80



Warehouse of the **REPAIR SHOP**, on the left the factory hall, 1900.



KILN HALL with the waste heat rotary kilns installed in 1902, 1927.

marks per 180 kg standard barrel).¹³⁸ From there, it fell continuously until 1906 to values around 35 marks (6.30 marks per standard barrel).

The new location near the Leimen quarries became the largest cement plant complex in the German Empire and showed a positive development. The company set out on a course of expansion. When the opportunity arose in 1899 to acquire the Portland Cement Work Matthäus Lude & Co. in Nürtingen, which was experiencing liquidity difficulties, Friedrich Schott seized the opportunity without hesitation. For the acquisition, the Annual General Meeting on 30 December 1899 approved the first capital increase by issuing 1.2 million Marks of new bearer shares on 5 January 1900.¹³⁹

This was the prelude to a series of company takeovers. In 1901, there was a merger with the Mannheim Portland Cement Factory AG, which contributed plants in Mainz-Weisenau and Mannheim. Financing was again provided by a capital increase of 4.3 million on 20 May 1901. 590,000 Marks were also invested in the newly founded joint stock company Spohn Bros. Portland Cement Factory in Blaubeuren, with a share capital of 2.5 million Marks.¹⁴⁰

In quick succession, the plants in Budenheim, Diedesheim-Neckarelz, Offenbach and Ingelheim upon Rhine were then included in the group.¹⁴¹ Similarly, participations were made in the South German Cement Sales Office Ltd. and Portland Cement Factory Karlstadt, formerly Ludwig Roth, as well as Iron Works Lollar AG. In most cases, this involved the takeover of shipping quotas at the South German Cement Sales Offices. These takeovers were also financed by capital increases, which were mostly supported by private investors and landowners, such as Member of Reichsrat Dr. E. von Buhl¹⁴², Deidesheim, Carls Königs, Berlin, and Privy Councillor of Commerce F. Scipio¹⁴³, Mannheim.¹⁴⁴ Around 1910, the company had a total of around 1,650 employees.¹⁴⁵

The descendants of the Schifferdecker family

Dr Johann Paul Schifferdecker

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DR. JOHANN PAUL SCHIFFERDECKER,
approx. 1875.

In the 1880s, the factory developed well. After several moves, Paul Schifferdecker had a stately villa in a prime location at Bergstraße 29a, Handschuhseimer Landstraße 2 in 1883 (formerly Neuenheimer Landstraße 101-103) built by the well-known Heidelberg architect Hermann Behaghel in the style of Italian Renaissance villas. The multi-storey, detached building had a 60 m² wood-panelled banqueting hall inside, which could be opened to three further rooms by means of sliding doors and was obviously used for larger social receptions.¹⁴⁶ Behaghel also planned alterations to the turbine house for the Portland Cement Work Heidelberg and later built the administration building for the Leimen cement plant. Johann Paul, however, was only able to enjoy

his beautiful new villa for a few years. He died a few months after the foundation of the joint stock company on 24 July 1889 in Heidelberg. The founding of the joint stock company and the IPO could therefore also have been connected to his state of health. This is supported by the fact that Paul was not the Chairman of the Supervisory Board, but Rudolf Heubach, who married into the company. The assets raised from the IPO provided security for his wife Anna Maria Elisabeth and their minor children.

At the beginning of the 1890s, numerous start-ups led to increased competitive pressure. Institutional investors and banks increasingly invested in the emerging Portland cement industry. From 1894, the supervisory board included Alfred Weinschenk, from the private bank Bass & Herz in Frankfurt, and Councillor of Commerce Moritz Guggenheimer (*20.4.1825 Munich †26.7.1902 Munich) from the Bavarian Vereinsbank in Munich. The Schifferdecker family was represented at this time by Gustav Schmidt in Berlin and Johann Paul's heirs by Ludwig Anderst, Maria Schifferdecker's brother, from Heidelberg.¹⁴⁸



The **SCHIFFERDECKER VILLA** at Bergstraße 29a in Heidelberg, 2022 and approx. 1890. The spacious, multi-tiered, cubic structure under a flat hipped roof is characterised by a pavilion-like elevated corner risalit. The edges of the building are framed by grooved pilaster strips, the storeys are structured by belt cornices and have gabled windows. The tower storey shows mosaic images of the four seasons between ionic pilasters. Loggias and balconies break up the facades and lend a summery lightness. Of the original furnishings, the ceiling paintings and the elaborate stucco work are particularly noteworthy. In the garden, sandstone pools from the original complex have been preserved.

Maria Schifferdecker came from a family of military officers¹⁴⁹, which made her feel drawn to the military all her life. After her children had left the house, she married Major Wilhelm Ernst Brand (*4.8.1855 Stettin) and continued to live in the villa as Marie Brand.¹⁵⁰ As chairwoman of the Neuenheim Women's Association, which operated as a church charity, she was demonstrably active from 1899 to 1909.¹⁵¹

Her son Johann Philipp Carl also took up an officer's career, reaching the rank of major. He broke with the social class structures of the pre-war era and married the waitress Marie Schröder, nicknamed 'Mia', in 1910, causing some controversy.¹⁵² The elder daughter Anne Louise Elisabeth, called "Else", married an officer, who later fell in Galicia during the First World War.¹⁵³ The youngest daughter Anne Marie also had an officer as her first husband, married several times and finally bore the title Baroness von Campenhausen.¹⁵⁴

After Maria Schifferdecker's death on 20 May 1931, her surviving children sold the Schifferdecker villa in



THE HOUSE OF JOHANN PHILIPP CARL SCHIFFERDECKER at Bergheimer Straße 76 in Heidelberg, 2022.

1933. Her son Carl lived nearby at the time, in another magnificent building at Bergstraße 76, and Marie lived on an estate in Pomerania.¹⁵⁵ With her death, the family shareholding eventually dispersed, with the board mandate going to new investors.

Maria Olga Luise Schifferdecker



Businessman **GUSTAV SCHMIDT** WITH HIS WIFE **MARIE OLGA LUISE** and daughter Pauline with children Lore, Paul, Marie in front of the Bachlenz restaurant, Mühlthalstraße 38 in Handschuhsheim, approx. 1905.



MOZARTSTRASSE 10 (12) in Heidelberg in the style of Historicism with Art Nouveau elements. Built in 1911 by Anton Dertinger according to his own designs. The house was the residence of Pauline, the daughter of Gustav and Olga Schmidt after the First World War.¹⁵⁵



GUSTAV SCHMIDT in Königsberg, approx. 1905.

Johann Philipp Schifferdecker's eldest daughter Maria Olga Luise was, as mentioned, married to the Königsberg merchant Gustav Schmidt, and resided in Königsberg, at times also in Berlin. She had her husband represent her in business matters. Gustav Schmidt was a member of the supervisory board from 1889 to 1906.¹⁵⁶ On reaching retirement age, he resigned from office and appeared to have sold his shareholdings. From 1907 onwards, the Mannheim landowner Wilhelm Scipio took over the seat on the supervisory board, presumably having acquired Schmidt's shares.

Friederike Antonia Helen Schifferdecker

We have more detailed information on the youngest daughter of Johann Philipp and Louise Friederike Antonie Schifferdecker, which was not least due to her unusual, unconventional personality. After Friederike Antonia Helen had separated from Rudolf Heubach, as reported, the latter moved to Sophienstraße 13 in 1876. Until then, this street bordered on the winter harbour, which had been filled in shortly before and where Bismarckplatz exists today.¹⁵⁸ Heubach lived in rented accommodation during this period and changed homes several times. From 1881 to 1885 he was registered at Plöck 77, then moved to Sophienstraße 3 in 1886 and lived there until 1889, before moving in 1890/1891 to Leopoldstraße 16, today Friedrich-Ebert-Anlage 20, into the residential building built in 1886/87 for the Russian colonel Adrian von Latschinoff.¹⁵⁹ Heubach was not able to enjoy his upper-class home for long. As early as 1892, he presumably moved to Bonn to live with his daughter Margarete; there is no further evidence of him in Heidelberg.¹⁶⁰ Margarete was married to the well-known internist and neurologist Julius Friedrich Schultze (*17.8.1848 Rathenow †14.10.1934 Bonn), who was 22 years her senior. Schultze had been at Hei-



Portrait by the painter Heinrich Wilhelm Trübner (*3.2.1851 Heidelberg † 21.12.1917 Karlsruhe) of **RUDOLF HEUBACH JUNIOR** in the uniform of a year's soldier, 1891.

delberg University since 1871 and became an associate professor there from 1880 to 1887. From 1888 he was professor and director of the Medical Clinic and Polyclinic in Bonn.¹⁶¹ It is quite possible that Schultze was also Heubach's attending physician during his time in Heidelberg, thus providing the context for introducing Margarete. The move from Heubach to Bonn was likely related to his state of health. Despite intensive medical care, he died on 24 January 1895. He is



Portrait by the painter Edmund Blume (*21.7.1844 Halberstadt †24.8.1914 Altaussee) of **RETIRED PUBLIC PROSECUTOR RUDOLF HEUBACH**, Munich 1889.

buried in the Poppelsdorf cemetery in Bonn; Schulte later finds his final resting place at his side as an honorary citizen of the city of Bonn.¹⁶²

The son Rudolf Heubach junior (*1.7.1871 Königsberg †1943?)¹⁶³, a landscape painter, had also relocated to Bonn, but later emigrated to England in 1911. To escape the strong anti-German sentiment that existed within Great Britain, he changed his name to Haybrook after the First World War.¹⁶⁴ His eldest son Rudolf Augustus Haybrook (*1898 London †1965)¹⁶⁵ also made a career as a painter.

Rudolf Heubach's children presumably parted with their shares

soon after his death in 1895 and lost touch with the company.¹⁶⁷

It has been handed down that daughter Margarete probably only had vague memories of her mother Friederike. This leads to the conclusion that Friederike Antonia Helen had probably left the family around 1874/75 and apparently had no further contact with her children from her marriage to Heubach. The reason for this could have been the presumed arranged marriage, which she wanted to leave behind with a new beginning. Some things point to Rudolf Heubach's good relationship with the children, which could have made the decision easier.¹⁶⁸



RUDOLF HEUBACH'S RESIDENCE at Friedrich-Ebert-Anlage 20 in Heidelberg: The architect of the three-sided detached residential building in neo-Renaissance style was Leonhard Schäfer from Mannheim. Rudolf Heubach had the glazed veranda added in 1889. The shop windows were added in 1933 by Hugo Schmid for his flag shop. Inside, there are first-class stucco ceilings with grotesque and illusion paintings, approx. 1890.¹⁶⁶

The fact that we now know more details about the remarkable and self-confident Schifferdecker daughter Friederike is thanks to research on the anti-Semitic New Templar Order.¹⁶⁹ As already mentioned, Friederike reappears in London in connection with a remarriage on 19 November 1879. On this day she marries the wealthy Jewish mine owner Otto Richard Cohn (*7.9.1852 Heidingsfeld near Würzburg †26.5.1896 Karlsbad), who is the same age. A few years later he converted to the Protestant faith; he years later also changed his family name to Conried.¹⁷⁰

In his research on the New Templar Order, Paape explains this as follows: "Changing one's name on the occasion of a conversion was permissible in the fin de siècle and appeared to many Jews as a way of escaping anti-Semitism. This often affected the bearers of the name Cohn or Kohn directly, since their Jewish origin was so well known that "The little Kohn", an anti-Semitic mocking song, became a ubiquitous popular song."¹⁷¹

With her marriage to Otto Conried, Friederike had established a new family in Vienna. In 1881 Johann Philipp Moritz Otto (*1881 Vienna †1884 Vienna) was born, but later died in infancy.¹⁷² There is evidence that her parents visited Friederike in Vienna after the child's birth. They are entered in the baptismal register as godparents, and the child's name, Johann Philipp, also indicates a continuing relationship. The second child born was Olga Friederike Luise Cohn (*10.2.1883 Vienna †27.6.1967 Vienna), the first names also refer to family members. Luise was the only child to survive to adulthood, however she never married.¹⁷³

Another daughter Helene (†April 1889 Vienna) also died young.¹⁷⁴ Paape also found astonishing documents proving Friederike's upper-class lifestyle: "The Cohn/Schifferdecker marriage was only a civil ceremony. Cohn or Conried seems to have been a very wealthy man. For the years between 1888 and 1891, purchases of expensive individual items in the well-known Viennese clothing



FRIEDERIKE CONRIED WITH DAUGHTER LUISE in Mödling, around 1930.¹⁷⁶

ments to marriage. There were no banns and nationalities were not relevant. The dates of birth were also loosely checked, so Friederike recorded herself nine years younger.¹⁷⁷

Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels,¹⁷⁸ as Adolf Josef would later call himself, was born on 19 July 1874 in Penzing near Vienna, making him 25 years old at the time of the marriage.¹⁷⁹ The difference between Friederike's husbands could not have been greater. Heubach was 14 years older than her at the time, Conried was the same age and of Jewish descent. Lanz was 22 years younger, lived off her wealth and was an ardent anti-Semite. It almost seems as if Friederike Antonia Helen enjoyed confrontation and violations of the prevailing conventions.¹⁸⁰

Adolf Josef Lanz, later known as Baron Dr. Georg Lanz von Liebenfels founded the Order of the New Templars (Ordo Novi Templi, ONT) soon after his marriage. From 1905, Lanz published the pamphlet series *Ostara*¹⁸¹, named after the Germanic goddess of spring. With this pamphlet for the "blondes and men's rights activists", which was available at many newsstands in Austria, he achieved a wide dissemination of his ideas. Ac-

ording to Dietmar Gottfried, a researcher on the new members of the movement, "in terms of its racial radicalism, [it] will not be surpassed by any other publication. In addition to anti-Semitism, the pathological hatred of women is also characteristic, combined with speculations about sexual contact between women and animal people. In 1905, he also published his main work 'Theozoology - or the Science of the Sodomite Apelings and the Divine Electron', which thoroughly elaborates these sexual gnostic theses."¹⁸²

According to New Templar researcher Paape, Lanz's historical significance lies in the fact that "Adolf Hitler was apparently influenced in the formation of his ideology by the Order's mouthpiece, the 'Ostara'".¹⁸³

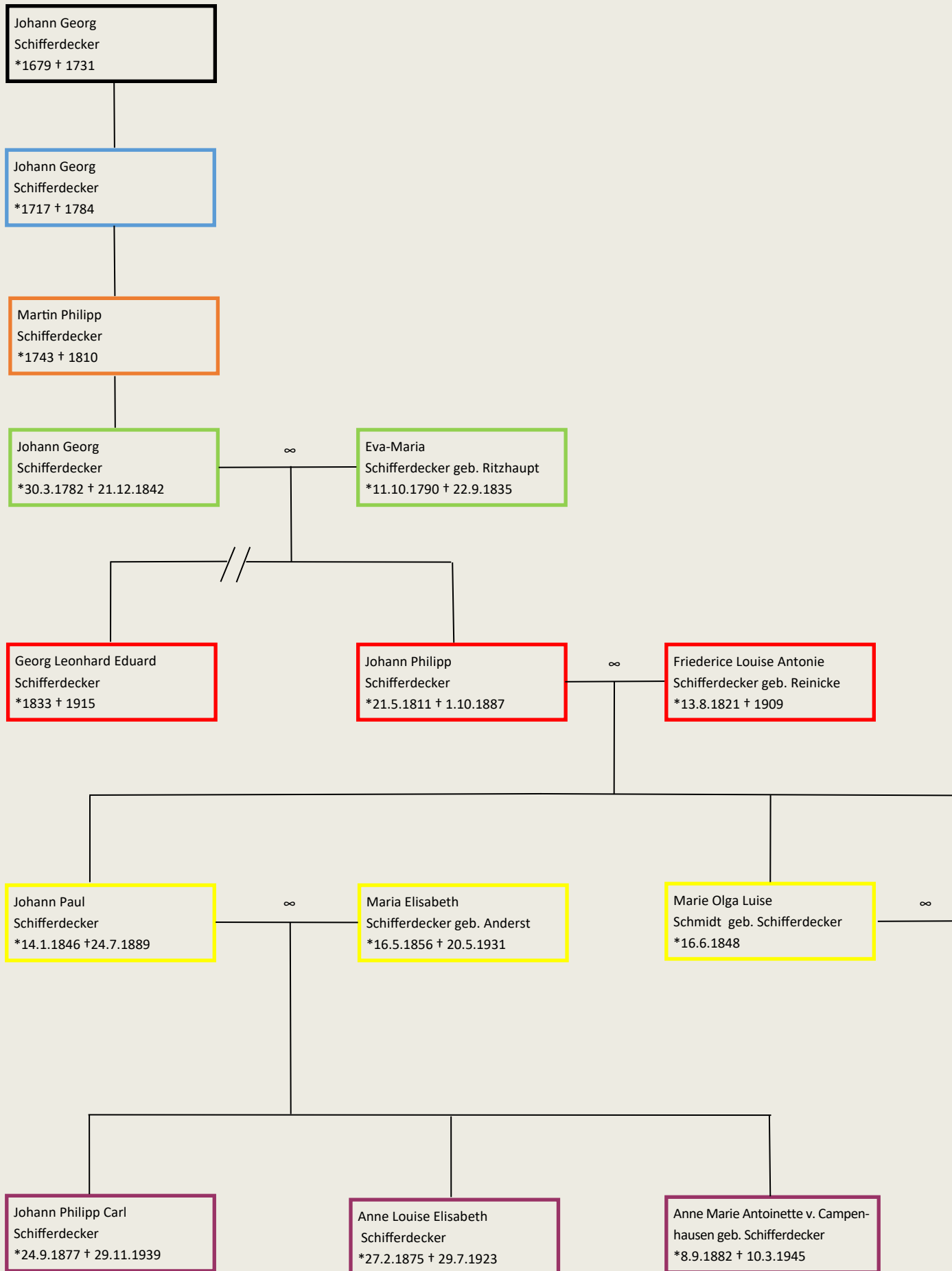
Friederike financed the purchase of a villa in Vienna-Rodaun after her marriage to Lanz as well as the acquisition of the Ordensburg Werfenstein on 19 December 1907. She presumably separated from Lanz around 1913.¹⁸⁴ Lanz joined the anti-communist resistance in Hungary after the First World War but gradually lost relevance. He would die of natural causes in Vienna on 22 April 1954.¹⁸⁵

It remains a mystery what guided

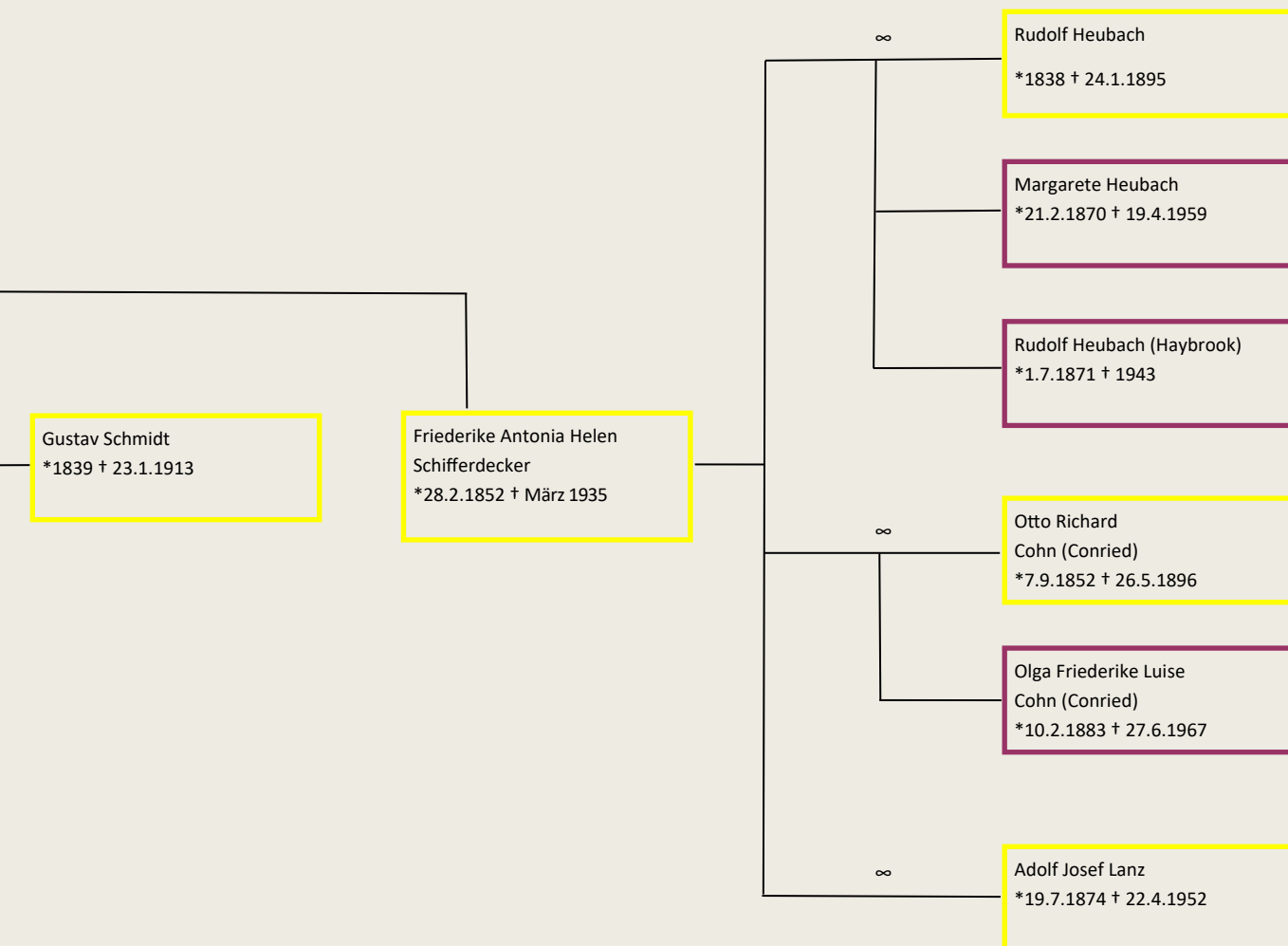


LANZ VILLA
(Perchtoldsdorfer Strasse 21)
in Vienna-Rodaun.

the Schifferdecker daughter in her choice of partner. Possibly it allowed Friederike to manage her own assets largely independently of her husbands. Friederike supposedly continued to live in Vienna after the spatial separation from Lanz and took the name Conried again. She died of cardiomyopathy and was buried in the family tomb at the Matzleinsdorf Protestant cemetery in Vienna on 25 March 1935.¹⁸⁷



Family tree of the Schifferdecker family



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Unmarked images are from the HeidelbergCement Corporate Archives.

Contents and validity of Internet links refer to 1.3.2022.

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- 2 Winneke, 1991 (like note 1), p. 30-32.
- 3 Reinhardt, Carsten: What holds the world together. The development of the chemistry of lime and cement, in: Lime and cement in Württemberg. Industrial history on the southern edge of the Swabian Alb, ed. State Museum for Technology and Labor Mannheim, Ubstadt-Weiher 1991, p. 52.
- 4 Albrecht, Helmuth: From caementum to cement. History of the cement industry in the Alb-Danube region, in: Lime and Cement in Württemberg. Industrial history on the southern edge of the Swabian Alb, ed. State Museum for Technology and Labor Mannheim, Ubstadt-Weiher 1991, p. 117.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Quietmeyer, Friedrich: Mortar science from its first beginnings to the purposeful production of Portland cement, in: Riepert, Peter Hans: The German cement industry, Berlin 1927, p. 68 f.
- 7 Reinhardt, 1991 (as note 3), p. 54 f.
- 8 Albrecht, 1991 (as note 4), p. 125.
- 9 Albrecht, 1991 (as note 4), p. 135 f.
- 10 Quietmeyer declares Johnson to be the actual inventor of Portland cement. However, there is some evidence for his bias regarding the competitors Aspdin and Johnson, cf. Quietmeyer, 1927 (as note 6), 68 f. and 76 f. On the other hand, it is clear from his essay of 1910 on the 100th birthday of Charles Isaac Johnson that he relied on his writings and was in contact with him. Cf. Quietmeyer, Friedrich: On the 100th birthday of Isaac Charles Johnson, Tonindustrie-Zeitung, No. 13, 34th year, 1910, p. 131 f.
- 11 The distillery of artificial Portland cement operated by Brunkhorst in Buxtehude (today in Lower Saxony) in 1850, as well as the production of artificial cement during the construction of the Dirschau Bridge, reported by Quietmeyer, did not lead to a permanent fabrication, thus remained without influence on the development of the German cement industry and deserve only historical interest today. Cf. Schott, Friedrich: Development of manufacturing in Germany, in: Riepert, Hans Peter: The German cement industry, Charlottenburg, 1927, p. 91 f. and Quietmeyer, 1927 (as note 6), p. 82 f.
- 12 Journal for Applied Chemistry, No. 19 and No. 31, 37th ed. 1921.
- 13 HC-Archive SD 26: Portland-Cement-Werke Heidelberg and Mannheim Inc. Commemorative publication for the 50th business anniversary. Berlin 1910, pp. 5-7 and Schott, 1927 (like note 11), pp. 91 f. and Quietmeyer, 1927 (like note 6), pp. 97-100.
- 14 Flieger, Heinz; Gehring, Christian; Norberg, Kurt: A century of Bonn cement: Bonn Portland Cement Works Ltd. 1856 – 1956, Düsseldorf 1956.
- 15 Albrecht, 1991 (as note 4), p. 136 and Schott, 1927 (as note 11), p. 100. Until 1966, the following further competing factories emerged in Germany: Pomeranian Industrial Association on Shares Szczecin (1872), Portland Cement Works formerly Grundmann in Oppeln (1857), 1861; Portland Cement Works Stern Finkenwalde near Szczecin (1861), Portland Cement Works Alsen near Itzehoe (1863), Portland Cement Works Uerersen (1863), Portland Cement Works Dyckerhoff & Sons Bieberich a. Rh. (1864), Portland Cement Works Höxter (1864), Portland Cement Works Heyn Brothers Lüneburg (1866), Portland Cement Works Hemmoor (1866).
- 16 Cf. the manuscript of a lecture given by Johann Philipp Schifferdecker's great-grandnephew, Jürgen-Hinrich Schifferdecker from Oberursel, on 23 March 1990 on the occasion of a cultural evening of the district group of East Prussians, West Prussians and Pomeranians in the hotel

- "Prinz Carl" in Buchen, p. 2 (typewritten). Quoted from Runow, Martin (ed.): Johann Philipp Schifferdecker - one of the most successful entrepreneurs born in our town. In: Mosbacher Jahresheft 8 (1998), pp. 239-261, here p. 240.
- 17 For further information on the Schifferdecker family tree and their activities in Mosbach, see Runow, 1998 (as note 16), p. 241.
- 18 Martin Philipp (*16.11.1743 Mosbach †31.8.1810 Mosbach), on 10 May 1780 marriage to Susanna Margarethe, née Keidel, evang. ref. religion (*1761 Zuzenhausen †3.3.1801 Mosbach). "However, in the Deutsche Geschlechterbuch volume 207 pages 205 and 208 Johann Georg Schifferdecker is not the son of Martin Philipp (*16.11.1743), but of Philipp Martin Schifferdecker (*19.2.1760) and Susanna Margareta Seidel, née also in Zuzenhausen, Baden." Quoted from <http://www.schifferdecker.net> (information from the Protestant parish office of Mosbach [Baden], 7 May 1936). See also Erika Hemberger-Jung: Inns and hostels through the centuries, Part III. On the history of Mosbach's gastronomy, Mosbacher Geschichtsverein, Annual Journal 2000, p. 191-196.
- 19 www.gedbas.de/person/show/1198569503
- 20 Vgl. Runow, 1998 (wie Anm. 16), S. 239-261.
- 21 Deutsches Geschlechterbuch (Genealogisches Handbuch Bürgerlicher Familien), Bd. 165, 1974, S. 460. Reformiertes Kirchenbuch 1795-1821, Mo V, Mosbach S. 91/92.
- 22 Eintrag vom Mai 1811 im Taufregister im Archiv der Christuspfarre der evang. Kirche im Martin-Luther Haus in Mosbach.
- 23 Hemberger-Jung, 2000 (wie Anm. 22), S. 191-196.
- 24 Runow, 1998 (wie Anm. 16), S. 241.
- 25 Vgl. Setzler, Wilfried u.a.: Von Menschen und Maschinen. Industriekultur in Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart – Weimar 1998, S. 22.
- 26 Brauer im Osten: Aus Anlaß des 100-jährigen Bestehens der Aktien-Gesellschaft Brauerei Ponarth Königsberg Pr. 1839-1939, Königsberg 1939, S. 39f. www.prussia.online/books/brauer-im-osten.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Cf. Freimann, Willi: Königsberg Pr. and its suburbs. A pictorial documentation. Rendsburg 1988, p. 198. <http://www.schifferdecker.net>.
- 29 Cf. Freimann 1988 (as note 28), p. 198.
- 30 Quoted from Runow, 1998 (as note 16), p. 244. Cf. Karl Rosenkranz: Königsberg Sketches, Danzig 1842.
- 31 Vgl. www.gedbas.de
- 32 Baptismal register Löbenicht-Königsberg, 1842, p. 252, quoted from www.schifferdecker.net.
- 33 The Protestant church, parish and school law of the Prussian state for clergy, church patrons, church and school inspectors, judicial and administrative authorities, etc., Volume 2, 1868, pp. 128-129.
- 34 On August 6, 1871, Eduard married Wilhelmine, née Schwarz († January 24, 1914 in Königsberg). He later becomes the first honorary citizen of the city of Mosbach.
- 35 Cf. The city of Leimen/Baden will be 1200 years old this year, in: Our Bartenstein. Heimatkreisblatt Bartenstein/Ostpreußen 42 (1991), H. 2 from July, p. 39.
- 36 See Runow (see note 16), 1998, p. 248.
- 37 See Leithäuser, Joachim: Company history of Portland Cement Works Heidelberg Ltd. 1860-1944, Berlin 1944 (unpublished typewritten manuscript), pp. 28-29, HC archive HV 160; cf. also Runow, 1998 (like note 16), p. 249. Both agree that the son's date of birth is January 14, 1846. Apparently Runow confused the names and Leithäuser the dates of birth of the daughters.
- 38 Cf. Leithäuser, 1944 (as note 38), p. 249.
- 39 The Karlsruhe Polytechnikum, founded in 1825, was raised to the status of a technical university in 1865, but did not receive the right to award doctorates until 1899. Paul therefore had to move to Heidelberg for his doctorate.
- 40 <http://www.laborundmore.com/>
- 41

- archive/299289/Notizen-zur-Geschichte-der-Chemie-am-Karlsruher-Institut-fuer-Technologie-(KIT). In the registers of the University of Heidelberg, the Karlsruhe University of Applied Sciences is indicated. See Toepke, Gustav [ed.] The register of the University of Heidelberg (part 6): From 1846 - 1870; along with appendix: 1. Regulations on matriculation 1805 - 1868; 2. Directory of the Rectorate and Prorectorate. 1669-1870. — Heidelberg, 1907, p. 578. (24.10.-2.11.1866). Online at <http://www.digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/matrikelregister2/0006>
- 42 Statement of April 9, 2015 by Marlies Mueller-Wodarg, granddaughter of Margarete Schultze, née Heubach (*21 February 1870 Königsberg †19 April 1959 Bonn).
- 43 Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung January 24, 1913, No. 40, evening edition, 7. Cf. www.gedbas.de.
- 44 See Leithäuser, 1944 (like note 38), p. 29. However, Leithäuser mistook the daughters for this. When the company was later converted into a stock corporation, the daughter Olga (Marie Olga Louise) is named as a partner, Olga Schmidt.
- 45 Runow, 1998 (wie Anm. 16), S. 250.
- 46 Berliner Gerichts-Zeitung: Daily newspaper for politics, administration of justice, trade, industry, art, literature, volume 18, 1870, p. 7.
- 47 See Brauer im Osten, 1939 (like note 26).
- 48 Leithäuser, 1944 (as note 38), p. 25.
- 49 See commemorative publication on the 50th anniversary of the company in 1910 (like note 13), p. 16 f.
- 50 The Schlierbach Mill, the Handschuhsheim Hübsch Mill as well as the Heidelberg Herren-Mill were auctioned off in the early 1860s, cf. corresponding years in the newspaper Schwäbischer Merkur.
- 51 Wife Anna Elisabetha, née Müller (*1809), married on December 15, 1831 in Heidelberg. Georg Leonhard Reiffel was the first owner in the land register, vol. 52, p. 445; on January 11, 1865, the son Johann Martin Conrad Reiffel was registered. He married Eva Catharina Bühler on July 9, 1856 in Seckenheim. See www.geneanet.org.
- 52 General State Archive Karlsruhe (hereinafter referred to as GLAK) 356/523 (HV 489): Lawyer Georg Weber (Hirschstr. 7) to the large district office in Heidelberg, July 11, 1866: Complaint in the matter of the miller J. Martin Konrad Reiffel against the municipality of Heidelberg, because of impairment of water inflow and compensation.
- 53 On October 26, 1865, the topic was discussed in the municipal council and help was said to have been promised.
- 54 See note 52.
- 55 See note 52.
- 56 Grand-Ducal Head Office for Hydraulic Engineering and Road Construction: Inland river construction in the Grand Duchy of Baden. Memorandum, Karlsruhe 1863, p. 40.
- 57 See note 52.
- 58 GLAK (see note 52) 356/523: Scholl, L.: Technical report in the matter of the master miller M. R. Reiffel there against the municipality of Heidelberg, compensation claim relating to November 20, 1867.
- 59 Journal of French Civil Law. A collection of civil law decisions of the German, French and Belgian courts, ed. Puchelt, Sigismund, Mannheim and Strasbourg 1873, pp. 483-490.
- 60 Father Georg Leonhard Reiffel acted as guarantor for a change. See Annals of the Grand Duchy of Baden Courts. In connection with other legal scholars of the Grand Duchy, ed. Stempf, L., vol. 40, Mannheim 1874, p. 304.
- 61 Karlsruhe Zeitung, 24 December 1870 and 30 December 1870: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1700082?query=bergheim>; <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1700108?query=bergheim>
- 62 Karlsruhe Zeitung, 26 April 1871: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1700696?query=bergheim>
- 63 Karlsruhe Zeitung, 31 May 1871 and June

- 7, 1871: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1700866?query=bergheim>;
- 64 Grand Ducal District Court of 5 June 1871, No. 15, p. 970; *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 11 June 1871: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1700928?query=reiffel>
- 65 As endnote 59.
- 66 Ibid. The creditors' committee included master carpenter M. Reiser, manufacturer Schlicksupp and water caretaker Philipp Krüger.
- 67 *Karlsruher Zeitung* 24 October 1871 and 25 October 1871: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1701689?query=bergheim>; <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1701693?query=bergheim>.
- 68 *Karlsruher Zeitung* 29 October 1871: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1701717?query=bergheim>.
- 69 *Heidelberger Zeitung* vom 27 October 1871.
- 70 *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 22 November 1872 and 15 December 1872: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1703913?query=bergheim>; <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1704059?query=bergheim>.
- 71 *Annals of the Grand Ducal Courts of Baden*, vol. 39, no. 1, 1875, pp. 311-314: https://www.google.de/books/edition/Annalen_der_Gro%C3%9Fherzogl_Badischen_Gericzh5oAAAAcAAJ?hl=de&gbpv=1&dq=schifferdecker+bergheimer+1875&pg=PA311&printsec=frontcover.
- 72 *Karlsruher Zeitung* 25 December 1872 und 31 December 1872: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1704111?query=bergheim>. The land register entry was made on 28 February 1873: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1704135?query=bergheim>.
- 73 *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 18 January 1873: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1704243?query=bergheim>.
- 74 *Karlsruher Zeitung*, 24 January 1873: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbz/periodical/pageview/1704277?query=schifferdecker>.
- 75 https://www.google.de/books/edition/Annalen_der_Gro%C3%9Fherzogl_Badischen_Gericzh5oAAAAcAAJ?hl=de&gbpv=1&dq=schifferdecker+berghheimer+1875&pg=PA311&printsec=frontcover. *Annals of the Grand Ducal Courts of Baden*, vol. 39, no. 20, 1875, p. 312. Judgment 4 June 1875.
- 76 HC Archive HV 2969: Commercial Register of the Baden Commercial Court, Division II, Vol. I, Decision No. 18104 of 2 June 1874, Enclosure. Division 31 of vol. VI (transcript 14 June 1938).
- 77 GLAK (see note 52) 356/5581 The construction of a cement factory on the Bergheim mill by the Schifferdecker brothers. GLAK 356/5578 Reconstruction of the turbine house (section).
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Cramer, Dietmar: The history of the Mainz-Weisenau cement plant. From Lothary to the Mannheim and Heidelberg branch plant, *Der Heidelberger Portländer. Contributions to corporate history and corporate culture*, H. 10, Heidelberg 2014, p. 9 f.
- 81 See Karmarsch and Heeren's Technical Dictionary. Edited by Friedrich Kick and Wilhelm Gintl, Vol. 2, Prague 1877, p. 282 f.
- 82 Answer from the local building commission to the grand ducal district office on 20 October 1873 that sections are to be delivered later. GLAK (see note 52) 356/5580: Request for building permission from the company Schifferdecker & Sons for the construction of shaft furnaces from 9 October 1873.
- 83 Sophie and Theobald from Schlierbach,

- see address book Heidelberg 1874/75.
- 84 GLAK (see note 52) 356/5581 Grand Ducal Water and Road Construction Inspection Mannheim of December 31, 1874.
- 85 See Leithäuser, 1944 (like note 38), p. 33.
- 86 Maria Elisabeth Anderst's brother was Lieutenant Colonel Emil Anderst (*1867 †1956). He was married to Thea (*1874 †1965), their children were Ellen Anderst (*1897 †1986) and Curt Anderst (*1895 †1970). The latter was property manager in the company in Stuttgart.
- 87 Address book of the Ruprecht-Karls-University in Heidelberg, 1865-1875: Winter semester 1866 to winter semester 1867 in Plöckstraße 32 with Kaufmann Egge, then from summer semester 1868 in Academiestr. 2 with the widow of the engineer Eduard Frey, probably until the beginning of 1873. (List of residents of the city of Heidelberg together with information about their residence and employment in alphabetical order for 1874 & 1875, 18th year, Heidelberg).
- 88 www.geni.com/people/Gustav-Brauer/6000000024499825895.
- 89 In general, Portland cements are artificially produced hydraulic limes with an average of 60% lime content and 30-32% alumina silicate. The rest is made up of alkalis and metal oxides, which affect the properties of the cement. Portland cements produce a dense mortar or concrete and set comparatively slowly. See Karmarsch, 1877 (like note 81), p. 276.
- 90 Parker gave the term "Roman or Roman Cement" to his water mortar, which he patented in 1796 and which he and many others soon after won from a natural (hydraulic) type of lime by simply burning and pulverizing, to indicate that this was a den famous ancient Roman mortars same product could be made; while in more recent times the name Roman cement has been applied to all those hydraulic limes which, with a silicate content of 20-30%, do not quench to a paste or powder after burning by immersion in water, but mechanically, like the route , converted into powder form and must be used as such. See Karmarsch, 1877 (like note 81), p. 275.
- 91 The transportation of raw materials over relatively long distances was not uncommon in the 1860s and 1870s. The reason for this was related to the composition of the raw materials, which had not yet been clarified. A commitment to a specific location was therefore associated with a high risk. The Portland cement factory of J. F. Espenschied in Mannheim had also obtained hard shell limestone and marl from the Hühnerberg near Haßmersheim by Neckar ships, later also from Eschelbronn, Mauer and Langenbrücken (cf. commemorative publication on the 50th anniversary of the company in 1910 [like note 13], p. 16 f.).
- 92 *Karlsruher Zeitung*. 27 February 1875 (No. 49). https://www.google.de/books/edition/Annalen_der_Gro%C3%9FherzogL_Badi-schen_Geric/zh5oAAAAcAAJ?hl=de&gbpv=1&dq=schifferdecker+bergheimer+1875&pg=PA311&printsec=frontcover.
- 93 See commemorative publication on the 50th anniversary of the company in 1910 (like note 13), p. 16 f.
- 94 *Fliegende Blätter* Vol. 61, No. 1511-1536, 1874, supplement, 31 October, 1874 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11180013_00263_u001/1); Ibid. Supplement, 7 November 1874 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11180013_00267_u001/1); Ibid. Supplement, 14 November 1874 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11180013_00269_u001/1); Ibid. Supplement, 21 November 1874 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11180013_00273_u001/1); *Fliege Blätter* Vol. 62, No. 1537-1562, 1875, enclosure, January 9, 1875 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11311641_00221_u001/1); Ibid. Supplement, 01/16/1875 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11311641_00223

- _u001/1; Ibid. Supplement, 23 January 1875 (https://digipress.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11311641_00225_u001/1). This interpretation also coincides with the memoirs of Friedrich Schott's mother Louise: A chemical factory was looking for an engineer (Louise mistakenly writes chemist) and Friedrich's father asked Friedrich if he knew anyone in Heidelberg after he had given him the letter from Schifferdecker. Friedrich had honestly denied this, which is plausible since he had sent his documents to Frankfurt. He apparently didn't know anyone in Heidelberg (HC archive, HV 5568: Mein Lebenslauf. Louise Schott née Denedde, around 1908, p. 48.).
- 95 https://www.google.de/books/edition/Annalen_der_Gro%C3%9Fherzogt_Badischen_Geric/zh5oAAAAcAAJ?hl=de&gbpv=1&dq=schifferdecker+berghaimer+1875&pg=PA311&printsec=frontcover. Annals of the Grand Ducal Courts of Baden, vol. 39, no. 20, 1875, pp. 311-314.
- 96 See HC-Archive SD 4: Privy Councilor Dr. Ing. et rer. nat. e.h. Friedrich Schott for his 80th birthday, in: Company newspaper of the Portland Cement Works Heidelberg-Mannheim-Stuttgart Ltd. Vol. 4 (1931), No. 1 of 10 January 1931, p. 1.
- 97 Scott cement is a patent-protected product that produces a binder with hydraulic properties during the treatment of burnt lime with burning sulfur. The reaction processes had not been clarified until then. By synthesizing burnt lime and sulphuric acid, Friedrich Schott succeeded in proving the composition of cement as sulphuric lime (CaSO₂), caustic lime (CaO) and sulphur calcium (CaS). Furthermore, he succeeded in finding further simplified manufacturing processes and an explanation of the hardening processes. See Dingler Journal CCII, pp. 52-76.
- 98 See Friedrich Schott. The homecoming of the industrial leader and honorary citizen of the city, in: Heidelberger Tagblatt dated 21 February 1931, p. 5. Friedrich Schott had already observed hydraulic properties in his investigations of Scott's cement when lime and gypsum were annealed. This gave him the impetus to investigate the hydraulic properties of the heavily annealed gypsum. He was able to show that anhydride has weak hydraulic properties when heated up to 500 °C and that the resulting gypsums appear in five different modifications (cf. Dingler Journal CCII, p. 335; Segers Notebook 1872, p. 208; Chemical News 1872, no. 633, p. 23; Chemisches Zentralblatt 1872, p. 11; Polytechnisches Zentralblatt 1872, p. 454).
- 99 See Friedrich Schott for his 80th birthday (see note 96), p. 1.
- 100 See HC-Archive HV 175: Portland Cement Works Heidelberg, formerly Schifferdecker & Sons in Heidelberg (company brochure with references), Heidelberg 1898, p. 4.
- 101 See Karmarsch, 1877 (see note 81), p. 282 f.
- 102 The process was developed in Rüdersdorf near Berlin for rock quarrying. In the process, horizontal tunnels were driven into the quarry wall to a depth of up to approx. 8 m at a short distance from one another. The walls that remained between the tunnels were then blown up, causing all the rock above the tunnels to collapse. The resulting quarry stones had to be crushed by hand and loaded onto lorries.
- 103 See commemorative publication on the 50th anniversary of the company in 1910 (like note 13), p. 33.
- 104 Schott, 1908 (like note 94), p. 49.
- 105 Friedrich Schott for his 80th birthday (see note 96), p. 2.
- 106 www.s197410804.online.de/Personen/ReisWilhelm.htm.
- 107 Register of residents of the city of Heidelberg 1874/75 (as of November 1873) to 1876/77 (as of November 1875) (vol. 18-20) digitized. The Gaisbergstr. 1 now houses Waltraut Hilbert's gallery and painting studio. The building at Rohrbacher Str. 11

- was built in 1876 as a grand hotel. In 1937 it was foreclosed on.
- 108 The street was named after Grand Duchess Luise, daughter of the Prussian king and the first German Emperor Wilhelm I (1797-1888). For a time, it was called "Hafengasse" (harbour lane), as Bismarckstr. once was, because it bordered the Winterhafen (winter harbour), which was built in 1847 and filled in again in 1867-1874.
- 109 Registry Office, Strand, Middlesex, London, vol. 1b p. 1000, entry no. 99. Cited by Walther: In the delusion of being chosen. The racial religion of Lanz von Liebenfels, the New Templar order and the Archprioste of Staufeu in Dietfurt. An Austrian-German History, Sigmaringen 2015, p. 32.
- 110 See Heidelberg address book 1876.
- 111 Pastor Carl Ludwig Sagelsdorff of the Neuroßgärtische Kirche has been appointed second deacon of the Protestant Altstädtische Kirche, in: Amtsblatt der Preussischen Regierung zu Königsberg (1859), p. 155.
- 112 The Johannis Lodge "Zum Totenkopf und Phönix" was founded in Königsberg in 1772 until it was dissolved by the National Socialist regime in 1935. After the end of the war, it was reactivated in what was then West Berlin. The present headquarters of the Grand Lodge, the Grand National Lodge of Freemasons of Germany (GLLFvD), is in Berlin-Dahlem, Peter-Lenné-Straße 1-3. www.ostpreussen.net; www.de.wikipedia.org/wiki/zum_todtenkopf_und_phoenix.
- 113 See Freimann, 1988 (as note 28), p. 198.
- 114 The Academic Hospital, whose last extension was the Ludolf Krehl Clinic founded in 1922, was considered the most modern of its time in Europe. Cf. Schneider, Jutta: The Old Bergheim Clinic, in: Semper Apertus. Six Hundred Years of the Ruprecht Karls University Heidelberg 1386-1986. vol. V: The University Buildings. Heidelberg a.o. 1985, pp. 382-431, here 382 f. www.cats.uni-heidelberg.de/ueber/geschichte.html.
- 115 See Schroeter, Eva-Maria: The Botanical Garden and Botanical Institute, in: Semper Apertus. Six Hundred Years of the Ruprecht Karls University of Heidelberg 1386-1986. vol. V: The Buildings of the University. Heidelberg u.a. 1985, pp. 475-497, here p. 480 f.
- 116 GLAK (see note 52) 356/5595, Grand Ducal Baden District Office Heidelberg, Heidelberg, trade and commerce: The construction of a ring kiln by the company Schifferdecker and Sons in Heidelberg in 1882.
- 117 115/501 WA Darmstadt (Hessian Economic Archive Darmstadt): Prospect Portland Cement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the public stock exchange course sheet, no. 21 of 1 April 1888; Report dated 25 March 1889.
- 118 See commemorative publication on the 50th anniversary of business in 1910 (as note 13), p. 33. margin development: 1886/87 261,828 barrels (profit 496,030 M), 1887/88 356,017 barrels (profit 1,184,007 M).
- 119 Heidelberger Zeitung, 13 October 1888.
- 120 Book of the Dead, Burgkirche-Königsberg 1877, No. 76: "Schieferdecker, Johann Philipp, Privateer, Tragheimer Gartenstraße 1, died 1 October 1877 of paralysis of the lungs, 76 years old, buried October 5."
- 121 See Brauer im Osten (as note 26), 1939.
- 122 GLAK (see note 52) 269/1566: Public document on the founding of the joint-stock company "Portland Cement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons" with its registered office in Heidelberg dated 17 March 1889.
- 123 115/502 WA Darmstadt: Brochure Portland Cement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the public stock exchange course sheet, no. 22 of 1 April 1889, report of 25 March 1889.
- 124 115/502 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portlandcement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, publis-

- hed as an extra supplement to the public stock exchange course sheet, no. 22 of 1 April 1889, prospectus for admission to the stock exchange as an extra supplement to the public stock exchange price list, notification of March 26, 1889.
- 125 Stock exchange listing prospectuses as an extra supplement to the public stock exchange price list, No. 21, 1.4.1888 and No. 26, 3.4.1900, No. 69, 2.11.1901, Darmstadt Municipal archive 115/501, 115/4033, 115/4039.
- 126 See commemorative publication on the 50th anniversary of the company in 1910 (like note 13), p. 33; on the granting of power of attorney, see *Heidelberger Zeitung* of 12 April 1888 and Leithäuser, 1944 (like note 38), p. 47.
- 127 Anna Maria's brother, Lieutenant Colonel Emil Anderst 1867-1956 (lived at Bunsenstr. 11) was married to Thea Anderst 1874-1965. Their children were Ellen Anderst 1897-1986 and Curt Anderst 1895-1970.
- 128 HC archive HV 1459/2 Allocation of voting rights: Carl Schifferdecker represented 200 of 69,374 shares at the 1937 Annual General Meeting.
- 129 *Heidelberger Zeitung* of 7 February, 1895, p. 2.
- 130 See Leithäuser, 1944 (like note 38), p. 49 f.
- 131 See Heidelberg City Archive, 123/20, City Council Files XI, Municipal Assets, no. 3, fields, meadows, gardens: The sale or use of the former cement works site, 1897/1905.
- 132 See City Archive Leimen, Specialia IV, Local government, 3. Municipal assets, 1888/1901, no. 2205: In the matter of the company Portland Cement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons against the municipality of Leimen. Reduction of trade tax for the municipal contribution.
- 133 GLAK (see note 52) 356/5633, Heidelberg, Police, Construction: Application by the Portland Cement Works Heidelberg for provisional restoration of part of the factory buildings destroyed by fire in 1895.
- 134 See Commemorative publication for the 50th business anniversary 1910 (see note 13), p. 33.
- 135 The roll-hole method had been copied from an engineer at the plant in Pennsylvania/USA. The process was a major rationalisation step compared to the Rüdersdorf fall operation, as the expensive manual loading of the material could be simplified. In the roll-hole method, a horizontal gallery is driven into the mountain, at the end of which a shaft leads vertically upwards. The stones quarried around the shaft fall through the shaft via so-called filling snouts into the tipping trucks. The tipping cars are pushed out of the tunnel by hand on tracks and assembled into trains. The vertical shafts widen over time to form a funnel, on the walls of which the rock rolls off. If the funnels become too shallow over time, new rolling holes must be made in the immediate vicinity. The burrs left between the rolling holes have to be removed conventionally by hand.
- 136 See commemorative publication for the 50th anniversary of the business in 1910 (see note 13), p. 38.
- 137 See Weidner, Heinrich: Portland Cement Works, their construction and operation. Berlin 1909, p. 202 f.
- 138 115/4033 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portland Cement Works Heidelberg vorm. Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the *Öffentliches Börsen-Coursblatt*, No. 57 of 27 July 1904.
- 139 *Ibid.*
- 140 Capital increases on 23 April 1904 by 1 million for Diedesheim and on 30 November 1906 by 3 million for the acquisition of Ingelheim and Offenbach. On the general development of the cement industry, see Albrecht, 1991 (as note 4), pp. 117-230, here p. 152 f.
- 115/510 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portland Cement Works Heidelberg vorm. Schifferdecker & Söhne, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the *Öffentliches Börsen-*

- 142 Coursblatt, No. 33 of 18 April 1907. Ferdinand Scipio (*27 August 1837 Mannheim †22 May 1905 Mannheim) Privy Councillor of Commerce, landowner of the Rineck estate in the Mosbach district, founder of the Idenau plantation in Cameroon, member of the First Chamber of Baden and twice member of the German Reichstag. Married since 1864 to Clothilde Jordan, daughter of the Deidesheim vineyard owner, mayor and district administrator Ludwig Andreas Jordan. He had two daughters, Ida, the founder of the Ida-Scipio-Haus, a home for the elderly in Mannheim, which still exists today, and Hedwig, who was married to Karl Freiherr von Gemmingen-Hornberg (according to Ulrich Kobelke) www.plankstadt.de/2242974.html.
- 143 115/4033 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portlandcementwerk Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the Öffentliches Börsen-Coursblatt, No. 57 of 27 July 1904 and 115/512 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portland Cement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the Öffentliches Börsen-Coursblatt, No. 3 of 7 January 1910.
- 144 115/512 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portland cementwerk Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the Oeffentlichen Börsen-Coursblatt, No. 33 of 7 January 1910 Court and State Manual of the Grand Duchy of Baden, 1910, p. 475.
- 145 Seidenspinner, Wolfgang; Brenner, Manfred: Heidelberg (Archaeological Urban Cadastre Baden-Württemberg, vol. 32), Stuttgart 2007, p. 134.
- 146 The grave of Paul Schifferdecker was laid out on 22.7.1889 for 40 years as a large family grave (3 2/3 places). In 1964 it had to be reduced in size at the instigation of the city. See Anderst-Schifferdecker cemetery file, Dept. T, Row 1, No. 78 + 79.
- 147 115/4033 WA Darmstadt: Prospect Portland Cement Works Heidelberg formerly Schifferdecker & Sons, Heidelberg, published as an extra supplement to the Öffentliches Börsen-Coursblatt, No. 57 of 27 July 1904.
- 148 HC-Archive HV532: Son Johann Philipp Paul, Carl (Mayor, Rentier *24 September 1877 Heidelberg †1937) residing Bergstr. 76, Heidelberg, married 20 October 1910 in Strasbourg to Marie Helene Lina Schröder, (*1 September 1881 Berlin), 2 sons.
- 149 <https://www.geni.com>, Schifferdecker.net.
- 150 See Heidelberg address books; Lutzer, Kerstin: The Baden Women's Association 1859-1918. The Red Cross, Welfare and the women's question, Stuttgart 2002, 503 p. 1881: the Protestant pastor Robert Schneider founded the Neuenheim Women's Association (to care for sick parishioners and support the needy, dissolved in 1923), see Heidelberg Historical Society.
- 151 See note 148.
- 152 <https://www.geni.com>; Schifferdecker.net.
- 153 She married László Ernst Edward v. Egan-Krieger (*1879 †1914), Royal Prussian First Lieutenant, on 4 October 1902. After separating from him, she married Balthasar Freiherr v. Campenhausen on 25 January 1919, divorced again and married him again on 1 February 1926. They lived on the Korklack estate, Gerdauen district, in East Prussia. During the Second World War, Anne Marie, called My, was shot when the Red Army moved in. www.schifferdecker.net.
- 154 Heinrich Pflaumer divided the house for the doctor Frieda Linß and the widow of Privy Councillor Max Wolf, Director of the Heidelberg Observatory, by adding a new staircase and increasing its height. See Mertens, Melanie: monument topography Federal Republic of Germany, City district of Heidelberg, Part 1, Ostfildern 2013, p. 197 f.
- 155 Seidenspinner, 2007 (like note 145), p. 13. Pauline Schmidt was married to cavalry

- captain Constantin Vierordt (21 May 1867 Konstanz †17 June 1945 Hornberg), who was stationed in the 21st Dragoon Regiment in Bruchsal. They first lived at Keplerstr. 28. Constantin's parents were Lieutenant Colonel Heinrich Vierordt and Pauline, née Schmidt. A brother of Heinrich Alfred Roderich was also an officer, the other brother Heinrich was a writer, see biography, 1925, City Archive Karlsruhe, 8/PBS III / 00795, Wilhelm; and www.geni.com; www.genealogie-oberbayern.de; www.lexikus.de/bibliothek/Eine-Jagdfahrt-nach-Ost-Afrika/Einfuehrung.
- 156 HC archive HV46: Portland Cement Works Heidelberg and Mannheim. Report on the eighteenth fiscal year 1905/1906.
- 157 The naming Bismarckplatz was decided on 3 November 1875.
- 158 Places of residence: 1874/1875 Leopoldstr. 43, today Friedrich-Ebert-Anlage 43; 1876-1879 Sophienstr. 13, 1881-1885 Plöck 77, 1886-1889 Sophienstr. 3 (newly built house); Monument topography, 2013 (as note 154), p. 107.
- 159 See Heidelberg address books 1887-1890 and 1892-1895.
- 160 From 1871 to 1880 he worked as an assistant and student of Nicolaus Friedreich in Heidelberg. He received his doctorate in 1871 and habilitated in 1876. In 1880 he was appointed associate professor at Heidelberg University. In 1887 he became full professor and director of the medical clinic in Dorpat, but in 1888 professor and director of the medical clinic and polyclinic in Bonn, where he remained until his retirement in 1918. See [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Schultze_\(Mediziner\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Schultze_(Mediziner)).
- 161 Karin Schneider, Office for City Green, Funeral Services, Bonn: Rudolf Heubach (1838- January 24, 1895) is buried in the Poppelsdorf Cemetery in the Bonn district of Poppelsdorf, to the left of the grave of Friedrich Schultze, who is said to have been the emperor's personal physician. A reburial obviously took place, since Rudolf Heubach was not buried until 21 February 1908 in the final gravesite No. 029, Section XXXIII. The right to use this gravesite was acquired by the Heubach siblings on 13 November 1907. On the one hand by the wife of the Medical Councilor Prof. Dr. Schultze Ms. Margarete Schultze née Heubach on the other hand from Mr. Rudolf Heubach, painter in Sidcup (Kent, England). The burial site was declared worthy of preservation by the Lower Monument Protection Authority.
- 162 Rudolf had two unmarried children with his wife Ray, Rudolf (painter, unmarried) and Max (unmarried). Ray brought Basil into the family as the eldest son. After that, Rudolf and Ray officially married and had four more daughters. Margot in 1904 (unmarried), Elsa (married to Sholto-Douglas, 2 sons) and Helen (married to Billy Toomy, three daughters), Julia (married to Everard Evans).
- 163 The reference to Bonn is explained by the right to use the family gravesite, which the Heubach siblings acquired on 13 November 1907.
- 164 Portrait and figure painter and theater designer, with tendencies towards impressionism, born in London. Today is Rudolf Jr. better known for his WWII paintings, some of which are in the Imperial War Museum (IWM ART 16211, ART LD 248 and LD 877)). He also designed sets for theaters. Haybrook studied in Brighton and served in France during the First World War. He was decommissioned due to shell shock. Began a largely self-taught artistic career in the 1920s, spending time at Chelsea Polytechnic School of Art with J.D. Revel and collaborating with Stanley Lupino. After living in South Africa, he returned to England just before World War II and enlisted in the Auxiliary Fire Service. See the Imperial War Museum's IWM Person Database (<https://www.iwm.org.uk>).
- 165 HC Archive HV 1459 and HV 1460: Notarial minutes of the Annual General Meetings

- 1914-1935 and 1936-1956 of Portland Cement Works Heidelberg Ltd.
- 166 Monument topography, 2013 (like note 154), p. 197 f.
- 167 Statement by Marlis Müller-Wodarg, interview on 9 April 2015.
- 168 Almost others Paape, 2015.
- 169 Research by Walther Paape: Otto Conried's parents were Moritz Cohn, Rentier from Wörlitz and Eveline Hirschfeld from Bromberg. Leaving the Jewish denomination: 18 April 1882, baptised evangelic: 25 April 1882, probably added a second first name. Change of name: from Cohn to Conried on 3 July 1891.
- 170 Quoted from Paape, 2015 (as note 168), p. 31.
- 171 Research by Walther Paape: The family crypt in the Matzleinsdorf cemetery is inaccurately documented in the cemetery records. Instead, there is precise documentation in the books of the Protestant city parish HB (Helvet. Confession) Vienna 114/1881 and 26/1884.
- 172 Research by Walther Paape: According to the Wiener Neustadt registry office, Luise died on 27 June 1967. The death is recorded under "Conried", which indicates that she was not married. Data from: Staudacher, Jewish-Protestant Converts in Vienna 1782-1914.
- 173 Research by Walther Paape: According to information from the Matzleinsdorf cemetery, a Helene Cohn was buried there on 20 April 1889; the cemetery does not have any further data.
- 174 Quoted from Paape (as note 168), 2015, p. 32.
- 175 Research by Walther Paape: Buried on 30 May 1896 at the Protestant cemetery Matzleinsdorf, Vienna.
- 176 See Paape, 2015 (as note 168), p. 33.
- 177 Paape, 2015 (as note 168), p. 30.
- 178 "Son of Johan and Katharina Lanz. Later, however, he would always claim that his father was a Baron Johann Lancz de Liebenfels and his mother a Katharina Skala. He ascribes the title of nobility to himself with some success, it even appears on the police registration form. So, in the eyes of the world, he later becomes Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels. A plausible reason for the manipulation of the nobility title is a possible, but unproven, Jewish descent of his mother. In addition, he later held a doctorate, the lawful acquisition of which is nowhere proven. He goes to school in Vienna. From an early age he was fascinated by the stories and myths surrounding the historical order of the Templars. He identifies with the knights and is enthusiastic about Marschner's opera »The Templer and the Jewess« based on the Ivanhoe story. On 31 July 1893, after graduating from high school, he entered the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz as a novice. In addition to his theological studies, the young monk deals a lot with art historical works, which he also publishes. Among other things, he writes about a tombstone with the image of a knight stepping on an ape-like monster. He will later say of this image that it brought him to the reality of the race struggle between humans and beastmen. "The Aryan masters always have to trample the minors." Quoted from Gottfried, Dietmar: Knights Templar and Beastmen, 1 October 2011, <https://www.heise.de/tp/features/Tempelritter-und-Tiermenschen-3390962.html>.
- 179 He subsequently gave Messina in Italy as his place of birth. See Paape, 2015 (as note 168), p. 33.
- 180 Walther Paape's inquiry at the parish of St. Nicolai on Helgoland: In the wedding register, Friederike's birthday is given as 28 February 1861. The biographical information comes from Friederike's descendants, from Georg Gaugusch from Vienna and from Department 35 of the Vienna City Administration (telephone call from March 16, 2017, Ms. Tiefenbacher). In the municipal documents, "Helene Conried" is listed with the date of birth 28 February 1851. If this official source has a certain probability with regard to the correctness of the date of birth, this is not possible if

- one believes the documentation of their marriage in London on 19 November 1879. There is a note that the bride is 26 years old (Registry Office, Strand, Middlesex, London, vol. 1b, p. 1000, entry 99. Information from Georg Gaugusch, Vienna).
- 181 The physical separation of the couple most likely took place around 1913, at which point Lanz apparently left the shared apartment in Rodaun. This could be related to the fact that from 1913 the "Ostara" was no longer published in Vienna-Rodaun, where the villa mentioned is located, but in Mödling. There is an internal order documentation of an alleged statement by Friederike about the state of health of "her husband". This statement may have been made around the end of the First World War, so the marriage must still have existed formally. Since Friederike apparently died in 1935, this could have paved the way for Lanz's second marriage, even without a previous divorce. Quoted from Paape, 2015 (like note 168), p. 32.
- 182 Gottfried, Dietmar: Knights Templar and Beastmen, 1 October 2011. <https://www.heise.de/tp/features/Tempelritter-und-Tiermenschen-3390962.html>.
- 183 Heydaripour, Shirin: Hitler's Mastermind. Why Adolf Hitler's pioneers were banned by the National Socialist regime, master's thesis, Vienna, March 2010, p. 29. Daim, Wilfried: The man who gave Hitler the ideas. Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels, Vienna 1994.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 "Lanz left Austria in 1918 and went to Hungary. During the communist revolution, he became active as an activist in anti-communist groups and was almost executed by a firing squad in 1919. He is said to have been sentenced to death twice at the time. In 1921 he established the ONT Priory Marienkamp. In 1933 Lanz left Hungary and went to Switzerland. In the »Third Reich« the options for action of the New Templars are limited. It has been claimed that Lanz, who was back in Austria from 1938, was forbidden to write. There is no evidence for this. During the 1930s, the ONT was dissolved. Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels lives peacefully in Vienna after the war. He died there on 22 April 1954. He was no longer as effective as before the war." Quoted from Gottfried, 2011 (like note 182).
- 186 Friederike is referred to as a "widow" in the certification of the Lanz marriage on Helgoland. After the separation from Lanz after the First World War, she went by the name "Conried" again (see the back of the Friederike/Luise photo from around 1925). It remains unclear whether this happened because their Helgoland marriage was not documented in the Wiener/Mödling papers or because the Lanz-Schifferdecker couple agreed to keep the Helgoland marriage secret.
- 187 According to information from the Protestant Church in Austria on 17 November 2016; Paape, 2015 (like note 168), p. 32. As stated by the cemetery administration of Matzleinsdorf, the grave was abandoned in 1969 and the crypt was removed.



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