

Summary of Research on Families: Schwabe, Wolff, Sykes, etc. David Man, New York City, October 2003.

INTRODUCTION



This document resides on the internet as an electronic file at a web site that contains genealogical and biographical information on a family called Schwabe, as well as other related families such as Wolff, May, Sykes, etc.¹ It is intended to summarize the point in the research reached as of October 2003 and replaces an earlier version dated August 2002. The information contained here repeats much of the August 2002 version, so for those with good memories much of the material here will be familiar. This document should also be read along with other pages which can also be found on the web site. Much of the material found in the earlier (2002) version of this document has been re-distributed to the pages of various individuals on the web site. For example, all the material referring to the suicide in 1843 of Louis Schwabe can now be found on the pages devoted to him.

Some new material has been added since August 2002, in particular Part Four which discusses some earlier descendants of the Schwabe family while they still resided in Dessau, before their move to Hamburg. This is probably the most important step taken in our researches since last year. Part Five includes new material on the impact Louis Schwabe's affair on Richard Wagner's relationship with his wife Minna². Although the affair between Minna and a 'merchant Schwabe' has been known about for some time, not until recently did we know which Schwabe Minna had the relationship with.

A great deal of the material here has either been provided by or carefully reviewed and edited by Professor James Albisetti of the University of Kentucky who is working on a biography of Julie and Salis Schwabe (see Part One).

A 'genealogical report' called '*Descendants of Hirsch Schwabe*' can be found at the end of Part Four and will help in following the discussion there. All of us can claim descent from a Benjamin Schwabe through his two sons Samson Benjamin and Philipp Benjamin. Although we have no direct evidence that Benjamin is the name of the brothers' father, however given the naming conventions of the time it is more than likely. So far as is known to date, only the descendants of Benjamin's two sons Philipp Benjamin [P.B.] and Samson Benjamin [S.B.] are extant today.

On the P.B. side, there is one surviving branch through his daughter Fanny Schwabe who married Moritz Wolf. Their daughter, Ida, married Thomas May and they had seven children. Of these seven only one, as far as we know, has descendants - those of Eleanor May.

Like his younger brother Philipp, Samson Benjamin had at least three sons: Leopold, Louis, and Stephan. At this stage we have not made contact with any of Leopold's descendants although we have uncovered some information on his family as detailed on Leopold's individual page included here. The descendants of Leopold changed their name from Schwabe to Burdett.



Stephan, had fifteen children, most of whom were christened at Manchester Cathedral³. Of Stephan's fifteen children we have contact with only two descendants: those of his son Edward and those of his youngest son Laurence whose son was Randolph Schwabe, the artist.

Of Louis' descendants today, we have information on those descended through his eldest grandson Henry Thackeray Schwabe and Henry's younger brother Clifford.

Louis's son's family (Louis II) were all baptized as Unitarians, a quite common path taken by those leaving the Jewish community. Janet Barnes (Randolph Schwabe's granddaughter) has supplied a note of the baptisms listed under the name Schwabe at the Cross Street Unitarian Chapel in Manchester. Apart from Louis II's children, Leopold (Louis II's uncle), the son of Samson Benjamin, is also listed as baptized there in 1836. The Cross Street Unitarian chapel was closely associated with William Gaskell, the novelist Elizabeth's husband.

The relationship between the Gaskells and Louis II has often led to confusion with another family called Schwabe who were also part of the Gaskell circle. The "other" Schwabes, who were headed by Salis and Julie, were on more intimate social terms with William and Elizabeth Gaskell, but unlike Louis' family they did not attend William's Cross Street chapel. Louis II's family

donated thirty-one guineas to the scholarship fund established in 1878 to mark William Gaskell's fifty years at Cross Street and Leopold's son, Charles, gave two guineas to this fund⁴.



Not only were the two Schwabe families Unitarians, Albisetti has also noted that Gustav Christian Schwabe (P.B.'s son) contributed to the school that Julie established in Naples, Italy. Thus the two Schwabe families were aware of each other. Part One below summarizes the work that Professor Albisetti has done to untangle the two Schwabe families



In the early 1830's, the marriage of Stephan Schwabe to Eliza Sykes was also a commercial union of sorts, since around the time of their marriage the firm of Sykes Schwabe of Liverpool was created of which Gustav Christian Schwabe was a major shareholder and partner. This company not only connected the Sykes and Schwabe families it was also partnered with a firm known as John Dugdale, John being Gustav Schwabe's father-in-law.

In 1834, Sykes-Schwabe joined with a company called Edward Boustead in Singapore. My father, Frank Man (1914 - 1986) worked for most of his life in the Far East for Edward Boustead and Co., thus continuing a tradition that is in part summarized in the diagram below. Edward Boustead had wanted to marry one of the Schwabes. I recall a somewhat ugly silver bowl in my parents' possession, which was said to have been given by Edward Boustead to a Schwabe female as an early gift in hope that it might lead to marriage, but it did not. This Miss Schwabe was probably one of the daughters of Stephan Schwabe and Eliza Sykes.



A reference to the Boustead - Schwabe connection is also mentioned in a letter from Randolph Schwabe's brother Eric Anthony Schwabe⁵, who spent most of his life in the Far East. Eric suggests that when Randolph's daughter Alice visited him in China in 1934, she was the fourth generation of Schwabe to do so: "Schwabe, Boustead, & Sykes began it in Singapore (the firm surviving as Boustead & Co.), Robert⁶ [Randolph and Eric Schwabe's uncle, born 1841] came next just after Shanghai was opened, his firm of Sykes, Schwabe still surviving, records and all, as Probst, Hamburg and Co."

The diagram below taken from Stanley Chapman's book *'Merchant Enterprise in Britain'* is in fact only partly accurate. Salis Schwabe & Co. was *not* involved with the formation of Sykes, Schwabe & Co. and what should appear in the top left of the diagram is probably just Schwabe & Co., the company founded by Philipp Benjamin [?]. Salis Schwabe did not set up in business in Manchester until 1832-33.



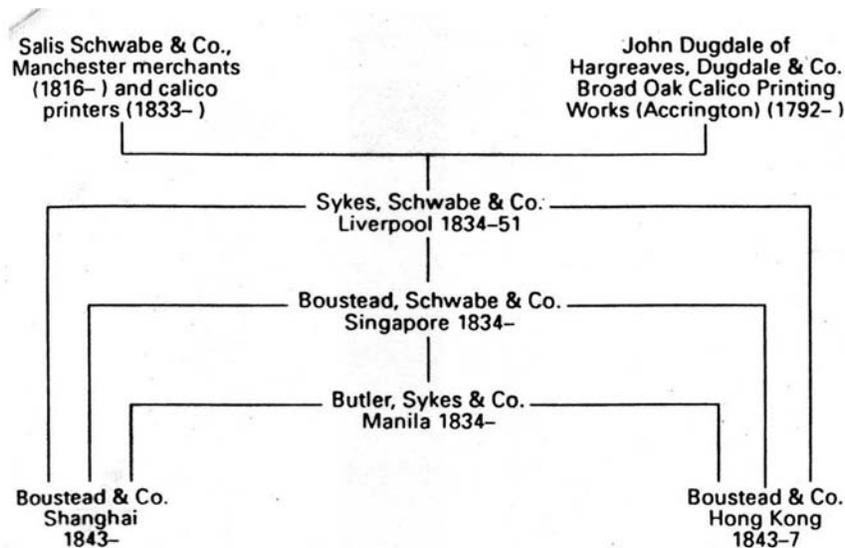


Figure 5.2. The Schwabe and Boustead connection.

A further mention of Sykes, Schwabe & Co. can be found in the book *'Rathbones of Liverpool'* by Sheila Marriner and published in 1961. Referring to the situation in China which in the mid-nineteenth century was quite lawless she writes: *'Throughout 1851 the battle between non-smugglers and smugglers continued, Rathbone & Co joined Sykes, Schwabe and Co (and others) to petition the consul ... to try to control smugglers. In 1853 Rathbone's agent in China W.S. Brown suggested that "in Shanghai only Sykes Schwabe and Co and Reiss and Co were equally careful to deal honestly with the Chinese" regarding prompt and accurate payment Ca. 1850 "Sykes Schwabe and Co was the only house regularly buying bills" in Shanghai i.e. in essence serving as a currency*



broker.' [This paragraph is based on an email message from James Albisetti to me dated 21, August 2001.]. Gustav C. Schwabe was a partner not only in Sykes-Schwabe, but also junior partner with John Bibby's shipping line company. (see extract from Moss and Hume *'Shipbuilders to the World'*). (Gustav Wolff also owned property in Shanghai, according to his will.) Thus the Sykes, Schwabe and Dugdale alliance created in the early to mid nineteenth century a powerful industrial enterprise.

Another industrial alliance came about through the marriage of two of Stephan's descendants to members of the Ermen family. Fredricka Schwabe married Henry Ermen, while her brother Lawrence Schwabe, father of Randolph, married Octavia Ermen. Octavia's father shared ownership of a cotton factory with the father of Frederick Engels of Marx-Engels fame. Engels was sent to Manchester by his father in 1842 as agent for the Manchester partnership, Ermen and Engels, of Pendleton. The Ermen & Engels factory is below.⁷



Some of the Schwabes undertook name changes. For example in 1907 two of Leopold's grandchildren changed their name to Burdett and Eric Schwabe became Sykes in 1917.

LEGAL NOTICES continued),

NOTICE OF CHANGE OF SURNAME.
I. ERIC ANTHONY SYKES, heretofore known by the name of Eric Anthony Schwabe, of Shanghai, a natural born British subject, hereby give notice that I formally and absolutely Renounce and Abandon the Use of my said Surname of Schwabe and do Assume Adopt, and determine henceforth on all occasions whatsoever to use and subscribe the name of Sykes instead of the said name of Schwabe. And I hereby expressly authorise and require all persons whomsoever at all times to designate, describe, and address me by such adopted surname of Sykes only.
 Dated the 31st day of May, 1917. E. A. SYKES.
 Witness :- A. G. Major, British Vice-Consul.

This then summarizes some of the more recent information we have collected on the Schwabes and descendants as of October 2003

PART ONE - TWO SCHWABE FAMILIES DISTINGUISHED

A confusion has arisen in various places about two families known as Schwabe whose history and background were so similar that it certainly would appear that these two were one and the same family. Thanks to the work of James



Albisetti, Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, we now know that the family of Salis and Julie Schwabe is not related our Schwabes. Until recently most historians who have written on the history of Manchester have assumed that Salis was a brother of Philipp and Samson's. It is not surprising that such a mistake was made as in many respects it *looked like* the same family. Both left Germany for England at the start of the nineteenth century, both established large and successful textile mills in Manchester, both joined Unitarian chapels

(Salis' family at Upper Brook Street and Louis' at Cross Street), etc. Not only have scholars confused the two families, even family members have made the same assumption; for instance one of Stephan Schwabe's descendants, Eric Anthony, signed his own marriage certificate Eric Anthony Salis Schwabe, in the mistaken belief that he and the original Salis Schwabe were related!

In 2002 James Albisetti published a paper '*The Inevitable Schwabes*' in which he summarizes the lives of Julie and Salis and in so doing solves the confusion between the two families by clearly demonstrating the families' origins in Germany are not the same. Although Hamburg features in both families, Julie and Salis trace their roots to Oldenburg, while Philipp and Samson trace theirs to Dessau. (See 'Part One' for Albisetti's commentary.)

Julie and Salis lived interesting lives being on terms with such figures as: Florence Nightingale, Richard Cobden, Thomas Carlyle, Elizabeth Gaskell, Ary Schefer, Garibaldi, etc. In Wagner's biography he describes how he thought that money he had received from Julie (5,000 francs) when he was living in Paris in 1860 was a gift and the great shock he experienced when he found out she considered it a loan. This may explain why it took her five years to recover, including sending the police to his flat to remove his furniture.



But Julie is not the only reference to a Schwabe that Wagner makes in his biography, he also disparaged the relationship that his wife Minna once had with a 'merchant Schwabe', before he (Wagner) married her. He seems to have caught Minna with letters from this Schwabe which added to his general contempt of her, etc. (See Part Five)

The following is an extract from a published paper by Professor James Albisetti, entitled '*The Inevitable Schwabes*' which discusses, for the most part, the reasons for the lack of recognition of the important roles played by Julie and Salis Schwabe in Victorian England. Towards the end of the paper he contributes one cause to the fact that those Schwabes have been confused with the descendants of Benjamin. I have added a few comments in square brackets [] and have edited out some sentences not relevant to our purposes. Here is what he writes:

Additional confusion has arisen from a frequent, if not inevitable, tendency to make several Schwabes into one or to assume that all people named Schwabe were closely related. As early as 1839, at the time of the Chartists' 'National Holiday,' the *Manchester & Salford Advertiser* reported in an article about Middleton, which has recently been reprinted, that there was a walkout at the 'print works of Messrs. Lewis [Louis] Schwabe and Co.,' when it was clearly Salis's factory being discussed ... A recent study of the children's hospital in Manchester has stated, 'The Schwabe family who supported Dr. Merei owned, in 1839, a silk mill in Portland Street, Manchester,' which was not true.⁸ [That factory was Louis' while the hospital was supported not by Louis but by Adolph Schwabe Salis's brother-in-law] Business historian Stanley Chapman has added to the confusion by claiming that Salis Schwabe and Co. was in business in Manchester in 1816, that it later had partnerships 'in Singapore, Manila, and other centers in the Far East,' and that Salis was the uncle of the merchant and art collector Gustav Christian Schwabe.

[In Moss and Hume's book: '*Shipbuilders to the World: 125 years of Harland and Wolff, Belfast 1861-1986*' they say that: "It (the firm of Sykes-Schwabe) seems to have been involved in the merchenting of calico goods, produced by *Schwabe's uncle (Salis)* and other Lancashire firms, and in importing raw cotton and silk." Moss and Hume site Chapman as their source for this.]

Todd Endelmann, in his study of Jewish assimilation in modern Britain, mistakenly claims that the children of Salis Schwabe served as trustees of Cross Street Chapel 'for many years.'⁹

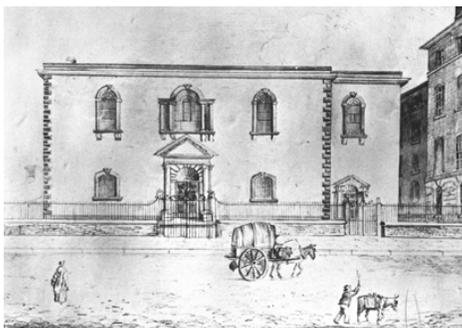
These confusions stem at least in part from the fact that several Schwabes came to England after the Napoleonic Wars; they were, however, from at least two different extended families. The Scholes manuscript¹⁰ lists two merchant firms established in Manchester in 1816, M. H. Schwabe and Gobert, the firm of Salis's uncle, at 35 Princess Street, and P. B. Schwabe and Co. at 14 Pall Mall [i.e. Philipp Benjamin]. No one named M. H. Schwabe ever lived in Manchester, however; and it is not clear who the company's agent was.¹¹

N. J. Frangopulo once wrote that P. B. Schwabe was a name that was 'to become famous in early Victorian Manchester,' but this appears to be another

case of mistaken identities. P. B. Schwabe, in fact, disappears from the Scholes manuscript as of 1830; thus he [P.B.] never lived in *Victorian* Manchester. The crucial clue to discovering who he was comes from the obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* of Leopold Schwabe, a merchant who had been born in Dessau in the German state of Anhalt in 1800 and lived in the suburban estate of Victoria Park from the early 1840s until his death in 1888. According to this source, ‘About 1820 he and his two brothers, Stephen and Louis (the latter subsequently a well-known silk and embroidery manufacturer in Portland Street) came to their uncle, then settled as a merchant in Manchester.’ The father of these three brothers was Samson (or Sampson) Benjamin Schwabe, who in 1809 was one of the elders of the Jewish community of Dessau. Their uncle was Philipp Benjamin Schwabe, whose own children included the merchant Gustav Christian Schwabe—who had been baptized as a Lutheran in Hamburg—and Fanny Schwabe Wolff, whose son [Wilhelm Gustav] would be one of the founders of Harland and Wolff shipbuilding firm. Gustav Christian Schwabe became a partner in Sykes, Schwabe of Liverpool, the merchant house with outposts in the Far East that Chapman misidentifies.¹² Salis Schwabe from Oldenburg was clearly not an uncle of these Dessau Schwabes.

The three Schwabe brothers [Louis, Leopold, and Stephan] from Dessau did have interesting careers of their own. Louis (or, in some sources, ‘Lewis’), whose firm produced some of the material for Queen Victoria’s wedding dress, was the most prominent but shortest lived. He was an active member of the Mechanics Institute and, in 1838, was among those Manchester residents who started the School of Design, of which he later became the treasurer and a vice president. In 1841, he served on the council of the Royal Manchester Institution and of the Manchester Association for the Patronage of the Fine Arts. In January 1845, however, he killed himself by drinking poison.¹³ His son Louis later was a partner in the firm of Zill and Schwabe, and it was he who was long associated with Cross Street Chapel. In 1885, Louis’ brother Charles became a life member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society; he appears in several issues of its *Transactions*.¹⁴

Leopold Schwabe was less prominent in public life. His obituary stated that he



was ‘in no sense a public man. He closely and conscientiously stuck to his business, and was an excellent example of the older generation of German merchants.’ After the departure of his uncle, he went into business for himself in 1832, ‘trading with Russia, South America, and Algiers.’ In November 1835 he was christened as a Unitarian; nine days later he married Emma Frances Priestly at St. Peter’s in Leeds.

From the time of the Crimean War to his retirement in 1860 he was in

partnership with Carlos Chamberlain. Despite his general avoidance of public affairs, Leopold did donate to the fund for relief of Hamburg, which Louis did not do.¹⁵ It is not clear which ‘Mrs. L. Schwabe’ was, in mid-December 1841, a late addition to the Ladies Committee for the Anti-Corn Law League Bazaar.¹⁶

Stephen (or Stephan), the youngest, was the least prominent in Manchester affairs; he, in fact, disappears and reappears several times from Scholes’ lists of foreign merchants before he settled in business on Brazennose Street in the late 1860s. Yet he appears to have lived continuously in Manchester: between 1834 and 1857 fifteen children of Stephen and Elizabeth Sykes Schwabe were christened as Anglicans at the Manchester Cathedral. The youngest of these, Lawrence, would become the father of the prominent artist Randolph Schwabe, who in 1930 was named Slade Professor of Fine Art at University College, London.¹⁷

More difficult to explain than these many misidentifications of the Schwabes is their absence from numerous historical accounts where one would expect to find them. Neither appears in the seventeen volumes of *Manchester Faces and Places* published between 1889 and 1906. They are also missing from the five volumes on *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men* produced by Thomas Swindells in the following year. What accounts for this continuing neglect of individuals so well known in their own time? More important, perhaps, is the general neglect of immigrants in many of the recent studies of the Victorian middle classes—many scholars have found it difficult to conceive of the kind of assimilation to the English bourgeoisie that the Schwabes so clearly achieved. Also, the Schwabes’ ambiguous position as religious converts has certainly contributed to their being neglected. Bill Williams does, for example, discuss them briefly in his study of Manchester Jewry; but since they were never members of the local synagogue, his sources do not provide much information.¹⁸ Neither were they typical Unitarians: several of their children married in the Anglican Church, none, as far as can be determined, in a Unitarian chapel.

PART TWO - GUSTAV SCHWABE and THE SHAPING OF VICTORIAN BOUEGOISE TASTE

In his book *'Pleasure Wars'*, Professor Peter Gay analyses the various influences that molded Victorian bourgeois taste and in one chapter, he compares the elites of Manchester and Munich.

Gay points out that in Manchester, arts patronage was entirely in the hands of enterprising and highly educated merchants and manufacturers, many of them assimilated German-Jewish immigrants like the calico printer Hermann Leo and the Jewish-born 'wool merchant' Gustav Schwabe. By contrast, the tone in Munich was set by the royal house of Ludwig I and Ludwig II. In this contest between "self-help and state sponsorship", Gay gives the laurels to Manchester, attesting to the reality of the city's motto: "By the gains of Industry we promote Art."

In 1888, the city of Hamburg unveiled a bust of the merchant Gustav Christian Schwabe in gratitude for his generous gift of paintings to his native city. Responding with enthusiasm, a local patrician observed as he praised the donor's selflessness for his "magnificent" donation, "The affection and love for the place in which our cradle stood, which has already produced so much that is great and beautiful in the world and is celebrated by poets of all tongues, is deeply anchored in human nature." The writer recognized in his homely way that aesthetic pleasure starts, and in important respects remains, at home.

The same holds true of the collection that the German wool merchant Gustav Christian Schwabe donated to his native Hamburg. Born in 1813, he settled in London (after living in Liverpool) and, once he had made his fortune, invested most of it in more than 120 recent English paintings appraised at over one million and a half marks. At seventy, he bequeathed this collection to Hamburg's museum, and since the Kunsthalle was too small to accommodate his holdings, he added a gift of 120,000 marks to have the building reconstructed and enlarged. In gratitude, Hamburg made Schwabe the honorary citizen in 1886, an uncommon accolade he shared with Chancellor von Bismarck and Field Marshal von Moltke. In the same year, the transfer of the Schwabe the collection began.



German reviewers boasted that with its concentrated focus, Schwabe's gift was a rare treasure. Modern English art, it seemed, traveled mainly to international exhibitions and was almost never sold abroad, so that with one stroke, the Kunsthalle had become the foremost owner of such art on the Continent. The

collection, with its emphatic dose of what middlebrow viewers considered tasteful was everything that avant-garde critics found regrettable; a gallery of pretty young women in fetching costumes, narrative canvases showing couples courting or peasants and sailors laboring on land and sea, wide-eyed winsome children in charming settings, tranquil landscapes and stormy seascapes all meticulously finished. In his report to the mayor's office, the Hamburg painter, Ascan Lutteroth, sent to Schwabe's English country seat [Yewden Manor] to inspect the prospective legacy, called attention to the interesting fact that that there was "not one undraped figure in the whole collection". Schwabe had a sentimental Maclise, a minor Millet, two narrative canvases by Dyce, one dubious Bonnington, and one equally dubious Turner – paintings meant to entertain rather than shock, none to trouble tranquility or strain the imagination.

In 1886, the year that Schwabe's bequest entered the Kunsthalle, Hamburg appointed Alfred Lichtwark as its new director. At the time he was too tactful and too new at his post to utter a skeptical word about Schwabe's taste. Once settled in his job, though, Lichtwark, who rarely evaded a controversy, would leave no doubt about his likes and dislikes. His imbroglis exhibit yet again incompatible bourgeois tastes; they also serve as a commentary on the role of new men in authority during the Victorian taste wars. (Since Lichtwark's time Schwabe's collection has either been sold off or hidden away in a basement. There is no reference to the collection the Kunsthalle's web site even today)

The source for most of what Gay has written here is "Gustav Christian Schwabe: Ein Geschmack wird untersucht Die G.C. Schwabe Stiftung: Eine Dokumentation." By Von Werner Hofmann and Tilman Osterwold.

PART FOUR -The Earlier Schwabes of Dessau

In 2003 Dr Simone Laessig, a history researcher from Dessau, kindly sent me, at my request, photocopies of documents from the Dessau Archives relevant to the early history of Jewish families in Dessau and the Schwabe family in particular. I then passed along this material to Professor James C. Albisetti of the History Department Kentucky University and he kindly summarized some of the information contained in these papers. Below is my summary of Professor Albisetti's comments on the Dessau papers, which casts some light on our earlier ancestors.

Most of the material sent by Simon Laessig dated from the 1750s through to the 1840s, and consisted of lists of the *Schutzjuden* ("protected Jews") in Dessau in selected years, but also some other lists of births and deaths, decrees, etc. The most useful of all these papers –but in its own way perplexing—is a list of all Jews appearing in the Dessau area who were required to adopt fixed last names following a decree which was issued in October 1821. Before this decree was issued, only some Jews had adopted fixed last names. This listing includes, as you will see below, Jews who had protected status (*Schutzjuden*) as well as those who did not have protected status such as younger brothers and children's names.

There is a lot of confusion in the documents because of the last name issue. For example, there are death notices for Berend Hirsch, age 78, in 1815, and for David Hirsch, age 76, in 1821. Both are identified as sons of a Hirsch Schwabe; yet both appeared in the list of *Schutzjuden* for 1806 (alphabetical by first name), and neither seems to have used Schwabe then as a last name. Yet the 1822 list includes a widow of David Hirsch Schwabe. A Jonas Hirsch Schwabe shows up in 1822, perhaps taking over the *Schutzjuden* of David Hirsch; he died or moved away between 1828 and 1834.

Since many of us are directly descended from Philip Benjamin Schwabe it is of interest to note that he appears on the list as a younger brother who never gained *Schutzjuden* and was gone from Dessau by the listing of 1822. [Albisetti does not state what year he appears on the list]. His early departure from Dessau makes sense as he was probably living in Hamburg by 1810.

Samson Benjamin (without the last name Schwabe and who was Philip's elder brother and from whom some of us are living descendants) appears as owner of a house on *Franzstrasse* in 1806 and as one of the elders (*Ältesten*) in 1808. In the book on Jews in Anhalt by Horwitz¹, Samson Benjamin signs an

¹ Geschichte der herzoglichen Franzschule in Dessau, 1799-1849. Dessau: C. Duennhaupt, 1894. 42p.(Offprint of Mitteilungen des Vereins fuer Anhaltische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, v. 6).

appeal in 1809 with the last name Schwabe. He appears as S. B. Schwabe in the results for the 1810 elections for elders (he was reelected), as does his brother Hirsch Benjamin Schwabe, who was chosen among the “house fathers” of the community. More on them below. (Note: we knew of Philip and of Samson but this is the first time we have heard of the brother Hirsch).

Emerging also in 1810-11 were a Hirsch Berend Schwabe and a Benjamin Berend Schwabe, who had also been on the 1806 list without last names. The latter is almost certainly a brother of Philip Benjamin and Samson Benjamin.

In the book by Jacob Jacobson, *Die Judenbücher der Stadt Berlin, 1809-1851* (Berlin, 1962), it is reported that a Louis Schwabe, born 1806 in Dessau, but moving to Berlin in 1836 from Magdeburg, was the son of Benjamin Berend Schwabe, then a merchant in Magdeburg who was the brother of Samson and Philip. From the Dessau documents, it appears that Benjamin Berend Schwabe left Dessau between 1815 and 1822. According to Jacobson, this Louis Schwabe was a wholesale silk merchant (as was his first cousin Louis Schwabe who moved to Manchester.) It is highly likely that it was this Louis Schwabe who was mentioned in Wagner’s autobiography as a rival for his girl friend in (Minna) 1836-37. (For details on the Wagner story see Part ----).

Around the end of the Napoleonic Wars, a Hirsch Jakob Schwabe and a Benjamin David Schwabe arrived or gained *Schutz* in Dessau, the latter taking an oath in June 1815. This Benjamin David might be the son of the David Hirsch who died in 1821, but there is no way to tell.

The list of those who had protected status as of 1821-1822 has six male Schwabes: the brothers Samson Benjamin and Hirsch Benjamin, Hirsch Berend, Jonas Hirsch, Benjamin David, and Hirsch Jakob. All of these retained after 1822 the last name that they had been using (Schwabe), except for Hirsch Berend, who took on the last name of Reitzenberg (or Reizenberg). This may be in order to inherit from a father in law.

Two brothers, Hirsch Samson and Maas Samson, also adopted the last name of Schwabe.

There are two copies of a list of all Jews taking fixed last names, which includes those who did not have protection and children of those who had some. (Without protection you usually could not marry and start a family.)

Samson Benjamin Schwabe is listed as one of 5 brothers, the others being the protected Hirsch Benjamin and three childless and presumably unprotected and unmarried ones, Selig Benjamin, Nathan Benjamin, and Abraham Benjamin. Their father must have been a Benjamin. And it is this Benjamin from whom we are all descended today.

Hirsch Benjamin had five children: Siegmund, Samuel, Moritz, Louis, Linne (?).

Samson Benjamin is listed as having ten children, not all of which are clearly legible: Nathansohn, Linne (?), Louis, Leopold, Samuel, David, Mariane (or Mariam), Julie, Hanchen, and Susgen.

There are clearly some confusing items here. Foremost is why someone named Samson would have a son named Nathansohn. Louis and Leopold are the ones who moved to Manchester and set up the silk factories there, but there is no Stephan who we know was a brother of Louis and Leopold and who also went to Manchester. Perhaps he was originally the Samuel listed above and later changed his name to Stephan at his christening. He is in some notes left by the family referred to as Stephan Samuel Schwabe so this makes sense. The last three girls are mentioned in Louis's will (which is available from the Public Record Office at Kew in London) as unmarried and apparently still living with their father (Samson Benjamin). Louis calls them Julie, Hanchen, and Suschen.

Among the Dessau documents are also notices of the deaths of Samson Benjamin's wife Friedrike (Frederica) on 18 May 1824, aged 62, and of the daughter Mariane on 25 February 1826, age 30.

Various Schwabes depart or die over the next twenty years, so that the list of those with protection in 1842 includes only Samson Benjamin and the Benjamin David who first appeared in 1815. By the next list in 1847 only the latter remains. Thus at some point between 1842 and 1847 Samson Benjamin dies and it should be noted that his son Louis Schwabe of Manchester drank poison 'on hearing of the death of a close relative' in 1845. The absence of Samson Benjamin from the list after 1842 would confirm the link to son Louis's suicide in Manchester.

Jacob Jacobson, Die Judenbuergerbuecher der Stadt Berlin, 1809-1851 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), p. 306. ¹⁹ also includes two other individuals named Schwabe who were born in Dessau and who were given the right to settle in Berlin, a Johanna who married Aron Abraham Fuhrmann in 1843, and a Heinrich in 1846.

Some passing references can be found in German sources to the early Schwabes. For instance, following the advice of Professor Albisetti, I found a reference in Monika Richarz, *Juedisches Leben in Deutschland: Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte, 1780-1871* (1976), which includes the memoirs of a Samuel Meier Ehrenburg and who makes a brief reference to a Louis Schwabe. Unfortunately, my German is not good enough to provide an adequate translation, but one will be provided.

There is also one reference to Samson Benjamin on pp. 16-17, in a pamphlet by Ludwig Horwitz *'Die Emanzipation der Juden in Anhalt-Dessau. Aktenmässige Darstellung'* and *'Geschichte der herzoglichen Franzschule in Dessau, 1799-1849'*. According to Horowitz, Samson Benjamin appears as one of three "elders" who appealed to the Duke of Anhalt Dessau in 1809 to allow boys who had gone through the Jewish Free School there to enter Christian guilds. [Information supplied to me by James Albisetti].

On the following pages I have tried to recreate the relationships among the various Schwabes appearing above. I have not been cautious, in fact, I have assumed relations where none may exist but I hope it helps to make somewhat clearer the possible relations outlined above. The generations below end at approximately our great grandparent's.

Descendants of Hirsch Schwabe

Generation No. 1

1. HIRSCH¹ SCHWABE

Children of HIRSCH SCHWABE are:

2. i. BEREND HIRSCH² SCHWABE, b. 1737; d. 1815.
3. ii. DAVID HIRSCH SCHWABE, b. 1744; d. 1821.
4. iii. BENJAMIN SCHWABE, b. 1745, Dessau, Germany.
- iv. HIRSCH BEREND SCHWABE.
- v. JONAS HIRSCH SCHWABE.

Generation No. 2

2. BEREND HIRSCH² SCHWABE (*HIRSCH¹*) was born 1737, and died 1815.

Child of BEREND HIRSCH SCHWABE is:

- i. HIRSCH BEREND³ SCHWABE.

3. DAVID HIRSCH² SCHWABE (*HIRSCH¹*) was born 1744, and died 1821.

Child of DAVID HIRSCH SCHWABE is:

- i. BENJAMIN DAVID³ SCHWABE.

4. BENJAMIN² SCHWABE (*HIRSCH¹*) was born 1745 in Dessau, Germany. He married RACHEL THER.

Children of BENJAMIN SCHWABE and RACHEL THER are:

- i. ABRAHAM BENJAMIN³ SCHWABE.
5. ii. BENJAMIN BEREND SCHWABE.
6. iii. HIRSCH BENJAMIN SCHWABE.
- iv. NATHAN BENJAMIN SCHWABE.
- v. SELIG BENJAMIN SCHWABE.
7. vi. SAMPSON BENJAMIN SCHWABE, b. 1770; d. January 1845, Dessau, Germany.
8. vii. PHILIP BENJAMIN SCHWABE, b. 1771, Dessau, Germany; d. January 14, 1852, Hamburg, Germany.

Generation No. 3

5. BENJAMIN BEREND³ SCHWABE (*BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*)

Child of BENJAMIN BEREND SCHWABE is:

- i. LOUIS⁴ SCHWABE, b. 1806. (← This is the 'Merchant Schwabe' who had an affair with Minna Wagner)

6. HIRSCH BENJAMIN³ SCHWABE (*BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*)

Children of HIRSCH BENJAMIN SCHWABE are:

- i. SIEGMUND SCHWABE.
- ii. SAMUEL SCHWABE.
- iii. MORITZ SCHWABE.
- iv. LOUIS SCHWABE.
- v. LINNE SCHWABE.

7. SAMPSON BENJAMIN³ SCHWABE (*BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1770, and died January 1845 in Dessau, Germany. He married DEPAN FREDERICA LIEPMAN. She was born 1776, and died May 18, 1824 in Dessau, Germany.

Children of SAMPSON SCHWABE and DEPAN LIEPMAN are:

- i. DAVID SCHWABE.
- ii. HANCHEN SCHWABE.
- iii. JULIE SCHWABE.
- iv. LINNE SCHWABE.
- v. NATHANSOHN SCHWABE.
- vi. SUSCHEN SCHWABE.
- vii. MARIANE SCHWABE, b. 1796; d. February 25, 1826.
9. viii. LOUIS SCHWABE, b. 1798, Dessau, Germany; d. January 11, 1845, Manchester, England.
10. ix. LEOPOLD SCHWABE, b. 1801.
11. x. STEPHAN SAMUEL SCHWABE, b. 1815.

8. PHILIP BENJAMIN³ SCHWABE (*BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1771 in Dessau, Germany, and died January 14, 1852 in Hamburg, Germany. He married ROSALIE MARIE LEVY. She died March 19, 1846 in Hamburg, Germany.

Children of PHILIP SCHWABE and ROSALIE LEVY are:

- i. EDWARD SCHWABE, b. September 29, 1809; m. JULIE MEYER.
- ii. JULIE ELIZABETH SCHWABE, b. July 1, 1810.
12. iii. FANNY MARIA SCHWABE, b. May 22, 1812; d. November 15, 1897, Hamburg, Germany.
- iv. GUSTAV CHRISTIAN SCHWABE, b. October 10, 1813, Hamburg, Germany; d. January 10, 1897, 19 Kensington Palace Gardens, London, England; m. HELEN DUGDALE, June 1842; b. 1818; d. October 26, 1898, 19 Kensington Palace Gardens, London, England.
- v. GEORG FREDERICH SCHWABE, b. December 9, 1815.
- vi. HERMAN HEINRICH SCHWABE, b. 1816.

Generation No. 4

9. LOUIS⁴ SCHWABE (*SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1798 in Dessau, Germany, and died January 11, 1845 in Manchester, England. He married ELIZA THACKERAY.

Children of LOUIS SCHWABE and ELIZA THACKERAY are:

13. i. LOUIS⁵ SCHWABE, b. 1831; d. April 30, 1922, Hart Hill, Eccles Old Road, Pendelton.
- ii. ROSALIE SCHWABE, b. 1834.
- iii. ELIZA SCHWABE, b. 1836.

10. LEOPOLD⁴ SCHWABE (*SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1801. He married EMMA FRANCES PRIESTLY November 23, 1835 in Saint Peter, Leeds.

She was born 1810, and died March 28, 1890 in Buckingham Crescent, Victoria Park, Manchester.

Children of LEOPOLD SCHWABE and EMMA PRIESTLY are:

- i. CHARLES LEOPOLD⁵ SCHWABE.
- 14. ii. HENRY ALBERT SCHWABE, d. May 11, 1898, Dingle Bank, Lymm, Cheshire.
- iii. EMMA SCHWABE.
- iv. FLORENCE ELEANOR SCHWABE, m. (1) RICHARDSON-GRIFFITHS; m. (2) CHARLES DU PLAT RICHARDSON-GRIFFITHS, January 17, 1894, Lymm, Cheshire.

11. STEPHAN SAMUEL⁴ SCHWABE (*SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1815. He married ELIZA SYKES. She was born 1817 in London, England.

Children of STEPHAN SCHWABE and ELIZA SYKES are:

- 15. i. FREDERICA SARA⁵ SCHWABE, b. 1834; d. February 27, 1909.
- ii. MARIA AMELIA SCHWABE, b. July 7, 1836; d. February 7, 1909.
- iii. ADELHEID LOUISA SCHWABE, b. March 18, 1838; d. May 29, 1912.
- iv. THOMAS BENJAMIN SCHWABE, b. 1839.
- 16. v. ROBERT STEPHEN SCHWABE, b. 1841, Manchester.
- vi. WALTER SCHWABE, b. 1843.
- vii. EMMA OTTILIA SCHWABE, b. 1845; d. August 2, 1946, Harrogate.
- 17. viii. EDWARD SCHWABE, b. 1846; d. 1917.
- ix. CHARLES MORITZ SCHWABE, b. April 10, 1847; d. March 17, 1931.
- x. HENRY MERRILY SCHWABE, b. 1850.
- xi. HELENA ALBERTA SCHWABE, b. September 22, 1851; d. February 3, 1936, Buxton.
- xii. HERBERT SCHWABE, b. 1854.
- xiii. ERNEST EDGAR SCHWABE, b. 1855.
- 18. xiv. LAWRENCE SCHWABE, b. 1856, Manchester; d. Hemel Hempstead.

12. FANNY MARIA⁴ SCHWABE (*PHILIP BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born May 22, 1812, and died November 15, 1897 in Hamburg, Germany. She married MORITZ WOLFF.

Children of FANNY SCHWABE and MORITZ WOLFF are:

- 19. i. IDA⁵ WOLFF, b. 1833, Hamburg, Germany; d. 1877, Hamburg, Germany.
- ii. ALICE WOLFF.
- 20. iii. CLARA WOLFF, b. 1848, Hamburg, Germany; d. March 25, 1896, London.
- iv. HELENE WOLFF.
- 21. v. RICHARD WOLFF.
- vi. GUSTAV WILHELM WOLFF, b. October 10, 1834, Hamburg, Germany; d. April 17, 1913, London, England.
- 22. vii. GEORGE M. OTTO WOLFF, b. 1840.

Generation No. 5

13. LOUIS⁵ SCHWABE (*LOUIS⁴, SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1831, and died April 30, 1922 in Hart Hill, Eccles Old Road, Pendleton. He married BLANCHE HARTWRIGHT. She was born 1845 in Manchester, England, and died December 7, 1921 in Hart Hill Eccles Old Road Pendleton.

Children of LOUIS SCHWABE and BLANCHE HARTWRIGHT are:

- i. HENRY THACKERAY⁶ SCHWABE, b. 1865; d. October 24, 1950, The Grove, Ashbourne,

- Derbyshire; m. GERTRUDE WHITESIDE COOK, July 5, 1894, St Mary Abbot Church, Kensington, London; b. , Essex; d. September 16, 1938, The Grove, Ashbourne, Derbyshire.
- ii. LOUIS GUSTAV SCHWABE, b. 1866; d. July 28, 1950, The County Hotel, Malvern, Wiltshire; m. EVELYN MAY, February 21, 1895, St Lukes Church, Weaton.
 - iii. CONSTANCE BLANCHE SCHWABE, b. 1868.
 - iv. IRENE ROSALEE SCHWABE, b. 1872; d. August 6, 1937, Friars Croft Park Drive, Hale.
 - v. CLIFFORD SCHWABE, b. 1874; d. November 9, 1947, Cuddington Grange, Northwich, Cheshire; m. MAY LITTLEDALE, August 12, 1913, St John's, Chester.
 - vi. ARTHUR PERCY SCHWABE, b. June 1877; d. May 11, 1879, Leaf Street Pendelton, Manchester.
 - vii. GEORGE BORIS SCHWABE, b. 1882.
 - viii. DOROTHY SCHWABE.

14. HENRY ALBERT⁵ SCHWABE (*LEOPOLD⁴, SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) died May 11, 1898 in Dingle Bank, Lymm, Cheshire. He married ELEANOR BURDETT April 14, 1864 in Manchester Cathedral. She was born 1843, and died September 10, 1895 in Lymm, Cheshire.

Children of HENRY SCHWABE and ELEANOR BURDETT are:

- i. FRANK BURDETT⁶ SCHWABE, b. 1865.
- ii. HERBERT PRIESTLEY SCHWABE, d. August 24, 1893; m. KATE CONNELL, August 24, 1893, Rostherne.
- iii. CECIL LANGSHAW SCHWABE, d. May 5, 1891, Oriel College, Oxford.
- iv. HORACE FOSTER SCHWABE, d. September 25, 1901, Johannesburg, South Africa.

15. FREDERICA SARA⁵ SCHWABE (*STEPHAN SAMUEL⁴, SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1834, and died February 27, 1909. She married HENRY EDWARD ERMEN October 21, 1868 in Strangeways Unitarian Church. He was born June 20, 1833 in Hachenberg, and died September 23, 1913 in Pendleton, Lancashire.

Children of FREDERICA SCHWABE and HENRY ERMEN are:

- i. BERNARD GEOFFREY⁶ ERMEN, b. 1869; d. July 20, 1917, Buxton, Lancashire; m. MARJORIE SPILLANE.
- ii. PETER STEPHEN ERMEN, b. 1870; d. January 9, 1941, Alderly Edge.
- iii. GEORGE ERMEN, b. 1871; d. 1945; m. CARRIE JACKSON.
- iv. CHARLES FRANCIS ERMEN, b. 1874; d. 1947, West Didsbury.
- v. ROSE FREDRICA ERMEN, b. 1875; d. March 22, 1947, London.

16. ROBERT STEPHEN⁵ SCHWABE (*STEPHAN SAMUEL⁴, SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1841 in Manchester. He married KINI MYANDERA.

Children of ROBERT SCHWABE and KINI MYANDERA are:

- i. MINNIE AGNES⁶ SCHWABE.
- ii. NELLIE EDITH SCHWABE, b. 1895; d. 1930.
- iii. CLARA ETHEL MIYADARA SCHWABE, b. 1897; d. August 31, 1933; m. UNWIN.

17. EDWARD⁵ SCHWABE (*STEPHAN SAMUEL⁴, SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1846, and died 1917. He married JULIE ERMEN 1873, daughter of GODFREY ANTHONY ERMEN. She was born 1846 in Engelkirchen, Germany, and died March 5, 1916 in West Hill, Braunton, North Devon.

Children of EDWARD SCHWABE and JULIE ERMEN are:

- i. GODFREY ALBERT EDWARD⁶ SCHWABE, b. 1878; d. 1956; m. KATHERINE ELIZABETH HARPER, March 26, 1913, Paris Church, Marlton, Devon; b. 1880; d. 1955.
- ii. JULIE ALICE SCHWABE, b. 1875; m. THOMAS ADOLPHUS FALCON.

18. LAWRENCE⁵ SCHWABE (*STEPHAN SAMUEL⁴, SAMPSON BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*)¹ was born 1856 in Manchester, and died in Hemel Hempstead. He married OCTAVIA HENRIETTA ERMEN. She was born 1852, and died April 2, 1907 in Hemel Hempstead¹.

Children of LAWRENCE SCHWABE and OCTAVIA ERMEN are:

- i. ERIC ANTRHONY⁶ SCHWABE, b. February 5, 1883, Barton-On-Erwell; d. May 12, 1945, Bexhill-on-Sea; m. CATHERINE POWELL, Reno, Nevada.
- ii. RANDOLPH SCHWABE, b. May 9, 1885, Barton-On-Erwell; d. September 19, 1948, Helensburgh; m. GWENDOLAN ROSAMOND JONES, April 19, 1913, Chelsea, London; b. 1889; d. 1978.

19. IDA⁵ WOLFF (*FANNY MARIA⁴ SCHWABE, PHILIP BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1833 in Hamburg, Germany, and died 1877 in Hamburg, Germany. She married THOMAS MAY, son of JOHN MAY and PHILLIS UNKNOWN. He was born 1819 in Montreal Canada, and died 1873 in Hamburg, Germany.

Children of IDA WOLFF and THOMAS MAY are:

- i. ELEANOR⁶ MAY, b. March 12, 1864, Hamburg, Germany; d. October 27, 1921, Hamburg, Germany; m. OTTO HENING CHRISTIAN LOECK, Hamburg, Germany; b. March 23, 1866, Panker, Germany; d. June 27, 1929, Hamburg, Germany.
- ii. ALICE MAY, m. MAX WOLFF.
- iii. DOLLY MAY, m. WALTER POCOCK; d. June 24, 1901, Patterson, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- iv. SYDNEY E. MAY, m. TESSY PHILPOT.
- v. GUSTAV MAY, m. AIMEE TALBOT, April 15, 1896, Montreal, Canada.
- vi. FRANK MAY, m. MARIE.
- vii. EVELYN MAY, m. LOUIS GUSTAV SCHWABE, February 21, 1895, St Lukes Church, Weaton; b. 1866; d. July 28, 1950, The County Hotel, Malvern, Wiltshire.

20. CLARA⁵ WOLFF (*FANNY MARIA⁴ SCHWABE, PHILIP BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1848 in Hamburg, Germany, and died March 25, 1896 in London. She married FREDERICK ALBERT MAY 1872, son of JOHN MAY and PHILLIS UNKNOWN. He was born 1842, and died June 16, 1908 in Parkstone, Dorset.

Children of CLARA WOLFF and FREDERICK MAY are:

- i. CLARA⁶ MAY, b. October 10, 1872, Hamburg, Germany; d. September 12, 1949, Oxshott, Surrey.
- ii. FREDERICK ALBERT WOLFF MAY, b. October 10, 1872, Hamburg, Germany; d. August 6, 1924, Maidenhead; m. IDA GELINDES, April 29, 1913, London, England; d. August 16, 1924.

21. RICHARD⁵ WOLFF (*FANNY MARIA⁴ SCHWABE, PHILIP BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*). He married AMANDA KROEPLIN.

Child of RICHARD WOLFF and AMANDA KROEPLIN is:

- i. FRANZ⁶ WOLFF.

22. GEORGE M. OTTO⁵ WOLFF (*FANNY MARIA⁴ SCHWABE, PHILIP BENJAMIN³, BENJAMIN², HIRSCH¹*) was born 1840. He married (1) IDA STRUBE, daughter of STRUBE. He married (2) META FREDERICH October 19, 1897.

Child of GEORGE WOLFF and IDA STRUBE is:

- i. GUSTAV⁶ WOLFF, b. 1865; d. 1940; m. JOHANNA KIELICH; b. 1858; d. 1943.

Children of GEORGE WOLFF and META FREDERICH are:

- ii. CLARA⁶ WOLFF, b. August 2, 1898.
- iii. EFFIE WOLFF.

(For latter generations of the descendants of Benjamin Schwabe see the document 'Complete Report')

PART FIVE – LOUIS SCHWABE’S ‘AFFAIR’ WITH MINNA WAGNER.

Early on in my research I noticed a reference to a ‘merchant Schwabe’ in Wagner’s ‘My Life’. I pointed this out to Professor Albisetti and he responded as follows:

‘I looked again at Wagner's My Life and discovered the comments about Schwabe and Wagner's first wife Minna, which seem to date from 1836 or 1837. I strongly suspect that the individual involved is the Jewish merchant given permission to settle in Berlin on 23 June 1836, named Louis Schwabe, formerly a merchant in Magdeburg, who was a wholesale silk dealer at Bruederstrasse 37. He was born in Dessau on 12 April 1806; he had become a Buerger of Magdeburg in 1831 and had obtained a patent of naturalization (?I guess as a Prussian) in 1834. His father's name was **Benjamin** Berend Schwabe; he was in Magdeburg in 1836. All this information comes from Jacob Jacobson, Die Judenbuergerbuecher der Stadt Berlin, 1809-1851 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962), p. 306. This is one of the series of publications by the Historische Kommission in Berlin. So he clearly looks like one of "yours" [i.e. related to Benjamin]’²⁰

Further research on the earlier Schwabes (see above) established that this Louis was the first cousin of Louis, Fanny and Stephan. The reference to the relationship between Louis Schwabe and Minna occurs in Wagner’s autobiography and other biographies of the composer. Wagner’s jealousy of Minna’s ‘affair’ with Schwabe led him to marry her and it was this marriage that Wagner blamed for being a drag on his creative genius; so I suppose we can blame poor old Louis Schwabe for slowing down Wagner’s musical career. The extract below is from Derek Watson’s *Richard Wagner: A Biography* (1981) Schirmer Books, New York.



Thoroughly depressed, Wagner left Magdeburg without regrets, and arrived in Berlin on 18 May ... He had come to Berlin in the hope of a performance of Die Liebesverbot at Cerf's Konigstadt Theatre. For a few weeks Wagner believed Cerf intended to help him: the Berlin Director was full of empty promises, which the desperate Wagner was only too ready to regard as genuine ... Wagner was convinced that Cerf really meant to install him as conductor of the Berlin Konigstadt Theatre and perform his opera, so he lingered He met a Jewish tradesman from Magdeburg, one Schwabe, who had previously been in love with Minna. Jealousy, suspicion, frustration and self-pity were fanned as the days passed.... he realized that Cerf's smooth-faced assurance were utterly hollow. Berlin had no use for him and so he resolved to leave for Konigsberg [where Minna was] without further humiliation. Borrowing money from Laube, he did so on 7 July.

‘My Life’ by Richard Wagner
Prospective employment in Königsberg

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The conductor, stage director, secretary and other gentlemen of that ilk were obliged to make it clear to me in turn that my wishes could not be fulfilled, and that the director owed me nothing whatsoever for the time he had made me waste while waiting for him to make good on his promises. I recall that this painfully prolonged process was an experience which filled me with prescient woe concerning my entire life.



My situation had gone from bad to worse as a result of all this. Minna now wrote me frequently from Königsberg as to the status of my hopes, but she had nothing of an encouraging nature to tell me; the local theater director seemed to be involved with his conductor in a murky relationship about which I could only later receive sufficient clarification, but which for the moment seemed to make my chances of obtaining the coveted position bafflingly remote. Yet it seemed certain that I would be able to begin work in Königsberg that autumn: as I was lolling around in Berlin at a loose end and under no circumstances would consider going back to Leipzig, I conjured up from these fragile hopes the ship that would transport me from the sandy marshes of Berlin to a safe haven on the Baltic.

This became possible, however, only after I had fought out and resolved within myself some difficult and serious inner conflicts produced by my relationship with Minna. An incomprehensible aspect of the character of this otherwise apparently straightforward female had thrown my young heart into turmoil. *A good-natured, well-to-do merchant of Jewish descent named Schwabe, who until then had been established in Magdeburg, made friendly overtures to me in Berlin, and I soon discovered that his friendship was chiefly due to the passionate interest he took in Minna.* It later became clear to me that a relationship had existed between this man and Minna, which could hardly have been construed as a breach of faith with me, since it had ended in a decided repulse of the rival's wooing in my favor: but the fact that the episode had been kept so secret that I had gotten no earlier inkling of it, and also the suspicion that Minna's comfortable circumstances were in part attributable to the friendship of this man, filled me with gloomy misgivings. But although, as stated, I could discover no real infidelity, I felt rather more of an anxious unease which drove me to the half-desperate resolve to regain my equilibrium in this respect by winning full possession of Minna. It seemed to me that my stability as a citizen as well as my artistic development would be assured by a totally committed union with Minna. The two years I had already spent in the theater world had kept me in a constant state of distraction, which made itself felt in an almost painful manner in my most inward being: I had a dark premonition that I was on a terribly wrong tack; I longed for self-possession and

rest and hoped to find these most readily by bringing that relationship which had caused me so much unrest to a culmination. Laube had no trouble guessing from my untidy, emotional and peaked condition that something was wrong with this young man, it was in his company, which I always found comforting, that I gained my only halfway compensatory impressions of Berlin. The most important artistic experience came from a performance of *Fernand Cortez* under the baton of Spontini himself: the spirit of his conducting astonished me in a way virtually unknown to me before. If the actual performance, most particularly as regards the principal figures, who as a group could no longer be considered the cream of the Berlin opera ensemble, left me cold, and although it never produced an effect remotely comparable to that which Schroder-Devrient had made on me, yet the exceptionally precise, fiery and superbly organized way the whole work was brought off was entirely new to me. I gained a fresh insight into the inherent dignity of major theatrical undertakings, which in all their parts could be elevated by alert rhythmic control into a singular and incomparable form of art. This very intense impression remained vividly with me and guided me particularly in the conception of my *Rienzi*, so that from artistic point of view Berlin can be said to have carved its traces on my development. [...]

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... I had soon become accustomed never to appeal to Minna on any idealistic grounds; baffled by this, I always made a point of glossing over this aspect of things by laughter and jokes, yet still became naturally all the more sensitive to qualms about those aspects of womanly character in which I had accorded Minna a superiority profoundly of civilized beneficial to me. Her odd tolerance of certain intimacies and importunities, even with respect to her own person, on the part of those she on her own regarded as her patrons in the theater irritated me severely; and I was incensed to find her responding to my reproaches about all this with an expression on her countenance of deep offense. The chance discovery of letters from the *merchant Schwabe*, of whose relationship with her I had received a first intimation in Berlin, astonished me by the revelation of much that had previously been unknown to me. All the pent-up jealousy, together with all my deep-seated doubts about Minna's character, now welled up in a precipitate decision to abandon the girl at once. We had one of those boundlessly fierce scenes that set the pattern for all our future altercations of this sort. In my outburst I obviously went too far toward a woman who had become attached to me through no real amorous passion, but who had more or less yielded good-naturedly to my advances and who basically did not belong to me, by behaving as if I really had exclusive right to her. To bring me up short, Minna needed only to remind me that from a worldly point of view she had of view she had already refused several good offers in order

to give way to the impetuosity of a penniless and ill-situated young man, whose talent had as yet to be proved to the world, with sympathetic kindness and devotion. But I did myself the most damage by the raging vehemence of my tone and diction, through which the target of it all felt herself so deeply wounded that I, realizing to what excesses I had gone, had to rely on admission of my own guilt to pacify the injured party and beg her forgiveness. Thus ended the fight, like all those to follow, with an outward victory for the female side. But peace had been undermined once and for all, and Minna's character in particular underwent a serious transformation as a result of the frequent recurrence of such incidents. Just as in later times she became increasingly perplexed at my seemingly incomprehensible conception of art and its relative importance, which caused her profound uncertainty in the judgment of everything connected with it, at this period she grew more and more confused by my feelings, so very different from hers ...

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ENDNOTES

¹ This web site contains a number of other families' data such as Man, Lowis, Huntley. etc. not all of which are necessarily related to the Schwabes. The 'super ordinate' family is Man and thus the Schwabes are contained within the Man web site because of a marriage of a Schwabe descendant to a Man.

² Louis was the cousin of Stephan and Louis of Manchester and Fanny of Hamburg and thus not a direct ancestor of any of us descendants.

³ Stephan's children are also noted by Sir Thomas Colyer-Ferguson, whose genealogical research is a major source of information. Sir Thomas, a gentile who married into one of the great plutocratic Jewish families of England, became fascinated by the rich cultural milieu of his family connections. He spent a great deal of time scouring the papers for all mentions of births, marriages, and deaths of those named Rothschild, Montefiore, Montagu and others including Schwabe. From the mid- to late-nineteenth century until the early 1940's, he made careful note of every mention he could find of the names that he was interested in. All of this data is now on microfilm at the Jewish Historical Society. The notes he made on the Schwabes were copied and sent to me by the chairman of that society Dr. Anthony Joseph.

⁴ Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, *Commemoration of the Fifty Years' Ministry of Rev. William Gaskell, MA* (Manchester, 1878), p. 59;

⁵ He was born on the 5th February 1883 in Barton on Irwill, England, Lawrence Schwabe's eldest son. He changed his name to Sykes in response to anti-German sentiment in 1917. He worked for a British import / export company, selling weapons manufactured by Remington and Colt to both China and India. He also organised hunting trips in India for rich Englishmen. He joined the S.M.P. [Shanghai Municipal Police] in 1926 and became an Inspector in charge of a unit of snipers. At the start of World War II Sykes (Schwabe) was commissioned as Captain in the British Commandos and ordered to teach a lethal version of the Defendo system at the Commando school in Scotland. Once the British Commando School in Scotland was able to produce its own qualified instructors, Sykes was transferred to the Special Operations Executive (S.O.E.) where he trained special agents for behind the lines duties. [Information downloaded from the Internet]

⁶ Robert went out to the far east and married, Kini Myandera, a Japanese woman in 1896. They had three children (see genealogy report).

⁷ Letter written by Karl Marx to Frederich Engels: *You may be certain that despite all mishaps I and my wife (who, by the by, is well on the way to recovery) found our own **affairs** less disquieting than your latest report on the state of your health. While delighted beyond measure that you should be improving, I am thoroughly alarmed to learn that you intend to return to the office — and to do so this very week. If nothing else, the whole course of your illness should have shown you that what you needed physically was to rest, recuperate and temporarily shake off the dust of the office. You must go to the seaside **as soon as possible**. If, at this crucial moment, you should be so childish (pardon the expression) as to shut yourself up in the office again, you will suffer further relapses, and your resistance to the disease will at the same time be progressively impaired. Such relapses might ultimately lead to an infection of the lungs, in which case all attempts at a cure would be fruitless. Surely it is not your ambition to go down to posterity as one who sacrificed himself on the altar of **Ermen & Engels'** office? One would feel sorry for a person with your complaint if he were compelled by circumstances to chain himself anew to his business rather than restore his health.* [This letter was downloaded from a web site on Marx-Engels].

⁸ *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 17 August 1839, reprinted in F. C. Mather, ed., *Chartism and Society: An Anthology of Documents* (New York, 1980), p. 288; Abraham Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry, 1812-1895* (Glasgow, 1949) p. 17; Pamela Barnes, *Royal Manchester Children's Hospital, 'Pendlebury,' 1829-1999* (Churnet Valley Books, 1999) p. 17.

⁹ Stanley Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 148; idem, "The Commercial Sector," in Mary B. Rose, ed., *The Lancashire Cotton Industry: A History since 1700* (Preston, 1996), p. 81; Michael Moss and John R. Hume, *Shipbuilders to the World: 125 Years of Harland and Wolff, Belfast, 1861-1986* (Belfast, 1986), p. 14, which cites Chapman as the source of information; Todd Endelmann, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990), p. 122.

¹⁰ John Scholes, *A List or Collection of Merchants of the City of Manchester, who shall be foreigners, viz. Germans, Greeks, etc., from 1784 to 1845* Manchester Central Library (MCL) Archives, manuscript MSq

382 S36, lists for 1836, 1837, 1839. A microfilmed version of this source that carries through 1870 is also at MCL, MF1286a.

¹¹ Scholes manuscript, MCL, lists for 1818 and following years; *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford and Their Vicinities* (Manchester, 1848), p. 231; *Alphabetical Directory of Manchester, Salford, and Their Vicinities* (Manchester, 1851), p. 310.

¹²N. J. Frangopulo, 'Foreign Communities in Victorian Manchester,' *Manchester Review* 10 (Spring-Summer 1965), 195; obituary of Leopold Schwabe in *Manchester Guardian*, 15 June 1888; IGI Microfiche Index for Lancashire, p. 80,895; L. Horwitz, *Die Emanzipation der Juden in Anhalt-Dessau* (Dessau, 1909), p. 17; letter to the author from Ms. Janet Barnes of Glasgow, a great-great granddaughter of Stephen (or Stephan) Schwabe, 18 March 2001; Moss and Hulme, p. 14; electronic mail to the author from David Man of New York City, a 3X great grandson of Fanny Schwabe Wolff, 3 July 2001. According to David Man, P. B. Schwabe was born in Dessau in 1771 and died in Hamburg in 1852. For what is probably a reference to his mercantile activities in 1806, see the memoirs of Samuel Meier Ehrenburg in Monika Richarz, ed., *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland: Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte, 1780-1871* (Nördlingen, 1976), pp. 344-46.

¹³ Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester, 1976), p. 93; *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, volume 23 (Jan.-June-1845), p. 218; *ibid.*, vol. 24 (July-Dec. 1845), p. 205; *Manchester & Salford Advertiser*, 24.II.1838, 3 1838; *Manchester Guardian*, 22 January 1840, 16 January 1841, 27 March 1841, and 9 October 1841.

¹⁴ On Louis Schwabe junior, Scholes manuscript, MCL, list for 1854; Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, *Commemoration of the Fifty Years' Ministry of Rev. William Gaskell, MA* (Manchester, 1878), p. 59; *TLCAS*, 2 (1884), p. 180.

¹⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, 15 June 1888; IGI Microfiche Index for Lancashire, p. 80.895; information on the wedding from Familysearch.org.; *Manchester & Salford Advertiser*, 21 May 1842.

¹⁶ *Manchester & Salford Advertiser*, 18 December 1841.

¹⁷ Scholes manuscript, MCL; *Slater's General and Classified Directory and Street Register of Manchester and Salford with Their Vicinities* (Manchester, 1869), p. 493; IGI Microfiche Index for Lancashire, p. 80,895; *DNB, 1941-1950*, pp. 762-63.

¹⁸ Williams, pp. 93, 169, 388.

¹⁹ The parallels between this Schwabe family and that of Philipp and Samson are surprising. The dates would make it possible for Benjamin Behrens to be a bother of Philipp and Samson's. Benjamin Behrens has a son named Louis born in 1806, Samson also has a son Louis born around the same time. They all share the name Benjamin and all originate in Dessau.

²⁰ The parallels between this Schwabe family and that of Philipp and Samson are surprising. The dates would make it possible for Benjamin Behrens to be a bother of Philipp and Samson's. Benjamin Behrens has a son named Louis born in 1806, Samson also has a son Louis born around the same time. They all share the name Benjamin and all originate in Dessau.