



A Piece of Migration History through the Rombauer Family Tree¹

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AN INTRODUCTION: ARRIVING TO AMERICA

I had already written about the Saxon family's story in Hungary, their role in different events in earlier history. Their life in a closed, German-language city for a half of a millennia evolved such strong values, we could easily have described by the Protestant ethic and the viewpoint of a Weberian spirit of capitalism. However, in the 19th century the life of the family changed: most of them left Lőcse (Levoča) and its traditional bourgeoisie community, looking for new challenges. Perhaps the most renowned family member was Tivadar Rombauer, an iron industrialist, the founder of the most important iron factory in contemporary Hungary and the leading personality of arms supply in the Revolution.

After the Hungarian capitulation at Világos the forty-six years old Rombauer had to flee through Austria, dressed like a journeyman. His first station was in Hamburg, from where he travelled to England through Belgium. Even the second line officials of the Hungarian Revolution had no chance to survive in Hungary, and many of them escaped to Germany, France and England, or moved to overseas.² Such friends helped these refugees as Ferenc Pulszky and György Klapka, who were former leading personalities in Hungary and lived already in emigration. Pulszky, the most important organizer of the Hungarian fugitives, helped also Rombauer to reach London and then supported him with 480 pounds for his journey to New York. One part of this amount was a kind of insurance for Rombauer's wife in case of a shipwreck. This is not surprising that the two Hungarian revolutionaries in America started to correspond soon about the future possibilities of a "better than the Revolution" reform

1 This study about those Rombauers immigrated to America in the middle of the 19th century is the sequel of that I wrote about their ancestors in Hungary. P. KOUDELA, *A Piece of Late Modern Age History of Hungary through the Rombauer Family Tree*, in: *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations*, No. 1, 2015, pp. 28–45.

2 G. ALBERT, *A Kossuth-ellenes emigráció — Szemere Bertalan levelezése (1849–1851)*, in: *Kortárs*, Vol. 42, No. 6, 1998, pp. 66–96.

movement for Hungary.³ This is also worth to mention that Pulszky gradually became a main supporter of Austria-Hungarian Compromise even against Kossuth during the forthcoming decades.

As soon as Tivadar arrived to America, he started to deal with mining and foundry.⁴ He made a proposal in Washington for a gold mining entrepreneurship in California, but he was refused. Later on, he travelled for a tour to South-America, where he met a lot of Hungarian and gained experience. Returning from Argentina he settled down in a small village, twenty-five kilometers from Davenport, Iowa. Tivadar bought a land there to cultivate, but the farm was not prosperous, thus they soon moved to Davenport, the city full of French, German and English immigrants. During this period, he also met Kossuth, with whom he discussed organizational questions, but politics played a decreasing role in his life in America. In Davenport, he became a coeditor at the newspaper *Der Demokrat*, however, only a couple years later he died at his very young age in 1855.⁵

His wife, Bertha, who was also an active participant of the War of Independence in Hungary as a nurse, followed his husband to America in 1850, where she mostly translated Hungarian poems to German. Some of her own writings were also published in a German newspaper pressed in Davenport, and she even came out with a book of poetry.⁶

THE FIRST GENERATION: ROLAND AND ROBERT

Tivadar and Bertha had eleven children, of whom three died in the war: Richard was only eighteen, when he fell in the Battle of Vízakna; Clara and Irma died during their persecution. The oldest daughter, Bertha,⁷ who was a schoolmistress, also followed her father to the USA and settled down in Davenport, but in the second year of her emigration, in the December of 1852 she had died; she was only 24. Another daughter of the Rombauers, Emma, married to Gustavus A. Finkelnburg, who was born in Cologne, Germany, but became one of the prominent lawyers in contemporary St. Louis. Her brother, Roland⁸ was a merchant and served as a Captain of the Cavalry during the Civil War and later became a member of the legislative body in Florida and Montana. He was secluded in Missoula, Montana and finally worked as a mountain guide. He had one child from Carolina Engelmann. Their sister, Ida became also a schoolmistress and taught in a school — founded by her mother — until 1853, when she married

3 OSZK Kézirattár (Hungarian National Széchenyi Library Archives hereinafter referred only as OSZK). *Rombauer Tivadar levele Pulszky Ferenchez 1849*. Levelestár.

4 B. FORGÁTS, *Rombauer Tivadar az 1848–49. évi szabadságharc fegyvergyári igazgatója és a Rimamurány-Salgótarjáni Vasmű Rt. alapítója*, In: *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok*, June 1, 1940, p. 181.

5 T. VASS, *Rombauer Tivadar a gyáralapító (1803–1855)*, in: *Ózdi Honismereti Közlemények*, Vol. 12, 1996, pp. 3–130.

6 B. ROMBAUER, *Bunte Blätter von Bertha Rombauer*, St. Louis 1889.

7 Born: 1828, Derizen (Munkács — Мукачеве).

8 Lived: 1837. Selesztó — 1898. Montana.



to Captain John Fiala. Fiala was born in Temesvár (Timișoara), Hungary and later became Colonel under Antal Vetter General. John (János) was even awarded with Military Order of Merit in the Battle of Komárom. After the capitulation, he also escaped to Turkey, as so many did that time, where he became the adjutant of Bem. Later he moved to France, but after the coup of Napoleon III, he immigrated to America. It happened in 1851, and only a decade later he participated in the Civil War as a topographer engineer Major and Brigade Inspector. Already in 1859 it was Fiala, who created and published the first detailed map of Missouri,⁹ and published many other maps in the following years.¹⁰ After the Civil War he and his wife, Ida settled down in San Francisco, where John wrote articles to Hungarian (Hazánk, 1889) and American newspapers about the Hungarian War of Independence.¹¹

Robert Rombauer,¹² right after his graduation in the Lutheran High School in Pozsony (Bratislava), moved to Vienna in 1848, and became a freshman in the Polytechnic. He immediately joined the Legion of the Academy and later entered the army as a Lieutenant of the Artillery. After the fall of the Revolution he was enlisted to the Austrian Army as a private, but only one year later, in 1850 he was freed by ransom and soon immigrated to America with his mother. Robert also fought in the Civil War and served as the Colonel of the 1st U.S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers by side of Lincoln. For his bravery, shown in defending the Pacific Railway, he was even promoted to Brigadier Commander. After 1865 he settled down in St. Louis and became the president of the Board of Assessors St. Louis County and also a publisher of a newspaper and an accountant. He published a military treatise, titled *The Contest*¹³ and a mortality map of St. Louis in connection to the 1866 cholera.¹⁴ At that time he was renowned as the author of a study on education¹⁵ and a reminiscences about the events of 1861.¹⁶ Robert also published books on nationalism and European state structure.¹⁷ He had a great cultural impact in St. Louis: the St. Louis Public Library was his idea, for instance, but he was the president of the Board of Assessors and member of Board of Education too.¹⁸

Robert Rombauer found her love, Emilia Hogl already in America and they married in 1857. His wife, Emilia¹⁹ was also a Hungarian immigrant: she was born in Temesvár,

9 Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA G4050 1859. F5 RR 175

10 *Fiala and Haren's New Sectional Map of the State of Missouri*. Published by Gray & Crawford, 1861. Lith. by Chas. Robyn & Co.

11 E. VASVÁRY, *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes*, Washington 1939; T. ÁCS, *A száműzöttek: Fiala János 1848–49-i honvédezés emlékiratai az emigrációból*, Budapest 1943.

12 *1830. Podhering (Munkács) — 1924. St. Louis.

13 R. ROMBAUER, *The Contest: A Military Treatise*, St. Louis 1863.

14 R. ROMBAUER, *Map of Part of the City of Saint Louis, Showing the Location of Deaths from Cholera in 1866: Prepared for 12th Annual Meeting, A. P. H. A., Oct. 1884*, St. Louis 1884.

15 R. ROMBAUER, *A Study on Primary Education*, St. Louis 1913.

16 R. ROMBAUER, *The Union cause in St. Louis in 1861, an Historical Sketch*, St. Louis 1909.

17 R. ROMBAUER, *Peace Prospects (Carnegie visitors' Reports)*, [s. l.] 1915; ROMBAUER, *The Contest...*, R. ROMBAUER, *Elements of State Organization in Europe*, [s. l.] 1916.

18 I. K. VIDA, *The True Cause of Freedom: The Kossuth Emigration and the Hungarians' Participation in the American Civil War*, PhD Dissertation, [s. l. s. a.], p. 190.

19 R. ROMBAUER, *From the Life of a Lady*, St. Louis 1911.

Hungary in 1829. Her father, Károly Hogl was a prosperous wholesaler, founder of a candle, a wool and a throws factory and owner of a bank and an accepting house. His products were delivered to Vienna, Budapest and Trieste, and Hogl was considered one of the richest businessman in his native town. Berta spent her childhood having French and music lessons, riding, dancing lessons and visiting benefit concerts and theater performances. She was only sixteen, when first met her later husband Robert Rombauer on a ball of Ernő Kiss, Hussar Colonel, where such notabilities appeared as Damjanich, Klapka, Sándor Asbóth and Count Theodor Dembiński²⁰, nephew of the famous Polish General. Soon after, Bertha's father lost all of his money with the fall of Geimüller's bank in Vienna, and in 1847 Captain Dembiński engaged Emilia and left the army. The young Dembiński originally planned to go back to Poland and take in hand his domains, but the Hungarian Revolution prevented him to do so; he remained in Temesvár with the support of five thousand citizens. On January 3, 1849, during the retreat from Pancsova (Pančevo), the fortified city, a young bombardier led the second cannon of the rearguard: Robert Rombauer. On April 25, 1849, the Hungarian Army attacked Temesvár and in May Dembiński and Emilia married. The old General Dembiński forced his nephew to take over the engineering management of the Siege of Temesvár prompting him to a Major. When, on July 19, Kossuth visited the camp, Emilia already sat on Kossuth's right on the gala dinner. She was the beauty of Temesvár and the only woman in the company. On them flee — as a consequence of the fall of the Revolution — on 21st November, Kossuth and Emilia arrived to Turkey together, where — after it was revealed that Gen. Dembiński and Hogl wouldn't extradited — the young Dembiński had to sell his horses and coach to a pasha and continued his journey in Kossuth's coach. Emilia and Kossuth had close intimate relationship in Turkey even until Kossuth's wife arrived.²¹ The Austrian Secret Police wanted to commit assassination against Kossuth after the fall of the War, and sources proof that Emilia had a role in informing the police about Kossuth.²² Perhaps Kossuth didn't known about Emilia's betrayal, because he gave a letter of recommendation to Emilia and Theodor, who travelled to Constantinople with a counterfeit passport, issued for Mr. and Mrs. Bloomfield; their journey continued in Varna, where the Consul waited for them. It was already an Austrian Post Steamer, on which they travelled back to Constantinople together with the Consul's son. The spring found them in Marseille, from where they moved to Southampton and finally to New York.

On June 4, 1850, they reached the coasts of America, but during their journey they got acquainted with Henry Wells, the owner of Wells Fargo & Company, Charles Lewis Tiffany, the jewelry retailer and other significant personalities, of whom they received invitations. Soon after their arrival to New York Dembiński opened a tobacco and cigar shop opposite the theatre on the Broadway, for which he was borrowed the capital. Later he opened another shop in Saratoga Springs, but soon went bankrupt — according to Robert's remembrances — because of a disloyal assistant. Meanwhile Emilia tried to return to Hungary, where she became imprisoned for three months,

20 Written in Hungarian sources like Dembinszky.

21 New York Literary World, January 4, 1851, P12, C2 and *Kossuth Lajos Vizonya gróf Dembinszky-né Hogl Emíliához*, in: *Amerika Magyar Népszava*, Vol. 113, No. 3, 2003, pp. 12–13.

22 I. HAJNAL, *A Kossuth-emigráció Törökországban*, Vol. 1, Budapest 1927, pp. 337–349.





and from where finally she could escape again to Temesvár and then to America. At the same time Theodor Dembiński went utterly bankrupt and bought a small farm near to Hoboken, but he was not successful even in agriculture, thus Emilia had no other choice, but to put her jewelry in pawn for 300 dollars. Later they moved to Cincinnati, where Dembiński worked as an engineer at the Railways, then opened a retail. We have no evidence whether a series of bad luck or a totally incapable personality caused it, but Dembiński broke down to last penny in Cincinnati again, and the family had not much choice left. Their final station was at their friend, Major John Fiala's place in St. Louis. Theodore sign on manual work in the Becher sugar factory and later in a candle factory, but his body couldn't stand the strain and got sick. That time Emilia had to start to work for their living as a seamstress and fed the family until his husband died on November 14, 1854. After this tragedy, she accepted the invitation of Tivadar Rombauer and opened a finishing-school with Ida Rombauer. Tivadar worked in different businesses with his son that time. Emilia became a lady companion in 1855 and later the governess at the family of the rich and influential Henry Blow. Her pupil, Susanne Blow introduced Kindergarten to America. In 1857 Henry Blow proposed to her, but she had rather chosen another swain: Robert Rombauer; their wedding was on May 2. Three of their children reached adulthood, and — according to their father's memoirs — they considered themselves as much Americans as much the descendants of the heroes of the Hungarian War of Independence.²³

GUIDO ROMBAUER THE MINE OWNER

Robert's brother, Guido Rombauer²⁴ studied to a craftsman at a machine manufacturer and also settled down in St. Louis. In 1861 he entered the Union as a sergeant at the Home Guard, but he was soon promoted to a Major of the 1st Illinois Light Artillery under General Washburn, commander of Tennessee. Guido directed two artillery batteries until he was appointed to the commander of the whole Artillery Division. Soon after he dismounted and next year married Emily Thomas, with whom he had five children. He started his civil career at the Missouri Pacific Railroad as a director of the forwarding agents then superintendent of the Southwest Branch of the company. Following his entrepreneur spirit, he soon left his job and established his own mine-coaling company the Rombauer Coal Company in Novinger (Missouri), where he was the head and the main shareholder at the same time.²⁵

Most of the Rombauers settled down in St. Louis, the town which entered to the Victorian era with a large industrial and commercial growth. During the expansion of the railway and steamboat iron sources and investments bloat the town to a flourishing metropolis giving home to many different traditions and cultures. Iron sources brought to life a developing industry sixty kilometers south: foundries, pipe, plow, hearth and tool factories were established. By the year 1880 already 2,924 factories operated in the sixth largest city in the US with 350,518 inhabitants. In 1880 the lead-

²³ R. ROMBAUER, *Egy magyar nő élete az emigrációban: Hogl Emilia*, Budapest 1913.

²⁴ Lived: 1838, Munkács — 1912, St. Louis.

²⁵ E. PIVÁNY, *Hungarians at the American Civil War*, Cleveland 1913, p. 19.

ing industries of St. Louis were brewing, flour milling, slaughtering, machining, and tobacco processing along with iron.²⁶ The incredibly fast growing city begun rapidly differentiate. Wealthiest families moved out to its outskirts residing in enclaves,²⁷ partly because of the increasing air pollution from factories and, despite the increasing wealth and the city's place between the South of slaves and the free North, riots were occurred more often by time.

In this city, laden with contradictions every bigger house was decorated and surrounded with wrought iron. Demand for iron started to increase due to the conflagration in 1849, when inner districts were almost fully destroyed; the year, when the cholera caused the death of nearly 5,000 people leading to a new sewer system. When the city run out of wood, they switched to coal and coke, thus the growing demand gave the opportunity to Guido. This technology nevertheless marred the quality of iron with the result of a decreasing demand for iron circa 1900.

The main means of transport between 1850 and 1870 was steamboat, mostly because of the supply of the mines. Steamers moored in the harbor in three lines and one more a kilometer further. It was America's third busiest port until the outburst of the Civil War. In 1874 the Eads Bridge opened the railway trade between west and east, what was also supported by the government, thus steamboat traffic begun to decline in the 1880s.²⁸ Railway was one of the many technical investments, with which the era and its Victorian homes can be characterized by. Women started to use foot powered sewing machines that time, flickering candlelight was replaced by gas lamp and in the eighties, every wealthier family had the electric light laid on. After Bell invited the telephone in 1876, within a year it spread widely in St. Louis, however comfort extended to different fields of lifestyle too: almost every home owned a piano and the first player-piano was introduced in 1897.²⁹ Furniture in homes changed soon: hardwood and straight-backed, hard benches were replaced by soft and cushioned couches.

Guido Rombauer had to stand his ground in such circumstances. Five years after 1890, when the first coal mine was introduced in Novinger, Missouri, he bought it, the so-called O.K. Mining Company from the Stroup family, for ten thousand dollars; this mine became the Rombauer Mine No. 1. At the beginning Rombauer had not enough cash to pay off the workers because the delivered coal had not been reimbursed, thus he had to borrow money from the previous owner; fortunately the situation was resolved soon. After a couple of years of successful operation Guido rented the Davis Creek Valley and opened new mines there, named to Rombauer Mines No. 2, No. 3 and No. 4. The first mine was soon closed thereafter. That time he received a thirty thousand dollar offer for his firm from an east coast company, but he refused it. Mines produced and delivered thousands of tons of coal until 1912. That year a new technology was introduced to the mines No. 3 and No. 4. The previous system was called Room and Pillar: rooms were formed supporting by pillars left in

26 A. HURLY, *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, St. Louis 1997, p. 148.

27 J. N. PRIMM, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980*, St. Louis 1998, pp. 340.

28 H. S. MILLER — Q. SCOTT, *The Eads Bridge*, London 1979.

29 B. DOLAN, *Inventing Entertainment: The Player Piano and the Origins of an American Musical Industry*, Lanham 2009, p. 46.



the mines thereafter. As a consequence, a good part of coal remained in the grooves; the new method, called Long-Wall was more efficient, it used electric tools and could move downwards too.³⁰

RODERICK ROMBAUER AT HIS YOUTH

The fourth brother, Roderick, was born in 1833 already in Selesztó (Bereg County, part of Szolyva, then Hungary, now Свалява, Ukraine). We can get a close picture about his life by his autobiography he published in Washington in 1903.³¹ He wrote about his father, family and those events in history we described earlier by a different approach than his father did. So, we step back in space and time to Hungary, before the Revolution, to be able to understand and compare the family's fate by Roderick's interpretation about his own childhood.

According to his reminiscences, they lived in such a big house that — despite of its modest appearance — it was called a mansion by locals. Because the school in the village didn't meet the expectations of his family, a private tutor was taking on. He wasn't impressed very much, as he remembered, mostly just liked hanging around, despite the teacher attempted to entice him for studying with honey biscuits. If the young Roderick haven't had enough the promised biscuits, he simply gave a bash on the teacher's face. This might have been an excessive memory of a judge, who was living in America at the time of remembering, but his situation in the local community had been probably exceptional at all. He fraternized with sons of subaltern clerks, neighboring peasants and his superior position left a vivid memory: in his view the romantic environment made him a day dreamer.

At the age of four the family moved to Munkács, a town of only four thousand inhabitants at the time, but he didn't go to school until nine. In this city circumstances were better, but most of his relationships remained socially unequal, according to those typical in the isolated, small country town. At the age of nine he was enrolled to a catholic school, because the family wanted to receive an elite education for Roderick, and this was the only exclusive school in the area. Students recruited from county nobility, but teachers brutalized them, as the remembering Roderick wrote: just like in the Yorkshire school of Dickens, only the leather strap was lacking. No wonder that these children once escaped into and hide in the woods. The oldest was only twelve, and they started to behave violently each other, but soon were captured. He hated the cold and uncomfortable catholic temple and understood nothing of the mass. This developed a resistance against the Church and moreover against the religion, and led to that he refused the Confirmation later in his life already in a Protestant High School. The latter case caused that even his father conflicted the indignant director saying him: the school should let his son choose according to his own creed, when become old enough.³² The situation might be interpreted as a simple parent-school contradic-

30 T. R. MCELOY, *Descendants of William Attey*, http://www.oocities.org/thomas_mcelroy/Descendants_of_William_Attey.htm, [cit. 2015-02-24].

31 R. E. ROMBAUER, *The History of a Life*, Washington 1903.

32 *Ibidem*, p. 9.



tion, but considering the circumstances and the source, its relevance for Roderick's identity, formed in his new homeland, can be higher.

Following the father's foundries' interest, they moved forward at his age of fourteen. For that school-year, 1847–1848, he remembered himself as the worst student out of the sixty, and he considered the miraculous change for the following year to be his father's influence in so far, as he became the first student out of seventy and the only eminent of Hungarian Literature.³³ This is hard to decide from the only remembrance that the relationship between father and son was a strong emotional connection, or even the lack of his presence and the wish to be suited for the authority determined the situation. The adult Roderick considered outstandingly important their relationship and devoted a separate chapter for that in his memoirs. His father, Tivadar was a hero in his eyes: an idealist democrat, free of preconceptions, who tried to treat the brothers equally. In his adulthood, they remained close friends: corresponded frequently and Roderick shared the most confidential secrets of his life, like love affairs, only with his father. Roderick became a lawyer at his father's desire feeling lack of any affinity for the profession. Later in his published poetry the picture of the father also appeared heroic.³⁴ Finally: only his father appeared as a clearly positive entity in his remembrance about his past at all.

By 1848 Tivadar became the Head of Department in Klauzál's ministry, so the family moved to Pest and Roderick enrolled to the newly founded military academy. His father wanted to send him to Thun, Switzerland, where the best European military academy worked then, under the direction of General Dufour. Guillaume Dufour instructed even Napoleon himself, but at least not Rombauer, because events drove his life in a different direction. After the defeat at Schwechat they went to Nagyvárad (Oradea) and stayed there with his father until the end of 1849.

The emigration through Belgium, England and New York, the buying of that land in Scott County, Iowa happened to Tivadar without his family, they only followed him later on ship. The journey kept for fifty-four days, and all masts were lost in a storm at Newfoundland. At the time, there were no any railway connection west of Chicago; men travelled on horses and women on horse-drawn carriages. As the farm proved to be a business blunder, they went on first to Davenport, then in 1853 to St. Louis. Their mother established there a private school for girls, and the brothers started to work at the Pacific Railroad.

Not only their father but Roderick asked to help and wrote a letter from Hohenheim (Baden Württemberg, Germany) to Ferenc Pulszky, to London.³⁵ Tivadar did his best to rescue Richard and other relatives of him, like Hugo Hohenholtzer, bombardier, from the jaws of death. But the plan to escape from the Vízakna detention camp, and to go through London to America failed.³⁶ Even the highest aristocrat relationships were asked, three hundred francs were sent, but all in vain.

Roderick became acquainted that time with his best friends for a life: the Lawrence brothers, Henry and Chester, of whom the latter became chief judge in Illinois

33 *Ibidem*, p. 11.

34 R. E. ROMBAUER, *Ecce Heros*, St. Louis 1915.

35 OSZK Kézirattár Fond VIII/883.

36 OSZK Kézirattár Rombauer Tivadar levelei.



later. While his father, who was a successful businessman in Hungary, repeatedly failed in America, Roderick integrated easily and soon, maybe only because he was young. No wonder, if he remembered with pleasure to those times, he spent with work as engineer on the prairies. He considered those years to be the happiest of his life later, despite of thinking about it as interim then. But anyway, he wrote poems already in English instead of German, even in this early period of his American life; even though many Germans lived around him and despite the mother tongue of Saxon minorities in Hungary was rather German than Hungarian in the first half of the 19th century.

After his father's death in 1855 his company was liquidated, and Roderick went to Quincy to study law according to his father's wish. The young Rombauer entered to the Chambers of Williams and Lawrence. The following year Roderick took an active part of the political campaign of John C. Fremont: he took speeches, wrote leaflets and articles. Fremont lost the elections to democrat James Buchanan and Roderick went to Cambridge to study at the Dane Law School of Harvard. Nevertheless, without financial support enough, it seemed to be a hopeless venture. Those lessons of German language and fencing, he gave in his own room with his own equipment, were the first of its kind in Cambridge, but were not very profitable. He insisted and later, when professors took his number better, he had a chance to make open lecture notes, supporting the work of Prof. Emory Washburn, former Governor of Massachusetts. For that he received some higher fee.

Roderick was passionate and proud. Once he spent the payment, he received from his professor, not according to common sense; at least it was the professor's opinion, so Roderick was rebuked. The young Rombauer immediately answered in a letter that he wanted rights instead of alms, and that he didn't expect aid even not from a friend of God. Washburn was certainly shocked, but consulted with another professor to help to persuade the young student. Finally, they reconciled, but from that point professors followed his career with a greater interest. There is another case, worth to highlight from this period of his life. Just before Roderick arrived to Cambridge, he met George Sumner, traveler and performer, nephew of Senator Charles Sumner in Quincy. They soon became friends, and when George arrived to Cambridge, he introduced Roderick to H. W. Longfellow, with whom Sumner had a close relationship. Roderick could have taken advantage of such opportunity, but never did so. In his remembrance decades, later we can read between the lines and feel a little pride, despite he exactly wrote that he regretted his former stupid haughtiness. Now we are keen to understand his personality: straight and exaggeratedly fair man or still the rebellious and spoiled child, who couldn't deal with social relations. From the other hand integration was realizing between these two extremities: full identification, emotional rejection of the previous ties and uncertainty manifested in halting managing of his new environment and relations. But, nevertheless, this is worth to mention: the case with Longfellow might had happened because of Roderick's vanity. His daughter-in-law, Irma Rombauer, or at least her biographer, remembered like Roderick refused the invitation, because he thought his clothes were too disgraceful.³⁷

³⁷ A. MENDELSON, *Stand Facing the Stove*, New York 1996, p. 35.



In May, 1858 Roderick Rombauer returned to St. Louis, where he found permanent homes after all. Although his mother and brothers lived there, he couldn't expect financial support of them, who didn't live in an abundant life themselves. Roderick had a study at another lawyer, where he could sleep as well. He used to have lunch in a close chop house for 25 cents, in the mornings and evenings he only drunk a cup of cacao and ate a slice of bread. Managing his life this way, he repaid all of his debts very soon.

In the 1850s scores of German and Irish immigrants arrived to St. Louis.³⁸ Between 1844 and 1854 about two million people immigrated to America in general: 80% of them from Ireland and 20% from Germany.³⁹ Germans were rather wealthy political refugees and settled down in Missouri, where German immigrants were already living and what reminded them of their homelands' wine-growing areas. Irish immigrants rather escaped from famine and lived in poverty and illiteracy. Afro-Americans lived in a contradictory situation: both freed and slaves were among them. However, Missouri was admitted as a slave state in 1821, freedom suits were legal since 1824 and the case of Dred Scott⁴⁰ is enough to mention, to revive the memory of those days.

Between 1840 and 1860 a huge population growth supervened, due to the increased immigration, and continued in the following decades only supplemented with Scandinavian immigrants since the 1860s. Although St. Louis was a strategically important place during the Civil War, always under the control of the firm Union, no major battles happened there, because of the strong loyalty of the Union volunteer regiments in St. Louis, which were mostly made up of the dominant German immigrants.⁴¹

In such circumstances the Rombauers' identity had a strong pressure to tend to be rather German than Hungarian. Their Saxon origins, German mother tongue could easily outweigh the emotional ties to the Revolution. But the duality remained as long as Hungarian soldiers appeared in the Civil War and probably after the 1880s, when a great migration wave begun from East and South Europe. And, certainly, integrational attitude to the American society overwrote both.

At the outburst of the Civil War Roderick Rombauer had already proper investments and a large amount of his account. For Lincoln's first call he enlisted as a volunteer in Missouri and soon became a captain. Roderick participated at the construction of Camp Jackson, but fell ill for months soon afterwards. After his recovery, Rombauer was ordered to West Virginia to serve under General Fremont, who had outstandingly high number of Hungarian soldiers anyway.⁴² The Rombauer brothers all fought under the flag of the Union, not surprising, they had already fought for freedom in Hungary and such values were among them in America too. But, nevertheless, the Union could neither finish any battle with a treaty but only with victory.

38 F. A. HODES, *Rising on the River: St. Louis 1822 to 1850, Explosive Growth from Town to City*, Tooele 2009, p. 8.

39 J. PUSKÁS, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940*, Budapest 1982, p. 25.

40 G. SWAIN, *Dred and Harriet Scott: A Family's Struggle for Freedom*, Saint Paul 2004.

41 W. E. PARRISH, *A History of Missouri: 1860 to 1875*, Vol. 3, St. Louis 2001.

42 S. BESZEDITS, *Hungarians with General John C. Fremont in the American Civil War*, in: Vasváry Collections Newsletter, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2003, <http://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00960/00002/beszedits.html>, [cit. 2015-03-07].

**TABLE 1:** Nationalities in St. Louis in 1880, 1890 and 1900

| | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Total Population | 350,518 | 451,770 | 575,238 |
| White | 328,291 | 404,704 | 539,385 |
| Colored | 22,256 | 37,066 | 35,853 |
| Foreign-born | 105,013 | 114,876 | 111,356 |
| Chinese | 56 | 177 | 304 |
| Indian | 15 | — | — |
| Belgian | — | 175 | 216 |
| Czech | 2,456 | 2,301 | 47 |
| German | 54,901 | 66,000 | 4,856 |
| Canadian | — | 2,008 | 2,490 |
| British American | 2,091 | — | — |
| English/Wales | 6,453 | 6,769 | 6,038 |
| French | 2,138 | 1,717 | 1,462 |
| Irish | 28,536 | 24,270 | 19,421 |
| Scotch | 1,309 | 1,370 | 1,264 |
| Holland | — | 355 | 368 |
| Swedish/Norwegian | 660 | — | 1,116 |
| Hungarian | — | 253 | 561 |
| Swiss | 2,385 | 2,209 | 2,752 |
| Italian | — | 1,295 | 2,227 |
| Mexican | — | 62 | 76 |
| Polish | — | 875 | 2,857 |
| Russian | — | 1,538 | 4,785 |
| Austrian | — | 1,586 | 2,563 |

Source: 1880, 1890, 1900 U.S. Census, St. Louis City

Even those intentions, like the intervention of Great Britain or France in 1862, their peaceful and nonofficial attempt in 1864 and finally the Hampton Road Conference had failed; solution for Lincoln could be only victory.⁴³ The number of Hungarian officers was about hundred in the Army of the Union otherwise, most of them were veterans from the Hungarian Independence War.⁴⁴

RODERICK ROMBAUER THE POLITICIAN AND JUDGE

After the war Roderick returned to St. Louis to work as a lawyer, but the public status was cloudy and business activities stalled there, except those lived from the war.

⁴³ J. M. MCPHERSON, *No Peace without Victory: 1861–1856*, in: *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 1, 2004, pp. 1–18.

⁴⁴ S. BESZEDITS, *Notable Hungarians and Their Contributions in the Civil War*, in: *Loyal Legion Vignettes*, <http://suvcw.org/mollus/art014.htm>, [cit. 2015-03-07]; S. BESZEDITS, *The Libby Prison Diary of Colonel Emeric Szabad (Szabad Imre ezredes börtönnaplója)*, Toronto 1999.



Guerilla gangs were raiding in the area and Roderick decided to go to Montana to visit the newly discovered gold fields, however he had to return soon after, because the boat, on which he was travelling, jammed on the Missouri. The aborted journey left an indelible mark on him as the fields along the river were marauded. The buffalo region of Nebraska was not far, huge horde of animals marched through the river, coyotes howled in the night, and sometimes bears appeared on the banks. The country seemed humdrum and bare, thousands of mosquitoes attacked to every living animal in the dried river bed. Initially he was scared to be robbed in the incredibly crowded steerage; most of the passengers were Native Americans, of whom he dreaded to plunder and scalp him. He was, however, astonishingly surprised that most of them were Catholic and impressively friendly; only their pipe smoke choked him after all. Anyway, his immeasurable wish after the warmth of home increased by these experiences.⁴⁵

Roderick was only twenty at his arrival to America and soon became integrated into society and even to politics as member of the Republican Party, but his roots still connected him to Hungary. For a better understanding let's have a look of what he considered important of that. His grandfather was an excellent clergyman in Lócse, however left the Lutheran Church, because his ideological views weren't accepted by the Congregation, and rather became the manager of a lordship. According to the family's reminiscences even his great-grandfather was a liberal, but never forced his son accepting his view of life; this ancestor thought everybody had to develop their own creed individually without the influence of others. Despite these naive ideas, Roderick's grandfather, Mátyás remained alone between his thoughts and started to believe in an intellectual force directing the universe, in the existence of a transcendent power, representing the highest perfection and only partly and imperfectly appearing in humans. But anyway, these slightly Platonic or Pantheistic ideas didn't change his faith in God and never diverted his moral development. Mátyás was a typical ethic Christian like many other Protestants since the end of the 18th century.⁴⁶ Roderick considered important to describe these moral reminiscences in every detail, in his adulthood as a successful judge in America.

Nevertheless, his own ideas about society and literature might be more interesting. Individuals' resignation to compromise is the basis of social structure — he confessed — and everybody, when becoming a member in society, have to necessarily subordinate his natural laws to commonweal (as if we would read Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan!). Everybody is responsible for its own sake, no less than for his family, public good and humankind. In natural state, we are responsible to live our life the most useful we can, to share responsibility and to contribute to common welfare. Roderick mulls much over what man differs from the animal in family life, because relating to its agnates much stronger than to others.⁴⁷ We can easily find the roots of these thoughts and latent values behind in specific and privileged law of Lócse.⁴⁸

45 R. E. ROMBAUER, *The History of a Life*, Washington 1903, p. 22; ROMBAUER, *Ecce...*

46 B. A. SHAIN, *The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought*, Princeton 1996, p. 102.

47 ROMBAUER, 1903, p. 25.

48 K. DEMKO, *Lócse története, I. Jog- mű- és művelődéstörténeti rész*, Lócse 1897.



In this small city one of its most important rule, derived from the middle age, was individuals' subordination to community, which only transformed to common good in Roderick's interpretation, but considering Roderick's emphasis on individuals' responsibility, a Weberian Protestant Ethic seems to be strikingly similar.

But let's go on and have a look at his view of money: that is only for making us independent and help us to achieve desires. He was pondering that accumulation was not good without a goal, but when we arrived to his lamentation about his account and investments, this viewpoint was not confirmed. Except some poor years, he always lived in comfort anyway but was generous and ready to make sacrifices to achieve his goals. Experiences made him bitter: once he sacrificed all his money, even indebted, for a friend and his family not to let them disgraced, but only his floating capital sustained a loss like in many other cases — he explained it later. But this explanation proofs even that “without goals” was enforced. Careful management of assets, rational business doesn't exclude comfortable living. Frugality and hard work, enhanced values of scholarship, rational systematization of government administration, and an increase in entrepreneurship ventures led to a modern western value system is linked to Protestant origins.⁴⁹

Ironically — Roderick remembered — he succeeded only for what he had no affinity and did for the sake of his father. He was already a farmer, civil engineer, soldier and even a miner during his life, but never had luck, only as a judge. In 1863, when judges were elected on the general election, St. Louis was already part of the county.⁵⁰ Elected officials judged in the Law Commissioners Court and during the Civil War, when legal profession wasn't very profitable, Roderick decided to make a try as a member of the leading Republican Party in the county. Both factions' names were on the ballot and decision was signed by underlining. Roderick spared a lot of time and energy for the campaign, and one of a clever friend helped him. On every occasion, he had to dance with daughters, drink with fathers, during he was travelling the countryside; he talked to peasants and could managed even to get the army's votes. Roderick won twenty-to-one ratio against his Democrat counterpart and he became popular and a leading personality in politics, although he was only a bit older than thirty that time: the lower limit of eligibility. Rombauer became the youngest judge in Missouri and looked so young that he always had to keep his baptism at hands to proof he was eligible.

As a judge Roderick reformed the official circumstances: he enlarged his room, and many other judges followed him; he also accelerated preparing, prevented postponements, introduced afternoon sessions first in the state, called judges to their duty and to ask him for advices. Within a year the full registry became empty. On March 7, 1865, when the governor in Missouri declared that no organized Confederate force existed any more in Missouri and that the dismantling of Federal apparatus begun, a new Constitution was drafted by Charles Drake and all the judges were immediately removed.⁵¹ The governor invited Roderick to lead the office until the end of the year.

49 B. REINHARD, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, Oakland 1977.

50 PRIMM, p. 297.

51 W. E. PARRISH — C. T. JONES — L. O. CHRISTENSEN, *Missouri: The Heart of the Nation*, Arlington Heights III 1992, pp. 190-193; R. J. HARDY — R. R. DOHM — D. A. LEUTHOLD, *Missouri Government and Politics*, St. Louis 1995, p. 58.



The new Circuit Court of St. Louis was established in the following year, and Rombauer became one of its three judges. In 1868 he topped the list of elections, but for the next turn in 1870 he failed, because of the inner tensions in the Republican Party. He held a speech in 1871 on a party for his honor and explained that states should line up their legislation to make easier trade or even marriages (in case of women's full age, which wasn't unified). As a consequence of this speech the Bar Association of Metropolitan St. Louis was founded.⁵² In 1875 the new constitution gave chance to create the St. Louis Court of Appeals, in which Roderick became a member. Since 1884 his legislative career was unbroken for twelve years.⁵³ In addition, he published numerous articles on the theme.⁵⁴

Although at the age of thirty-three he was also nominated to the Supreme Court, at thirty-five to Senator these intentions had never succeeded. Roderick's political view is hard to interpret: he surely wasn't pacifist, but proclaimed for forgetting war and reconcile on both sides. Nevertheless, he never stepped in any veteran organization and even spoke against the liberating war in Cuba, where he had clearly seen the imperialist intents: the Rombauers had enough experience of such events on their birth land. In 1900, when W. McKinley was the nominee of the Republican Party, Roderick published an open letter in the *St. Louis Republic*, the leading Democrat journal in the town, to stand up for Bryan.⁵⁵ Despite he had been always Republican and had founded the first Republican Club in Quincy forty years earlier, he supported Bryan, of whom he agreed in every question. It was a great sensation: two hundred thousand copies were sold around the country but, despite of its appearance and Bryan's victory in Missouri — the one of only two cases, when the state voted for a losing candidate in a whole century — in St. Louis County McKinley walloped.⁵⁶

After Roderick's naturalization in 1856 he became a Republican because of his sentiments against slavery, and as the party was founded by anti-slavery activists two years earlier. Three years after that the Washington University founded the St. Louis Law School, Roderick became its lecturer, but he was also member of the presidium of St. Louis Public Schools and County Board of Education. It seems obvious at first glance that his integration was fast: Roderick was remembering about the correspondence with his European relatives that he always wrote about America in superlatives and dispraised Europe; with the exception of France. However, in a deeper layer of his well-integrated personality something looks like ambiguous. The tone, as

52 J. WILSON, *One Hundred Years of the St. Louis Bar*, in: *American Bar Association Journal*, Vol. 60, No. 4, 1974, pp. 457–460.

53 W. E. PARRISH — W. E. FOLEY — P. MCCANDLESS, *A History of Missouri: 1860 to 1875*, St. Louis 2001, p. 291.

54 R. ROMBAUER, *St. Louis Republic*, 1869, May 22, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 1869, May 22, *Missouri Appeal Reports*, Vols. 16–68, *A Model Charge to a Jury: Delivered before the High Court of the Legion of Honor of St. Louis: In a Mock Trial for Breach of Promise of Marriage by Presiding Judge R. E. Rombauer in May 1888*, St. Louis 1911; R. ROMBAUER, *Instructions to the Assessors of Districts in St. Louis County for the Assessment of State and County Taxes: Based on Date of first Monday in September*, [s. l.] 1865.

55 R. ROMBAUER, *An Open Letter*, in: *St. Louis Republic*, October 18, 1900, [s. p.].

56 E. S. KAPLAN, *U.S. Imperialism in Latin America: Bryan's Challenges and Contributions, 1900–1920*, Santa Barbara 1998, pp. 7–23.



he described these, was huffish; his accent still disturbed him after so many speeches he made.

Anyway, only small village, but even a settlement was named after him in Butler County along with the St. Francis River.⁵⁷ Some of its inhabitant wanted to name after George Spangler, who sold the land to the settlers and who gained priority for the road to there. The legend sounds like this: Rombauer was on the train which rolled for his first exploratory trip, and when they arrived to that place, the whole company went forward except Roderick, so somebody mentioned they could name the place after him. This happened in 1904,⁵⁸ but let's step back to the confusion, what we felt, when we were reading his autobiography: the reminiscing Rombauer complained many times that he wasn't successful in anything, what he would had liked, but — according to his own remembrance — he participated even in such engineering tasks as the planning of the Eads Bridge in 1874 and in many other projects still at the beginning of the 20th century.

Roderick couldn't get rid of his psychological harms, or his need to integrate was so much in contradiction with his identity based on his origins that it lasted for forty-five years to visit to Hungary first time in May 1896. The occasion was the Millennium Celebrations and everybody welcomed. For the request of the US Ambassador he laid the silver wreath beneath the statue of Széchenyi in front of the Building of Academy. Roderick spent the whole following day with Artúr Görgey in his villa in Visegrád, but this journey was one of the very rear liaise with those friends and relatives of him, who remained in Hungary. His longing for integration to his new home, America was strong and typical; his children had much more relation with those relatives in Europe.

From another viewpoint, his life was not typical. He was one of the many of the first greater migration outflow from Hungary: then and until 1921 mostly to the USA. The first groups were refugees, who had to escape after the fall of the Revolution, they were mainly middle class and elite migrants, and became successful in the USA, but a great part of them returned after the Hungarian-Austrian Compromise (1867).⁵⁹ In Roderick's reminiscences in 1903 he described his first decades in America as a total lack of integration, but even remained there. Considering that his book was written at his age of seventy, this would have been because of elderly depression. We must, however, mention that his autobiography is a precisely edited text: timing and chapters' length are well-balanced, each question got an individual chapter and almost every narrative scheme appears in it. This structure clearly suggests that career is central, emphasized and only slightly supplemented with the feeling of a refugee state or an assimilation vision. Despite of the subjective and narrative characters of the remembering, primary meaning of the text is not as far from the historical reality as representatives of Hermeneutics suppose. Bridging the gap between the experi-

⁵⁷ A. P. MOSER, *A Directory of Towns, Villages, and Hamlets Past and Present of Monroe County, Mo.*, [s. l.] 1977, <http://thelibrary.org/lochist/moser/butlerpl2.html>, [cit. 2015-03-07]; W. WILLIAMS, *The State of Missouri: An Autobiography*, Whitefish 1904.

⁵⁸ C. A. POTTENGER, *Place Names of Five Southern Border Counties of Missouri*, M.A. thesis, Columbia 1945.

⁵⁹ J. PIVÁNY, *Magyarok Északamerikában*, Budapest 1944.

enced past and its lingual representation⁶⁰ doesn't needed, like history was never disrupted by its narrative descriptions. Structures can be interpreted by narratives, in this script, and give a frame of continuous and systematic reflection.⁶¹ If the late invention of historic discourse in the last couple of thousand years, which suggested that the event of reality could yarn themselves or told their own history, is very factitious,⁶² then the naivety of "late invented" narrative school might be difficult to justify without enough historical experience.



THE THIRD GENERATION'S FULL INTEGRATION

Roderick's children — Theodore, Edgar, Alfred, Bertha, Sophia, Pauline and Irma — were already well-integrated into St. Louis's society. Despite Roderick thought himself rather American than Hungarian, they all spoke very well Hungarian. Their mother Augusta Koerner was of German origins, and they married on December 28, 1866.⁶³ Augusta's father, Gustave Koerner was one of the co-founder of the Republican Party and a close friend of Abraham Lincoln; he had an essential role in Lincoln's election for president in 1860.⁶⁴ Roderick and Augusta's children could learn Hungarian only from their father or from other farer relatives, but even until 1920 they maintained close relationship with cognates in Hungary like Frigyes Riedl. Riedl, anyway, was a famous literary, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and professor at the Pázmány Péter University.⁶⁵ The daughters of Robert and Roderick Rombauer corresponded with him continuously, sent him remittances, made inquiries after other relatives and sent messages. The third generation Rombauers visited Hungary many times and kept tabs on the country's fate. Their attention went beyond the general interest, every event in the country was discussed and analyzed, elements of propaganda was tried to be filtered out of news, but — as time passed — letters turned to be written rather in English than in Hungarian.⁶⁶ John Fiala, Roderick's brother-in-law liaised also their relatives in Hungary: Frigyes Riedl, Frigyes Pesthy (his brother-in-law) and the Rombauers left behind.⁶⁷

Edgar Rombauer, Roderick's second son had a weak health already in his childhood. Partly for a kind of recovery, but partly because Roderick reserved his gold-mining

60 F. ANKERSMIT, *Language and Historical Experience*, in: J. RÚSEN (Ed.) *Meaning and Representation in History*, New York 2006, pp. 137–154.

61 P. BURKE, *History of Events and the Revival of Narrative*, in: P. BURKE, (Ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 234–237.

62 H. WHITE, *The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality*, in: *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 1, 1980, pp. 5–27.

63 G. KOERNER, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809–1896, Life-sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children*, Vol. 2, Cedar Rapids 1909, pp. 451–452.

64 G. ECELBARGER, *The Great Comeback: How Abraham Lincoln Beat the Odds to Win the 1860 Republican Nomination*, London 2008, p. 185.

65 A. DIÓSZEGI et. al., *A magyar irodalom története IV.*, Budapest 1965, pp. 982–996.

66 OSZK Kézirattár, (Széchenyi National Library Archives) Robert, Irma, Bertha, Sophie Rombauer's correspondence with Frigyes Riedl.

67 BESZEDITS, *Hungarians...*



ideas, the whole family of Rombauers, Koerners and Engelmanns spent their summers outdoor around Bellville and later in Colorado. It was Edgar's happiest part of his youth. Despite law was not his natural inclination, the strength of the family's embeddedness in legislation and their authority directed him to the law school of Washington University. Two years later the family found him a job in Chicago at the law firm of Smith and Spence. Edgar lived there by Roderick's support of twenty-five dollars: eleven for a closet-sized room-rent and the rest for a "diet". One year later fortune helped Edgar, as a new lawyer, John Maynard Harlan joined the firm and supported him to a new job: a private security of his father, Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan with a thousand and six-hundred-dollar salary per annum. The job was largely opposed by Roderick, but Edgar decided to go to Washington in 1889 and didn't regret. His task was the correspondence and even to summarize and review material before the Court. Harlan was satisfied with Edgar's work enough to be so kind to help him in going back to Chicago, and in admitting him to the Illinois Bar in 1892.⁶⁸

His descending career started with the weakening of his health in Chicago, where he once just collapsed on the street. The recovering in a hospital and later in St. Louis failed, and he tried to retreat in the mountains. Sickness was so overcome above him that he even didn't answer to the opportunity to receive an excellent career-chance from his previous supporter Harlan. Never had another like that: to go to Paris as an associate Counsel to the American interests.

Under the blue sky of Clear Creek County, he was soon recovered over the summer of 1893, nevertheless, maniac depression returned again and again later in his life. In the year of his first collapse, his brother, Theodore returned from his civil engineer career and started new job in law, but soon failed, because of his chronic malaria, which was never totally recovered. Roderick in 1896 defeated his further term on Court of Appeals and started a private practice with Edgar. They had plenty of good commissions with railroad-builders, thus they were not plagued by financial problems in the following years. Edgar started a campaign to nominate to Republican mayoral candidate in 1897 but failed. In this period, he and his sisters, Bertha and Sophie lived with their parents in a fashionable South St. Louis district.

Despite he knew Irma, a young girl for years, he had no financial background to get closer to her earlier, but in this prosperous situation, once they met again in an amateur dramatic performance, the couple had the chance to step forward in relation. They became engaged in February 1899, after a year of getting to know each other. Fortunately, a railroad manager asked Edgar to represent his local interests and promised a thousand-dollar salary for a year. At this point of his life Edgar could marry Irma Starkloff, the daughter of the wealthiest family in St. Louis. We really don't need to introduce Irma Rombauer, the author of the most popular and still best-seller cook book and the woman, who remained in memories as the most charming homemaker in town. Irma von Starkloff Rombauer was born on October 30, 1877 as daughter of Emma Kuhlmann and Max von Starkloff in the southern German district of St. Louis. She was educated in Bremen, Germany, where her father was a consul between 1889 and 1894.⁶⁹ Later she studied at the School of Fine Arts at Washington

⁶⁸ MENDELSON, pp. 34–38.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.



University. Despite Irma's family opposed their relationship, they married on October 14, 1899 and had three children, of whom the first, Roland died in childhood. Marion was born on January 2, 1903 and Edgar Jr. ("Put") on August 15, 1907.

Irma had German origins and was proud of this, just like her father, Gustave Koerner. First generation immigrants were typical to look backward to their relatives, communities and birthplace,⁷⁰ but neither Irma was born in Germany nor Roderick felt like this. In addition, this is worth to mention how greatly emphasized in Koerner's memoir the German origins of Roderick was, despite of its five centuries past in Hungary. This clearly fits to the value system and political circumstances of time: 1899, the year of their wedding and 1909, the year of Koerner's memoir. A German as Western-European was more valuable than an East-European. But Irma was member of different cultural communities like the Wednesday Club and the Unitarian Women's Alliance and was more tolerant. In 1925 the whole family moved to Europe, and Irma had further training in Lausanne, while the young Marion learned to dance in Munich. However, nothing helped to Edgar, who even became Speaker of the St. Louis House of Delegates, but suffered from depression throughout his life, at the first breakdown during their marriage in 1902, and finally committed suicide with a double-barreled shotgun in 1930.⁷¹ As a consequence Irma was left in financial straits, while The Great Depression had been triggered. She was over fifty, she had no job and had savings only about six thousand dollars. Edgar Jr. had already left the family for Florida, and Marion was just before her wedding, thus Irma decided to write her cookbook. She paid three thousand dollars, half of her savings for publishing, it seemed, a reckless venture. "But Irma, who will buy your book?" asked one contributor. "All our friends have all those recipes." Everybody was flabbergasted around her. "Worst idea I ever heard of," said her brother. "Irma's a TERRIBLE cook." In fact, Irma was not the best cook.⁷²

The booklet, first appeared in 1931, contained family receipts collected from ancestors and friends, but its style was as sunny and humorous as Edgar characterized Irma when they met first. Canned soup and the can opener as the best friend of any woman were basic cores in it, but these were still nothing against that it started to be sold fast. The publisher Bobbs-Merrill Company noticed this in 1935, when the, although rather stormy, relationship between author and publisher begun. Irma dedicated her whole life to her book and in 2006, forty-four years after Irma left us, the cookbook reached its eighth edition with more than 18 million copies sold. In addition, seventeen of her different thematic publications reached their umpteen editions during the last half century.⁷³ Since 1936 shortened versions were published for working women, and Irma became a national celebrity for the 1940s; the Joy gradually displaced each other cookbook from the market. Irma's situation and personality was contradictory: she looked for and enjoyed spotlight, welcomed fan mail, but from the other side her brother Emil was a notorious impostor, and her relationships with friends and family members were often rocky. Irma estranged from his son, but Marion became her partner even in her book's 1951 edition, thus the undertaking became

70 A. PORTES — R. G. RUMBAUT, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, Berkeley 2006, p. 313.

71 L. CUOCO — W. H. GASS, *Literary St. Louis: A Guide*, St. Louis 2000, p. 112.

72 MENDELSON, pp. 85–103.

73 I. ROMBAUER, *A Cookbook for Girls and Boys*, Indianapolis 1952.



a family enterprise. Irma made a fortune, they could travel to Europe in 1936 and to Mexico in the 1950s and again to Europe in a company amended with her grandchild. The successful author started to sketch an autobiography, but a heart attack prevented her finishing it in 1955. After the fast recovery, she even received a grant of the Washington University in 1956, however only a couple of years remained until her second heart attack, from which she couldn't recover yet and Irma died in 1962.⁷⁴

Marion Becker Rombauer (1903–1976), Tivadar Rombauer's great-grandchild, was a different personality to her enthusiastic, charming, competitive and manipulative mother. She was rather serious and a bit sluttish, who could easily make friends after all. She became an artistic director, horticulturist and certainly the publisher of the *Joy*. Irma's daughter attended to the Mary Institute and Vassar College in St. Louis, and studied movement and dance in Munich, Germany too. After her return from a field trip in France, Marion worked in a department store as a manager and also as a columnist for *Women's Wear Daily* between 1927 and 1929. She taught art, created parades and directed plays in the progressive John Burroughs School during the following three years and married to her childhood love, John William Becker, architect in 1932. They settled down in Cincinnati, where Marion worked as the director of the Hillsdale School Department of Arts.

In Cincinnati, she lived a vivid social life: she was a member of different Leagues and Societies, but also prepared to establish a family. Marion and John gave the name Mark to their first son. He was born on January 16, 1937, and the second, Ethan followed on August 6, 1945. In the forties Marion continued her career in Arts: she directed the Cincinnati Modern Art Society in different positions and organized exhibitions of modern painters. Gardening was another avocation of her, just like organizing club life, editing bulletins or even planning a medicinal herb garden at the University of Cincinnati Medical Center, which was named after her. The family had their own woodland at the outskirts of Cincinnati, in which Marion could gratified her passion to wildlife.⁷⁵ Before 1951 Irma's daughter only served as recipe tester and adviser in collaboration of her mother, but later on she showed more interest in nutrition than Irma. For the 1963 edition of the *Joy*, 80% of the material was newly created by Marion. Since 1955, when cancer was diagnosed first, her health decreased gradually; she lost her husband due to a brain tumor in 1974, and after a new edition of the *Joy* in 1975 she died on December 28, 1976.⁷⁶

THE FOURTH GENERATION AND OTHERS

Marion's son and Edgar's grandson, Ethan Becker became a knife maker. Ethan's connection to cuisine started early, during his travelling through Europe with his mother. Ethan studied at Cordon Bleu in Paris in 1971 and later in the 1980s estab-

⁷⁴ *St. Louis Walk of Fame Pleasures of the Familiar*, in: Radcliffe Quarterly Spring, 1998.

⁷⁵ P. B. SEARS — M. ROMBAUER BECKER — F. J. POETKER, *Wild Wealth*, Indianapolis 1971.

⁷⁶ Rombauer Family. Papers of the Rombauer-Becker Family, 1795–1992: A Finding Aid Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America Radcliffe College. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, MC 449.



lished his own firm, Becker Knife and Tool. The company partnered with others later on and Ethan started to produce climbing gears too. Marion entrusted Ethan with authorship of *JOY* in 1976.⁷⁷ But let's step back a generation for a moment. While Marion worked on her mother's cookbook, her brother, Edgar Jr. became a lawyer and married Margaret Robinson, with whom he had two children, but later they divorced. He soon married again Marjorie Dick Rombauer and settled down in Seattle. Marjorie was born in 1939 and became also a lawyer. She studied at the University of Washington where she worked for more than thirty years later on. Marjorie entered to the law school first in 1960, as a non-librarian, tenured female faculty member, and later moved up to Chair of the Graduate Students Committee, Washington's Asian Law Program. Finally, she became the Dean of the Law School in 1991, until her retirement as a professor emerita three years later. She was the founder of teaching the legal writing in the 1960s, and she created an intellectually challenging but rigorous program. Her course text was first published in 1970, however the textbook later went to even a fifth edition. Upon her retirement in 1994, an award was established in her name to honor her contributions to the legal writing field, presented annually to a person in the field by the national Association of Legal Writing Directors.⁷⁸

To unravel the family-lines we need to go back to Roderick again. Roderick's firstborn son, — and the older brother of Edgar — was Theodore. He married Lydia Brown from Kirkwood (Mo) in 1891; they had only one child, Roderick William Jr. Rombauer. At his age of twelve his mother, Lydia, and three years later in 1906 his father, Theodore died; Rod inherited a vast amount of money, however, he also didn't mind to spend it. Theodore left a will that named Edgar, his younger brother and Irma as the guardian of his son, Rod. In addition, this case was the only bigger dispute in the family, because the elder Roderick, the Rod's grandfather wanted to bring up the boy in his own home.⁷⁹ Anyway, the young boy grew up under Irma's wings and became a racer; once he competed even with the famed Barney Oldfield. Rod had such a fortune to marry Marie Arendis, daughter of the Police Superintendent of St. Louis, whose family were of German origins, just like most of the middle class in St. Louis. Roderick Jr. entered the National Guard, ranking as a captain. Marie and Rod had three children: Lydia, Rod Jr. and Marjorie. Rod Jr. was born in 1917 in St. Louis, and already at his younger age received flight lessons, no wonder that an exceptionally good pilot evolved from this young boy. Three years passed together with Eileen, his girlfriend when the USA entered the World War II, but, leaving her in St. Louis, Rod Jr. went to Ontario, Canada and joined the Canadian Air Force. In 1941 he already taught clerks there, when his girlfriend followed him to Ontario, where they finally married.

After the war Rod Jr. returned to St. Louis, where four of their children followed each other: Roderick, Patricia, Theodore and Arthur — the sixth generation of Rombauers, since Tivadar, the fortyeighter arrived from Hungary in 1849. Rod Jr. started to deal with coffin making first, but didn't have success in it, so he started some busi-

77 E. BECKER, *All about Joy*, <http://www.thejoykitchen.com/all-about-joy/ethan-becker>, [cit. 2015-03-09].

78 M. S. LAWRENCE, *An Interview with Marjorie Rombauer*, in: *Legal Writing*, Vol. 9, pp. 19–70.

79 MENDELSON, pp. 63–64.



ness in paving stones with Norm West, founded their own company: The West Contracting, a still flourishing entertainment. It was the emerging economy of the 1950s, and Rombauer was to help the company with estimates. The office was moved to a bus then, completed with desks installed over the wheel wells, located on his father-in-law's property.⁸⁰ Next year, in 1956 he got a heart attack and recovery kept for two years, while his partner gave enough money for the family to survive. On May 14, 1963, Rod Jr. registered his own firm Romco, a construction equipment company still prospering in Texas. In the 1970s a second and in 1974 a third heart attack forced him to sell his shares and retire, and next year he died.

Switch again on family-line. The other great-grandchild of Roderick is Koerner Rombauer, the fifth generation, who established the famous Rombauer Vineyards in Napa Valley in 1981. The eldest Roderick's third son was Alfred, who was born in 1870. He had a daughter, Irma and a son, Koerner, who was born in 1902. The family settled down in Montana, but after the First World War they moved to Los Angeles, California. Koerner and his wife, Dorothy moved to Escondido during the 1940s, where they had a son, Koerner (1935) and a daughter Katherini (1936).⁸¹ So the younger Koerner was born in Escondido, a small agricultural town near San Diego, where he studied and met his later wife Joan Ransome. The young Koerner's first vocation connected to flight: he started at the California Air National Guard in 1956. Nine years later Koerner became a commercial pilot with Braniff International and moved to Dallas with his wife and their two children. In 1972, as a consequence of workforce reduction at airways, and after Koerner had already led a Boeing 747, the family moved again: to Napa Valley, where they bought a forty-acre soil at Silverado Trail, close to St. Helena.⁸² Koerner and Joan loved the familiar, silent agricultural environment, however had no intention and even idea about winery — the industry, which was founded in California by a Hungarian, Ágoston Haraszthy, who established the Buena Vista Winery between 1856 and 1869.⁸³ It took only four years and in 1976 Koerner and Joan became partners in Conn Creek Winery. Spending five years of studies and practice, the family started their own enterprise, the Rombauer Vineyards in 1981. Koerner still kept his pilot license and his own jets deliver vine to each part of the States and the world: to Germany, Switzerland and Japan.⁸⁴

What integration means through generations is hard to describe in its every detail. Andrea Rombauer (1975), daughter of Roderick W. Rombauer (Rod Jr.'s son), who is the Manager of Family Programs and the Summer Camp Director at Atlanta History Center, and who conducted historical research on the condition of

⁸⁰ *History of West Contracting*, <https://nbwest.com/history/>, [cit. 2015-03-03].

⁸¹ United States Census 1920, 1930 and 1940 Population Schedules, [http://www.mocavo.com/search?start=0&limit=10&dataset\[\]=126214&nc\[household_id\]=011435362](http://www.mocavo.com/search?start=0&limit=10&dataset[]=126214&nc[household_id]=011435362), [cit. 2015-03-09].

⁸² Koerner ROMBAUER, *Biography*, <http://www.rombauer.com/index.cfm?method=pages.showPage&pageid=acc36651-d1c4-d593-b9ae-20f1c5742b13>, [cit. 2015-03-03].

⁸³ Z. SZTÁRAY, *Haraszthy Ágoston a kaliforniai szőlőkultúra atyja*, San Bernardino 1964; B. MCGINTY, *Strong Wine: The Life and Legend of Ágoston Haraszthy*, Stanford 1998; P. SZENTE, *Egy elfelejtett amerikai magyar: Hataszthy Ágoston*, in: *Századok*, Vol. 112, No. 1, 1978, pp. 110-124.

⁸⁴ B. COX, *Kerosene & Cabernet*, in: *Pilote Journal*, 2001.

immigrants in New York,⁸⁵ is obviously a friend of history. She was interested in her origins at least at University, but this is another question that she couldn't have exact knowledge about it in every detail. Although many of the Rombauers wrote autobiography: the first Roderick, Edgar for his children and even Irma started one; though she had only freckles of the past at hand, when she created a website about her origins, mostly based on her Grandmother's stories; it was not surprising that many inaccuracies could occur. According to this, today not existing, website: her family descended from Siebenbürgen, Germany (sic!). This is the German name of Transylvania (Erdély in Hungarian), where only Emil,⁸⁶ the first-generation immigrant, Tivadar Rombauer's nephew lived, and where Temesvár and Arad is. To be convinced about German ancestry is not as big mistake as one could imagine: the family had German ancestry in far past, St. Louis were full of Germans, where they arrived and lived, and in which the family was fully integrated, partly because their marriages and partly because it's higher rank in society. The naturalization documents recorded German origins, because Tivadar departed from Hamburg for his trip to the US. Nevertheless, to be convinced that Siebenbürgen is a German settlement, and not to look after it, is another question (but let's be not so rigorous, it's not a big deal). Nonetheless, this is much more important to emphasize that Andrea, the great-great-grandchild of Roderick Rombauer still maintained contact with the descendants of Roderick's cousin Lajos Tivadar Rombauer (1858) in Brazil. They are sixth grade cousins anyway.⁸⁷

ANOTHER FAMILY LINE IN BRAZIL

We step back in time again to examine what happened to Lajos Tivadar Rombauer, brother of Emil Rombauer, the teacher, who was the nephew of Tivadar, the founder of the Rombauer clan in America. Lajos was born in Szklenó (Bars County) on March 16, 1858, he was the son of Lajos Rombauer, a medicine doctor and Zsuzsánna Kachelmann. Lajos attended to the Naval Academy of Fiume, and after his graduation, he was serving in the Navy until 1883. This year he changed to the Adria Shipping Company, where he became a captain of the vine exporting ships. In 1886 he initiated Austria-Hungary's permanent commercial links with Brazil, and finally, in 1888 he moved to Rio de Janeiro, already as the Lead Attorney of the South-American Company. By this time, he served as warrant officer on the battleship of the Imperial and Royal Consulate General. Commodore Rombauer also led Rombauer & Co. Trade Company in Rio de Janeiro and Santos and provided the chief representative of the Adria and the Austrian Lloyd Maritime Company in whole Brazil. Many of his articles were published in the *Természettudományi Közlöny* (Journal of Natural Sciences) and in the *Ország-*

85 R. L. JANTZ, *The Meaning and Consequences of Morphological Variation*, 2004, http://www.understandingrace.org/resources/pdf/myth_reality/jantz.pdf, p. 14, [cit. 2015-03-09].

86 KOUDELA, pp. 28–45.

87 <http://web.utk.edu/~arombaue/famhist.html#The%20Rombauers>, [cit. 2015-03-09 — the page doesn't exist anymore].



Világ (Country-World).⁸⁸ He was the elected member of the Franz Joseph order and later, during the First World War, he worked for the Secret Intelligence Agency of the Monarchy. As a consequence of this activity, he was taken captive by France and died as a prisoner of war in Brest in 1917.⁸⁹ He had three wives (not at the same time): two of them were daughters of the Polla family in Brassó (Brasov), first Adelaide then Marietta. The first gave birth two of his children in Fiume the latter was the mother of one child already in Rio. The eldest child died young, the second married to Aurél Koós, a pediatrician and they settled down in Budapest. Koós was the most prominent pediatrician in Hungarian history of medicine, in the times, when the discipline was only at its birth.⁹⁰ The third child, Tibor Rombauer, although chosen a Hungarian wife, didn't return home but remained in Brazil and became the managing director of the Paramount Pictures (founded in 1912 by George Zukor). Tibor died without children in his native town, Rio on September 8, 1936, following an appendicitis operation.⁹¹

Lajos Tivadar, after his second wife died in 1892, married third time in 1896. His third wife, Christine Bodé was born in Rio Grande in 1869 and gave birth of four daughters and three sons for Lajos, both of them was born in Petropolis. The first daughter settled down there and married to Ernst Hölck from Germany, who was the director of the Condor Airways, and they had four children. The eldest son started his career as a pilot, and the second became the owner of the Airways. The second daughter felt ill young, and was brought to Budapest in vain, she couldn't be saved yet. The third daughter married to Gustave Klages, a farmer and had two children. The fourth daughter also died young, she was tried to save in Bremen unsuccessfully. The first son, Rodrigo Emilio Rombauer married a girl from a family with grassroots in Brazil, Nicolina Monteiro de Barras, who gave birth of three children. They settled down in Rio, where Rodrigo became the manager of Warner Brothers First National and consolidated the financial position of the company in the 1930s.⁹² The second son of Lajos was called Edgar, who moved to Sao Paulo, where he married twice. His first wife was Dulce Amaral and the second Lydia Fernandes, both were Brazilian, and Edgar had only one daughter from the first wife. Edgar worked also in the film industry, as far he became the director of the Columbia Pictures in Sao Paulo.⁹³ The third son of Lajos was Ivan Theodoro, who also married twice, first with Olivia Magelhães, then with Emily Evangeline. He had one child from the first and five from the second marriage.

After the World War First more than two hundred fifty thousand Hungarian lived in Latin-America, especially around Buenos Aires, Sao Paolo and Montevideo, most of them were farmers, artisans and workers without any political organization, uniting only in clubs.⁹⁴ The Rombauer family was in an exceptional situation among Hun-

88 L. T. ROMBAUER, *Nemzetközi figyelőállomások a sarkvidéken*, in: Természettudományi Közlöny, Vol. 14, No. 154, 1882, pp. 261–265.

89 J. SZINYEI, *Magyar Írók élete és munkássága*, Vol. 9, Budapest 1906, p. 1108.

90 E. HEDRI, *Dr. Aurél Koós, 1874–1957*, in: *Gyermekgyógyászat*, Vol. 8, No. 7/8, 1957, pp. 255–256.

91 *Tibor Rombauer Dead*, in: *Film Daily*, Vol. 70, No. 60, September 10, 1936.

92 *Visita S. Paulo, O Director General da Warner First no Brasil*, in: *Correio Paulistano, Cinematographia*, July 31, 1936, pp. 8–10.

93 *Cine Reporter. Semanário Cinematográfico*, September 8, 1936, p. 1.

94 T. ÁCS, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, Budapest 1944, p. 32.



garian immigrants and its social position never changed hugely in later generations. Their descendants are intellectuals and managers today as well, Edgar Rombauer, for instance, is the communication manager of the DS Comunicação and organizer of such events as sailing weekends of famous sportsmen and others for the Yacht Club de Ilhabela.⁹⁵

Turning back again to the roots, Mátyás Rombauer had another child, a daughter of him and sister of US immigrant Tivadar, she was called Julia. She married in 1825 to Pál Szumrák, an engineer from Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica), who studied at the Polytechnic of Vienna. During the War of Independence in Hungary Pál worked as an army officer and later as an engineer at the Tisza Railways until 1858. For the next decade, he served for the city of Pest as the Chief Engineer and later as the Inspector General at the Main Supervisory Council of the Hungarian National Railways, however in 1886 he received a much higher ranked position and became the Royal District Councilor at the construction supervisory board of Budapest Parliament. Two years later he was retired; they had four children settled down in Germany.⁹⁶

HOW MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION CORRELATED IN DIFFERENT WAYS

We have seen different routes and directions of migration in the 19th century, while remaining social position and values derived from the family's Protestant, Saxon roots in Lócse. Among these common attributes we found altering integrational levels. Tivadar and his family was only at the beginning of acculturation in Hungary, after five centuries of isolated German life, when the short but strong impact of the Revolution and War of Independence influenced him, the event, prompted so many to stand by those under repression. But time was too short and they found themselves in another circumstance in America, where they needed to be integrated to. The results were contradictory. The first generations arrived at different ages, thus they had altering experiences and results in integration. That would-be thoughtlessness to come to far-reaching conclusions on the story of a typical middle-class immigrant family, but those ambivalent emotional attitudes, what we have seen at the first generation and the bonding, which amplified again in the second generation might be as typical as the full integration of later descendants. Their attitudes to the national duality of their origins added some details to the picture of the mid-nineteenth century immigration era's value system. We can't dispraise the relevance of a lifespan, especially an intergenerational mobility route, while this can represent the features of the social group involved the individual.⁹⁷ Family time described by stories of life courses can help to make conclusions to the mentality of bourgeoisie.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *Esportistas famosos na Semana de Vela*, <http://inema.com.br/mat/idmat019581.htm>, [cit. 2015-03-04].

⁹⁶ P. RIECKE, *Nachkommen von Dr. Johann Christoph Elhard*, Brassó 1900.

⁹⁷ G. LEVI, *Les usages de la biographie*, in: *Annales ESC*, Vol. 6, 1989, pp. 1325–1336.

⁹⁸ M. KOHLI, *Gesellschaftszeit und Lebenszeit: Der Lebenslauf im Strukturwandel der Moderne*, in: *Die Moderne. Kontinuitäten und Zäsuren*, Göttingen 1986, pp. 183–208.



A PIECE OF MIGRATION HISTORY THROUGH THE ROMBAUER FAMILY TREE

ABSTRACT

A family course, describing immigration of Hungarian refugees after the 1848-1849 War of Independence and their integration to American society through generations, is adequate to add details to or even to form our picture of the 19th century immigration and integration. The Rombauer family originated from Protestant, Saxon ancestors in Lőcse (Levoča), where they lived for five hundred years. During the long 19th century, the family members moved to different parts of the world: to Transylvania, to the United States and to Brazil. Their life, values and attitudes to Hungarian and Saxon origins are important parts of understanding integration to different circumstances. Each lifespan adds some new elements to draw a more detailed picture of its time and space: Roderick Rombauer and the life in St. Louis before and after the Civil War, Irma and Marion Rombauer during the prosperous post Second World War era or the life of the descendants of Lajos Tivadar Rombauer in Brazil. But the chain or network of these elements creates a new look to a much larger space and longer period; the connection of these parts helps us to interpret social processes and changes in time in another way.

KEYWORDS

International Migration; Immigrant America; Minority Integration; Genealogy; US History

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