

Baedeker's Travel Guides

1832-1990

Bibliography 1832-1944; Listing 1948-1990

History of the publishing house

With illustrations and additional overviews

2nd edition

by

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Table of Contents

Preface	1
Translator's note	3
Introduction	4
Karl Baedeker	6
Ernst Baedeker	29
Karl Baedeker (II)	31
Organisational arrangements	36
Fritz Baedeker	44
Hans Baedeker	60
Karl Friedrich Baedeker	72
Endnotes	82
Additional bibliography and overviews	89

Preface to the second edition

After the very good reception of the first edition of the bibliography in 1981 and also of the Baedeker catalogue in 1988, we now follow with the second edition which contains a few innovations. These are as follows:

- the combination of the bibliography (1832-1944) with the catalogue continued until 1990.
- the volume by volume valuation for the antique German language Baedekers.
- listing of Baedeker numbers to speed the location of over 2000 volumes.
- separate list of loose enclosures.
- a more comprehensive publishing history.
- a more comprehensive literature list.
- more photographs.

In a few instances the bibliography has been improved. The values have also been modified. The example of Koerting's bibliography of almanachs of 1918 shows that the valuation is not new. Nevertheless I must emphasise that the valuations are only for comparison and then

only for examples in mint condition. The market often decides on the spot according to supply and demand, prices can go up and down. Neither the buyer nor the seller can cite these guide-lines.

I could not do the whole work alone, for years I have had suggestions from many correspondents whom I thank. Thanks also to Mr Rolf Dibbert, Ewald Ernst, Tony Fekete, Helmut Kampmann, Heinrich Krohn, Hans-Jürgen Krüger, Baldo Podic and Michael Wild, the Publishing Company Karl Baedeker and special thanks to Dr. Peter Baumgarten and Mrs Heidi Engelmann for always answering questions regarding imprint continuation.

It is difficult when dealing with such a large number of facts and figures to avoid mistakes for which I ask your indulgence. I also thank Mrs Lucinda Boyle for the English translation and Mr Jacques Salles for the French one. All the writing and correcting has been done by Mrs Ilse Hansmann, Anja Kriesten, Matthias Hinrichsen and Alex W. Hinrichsen.

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Bevern, January 1991 Alex W. Hinrichsen

Translator's note

The Hinrichsen bibliography is rightly considered the standard by which research into the Baedeker publishing house is measured. It was published in two editions, in 1981 and 1991, both in German, except for the preface, which was translated into English and French. The text reproduced above is the translation by Lucinda Boyle of Bernard J. Shapero Rare Books, who has graciously given her permission for its re-use here.

The advent of the Internet and the widespread adoption of its use has now made it possible to present this work in electronic form. However, in order to reach the widest possible audience, it has been necessary to translate the text to English and, in order to explain some points to the non-German reader, to add some footnotes which were not in the original work. Thus the endnotes, indexed with numerals, are the original notes of Alex W. Hinrichsen, translated into English, while the footnotes, indexed with alphabetic characters, have been added by me. Any errors in these are, therefore, naturally, down to me.

I would like to thank Lawrence Dolan for his encouragement and invaluable help in making the English flow more naturally.

Cranbrook, Kent, January 2008 Åke Nilson

Introduction

Priceless treasures of the German-language publishing industry, and by extension of the wider world of books, were destroyed by Allied bombing in Leipzig in 1943^a. As a result, circumstances which are of interest to following generations often remain undiscovered for years. One day, when I was visiting Karl Friedrich Baedeker, he expressed regret over the lack of interest shown by the University of Freiburg in the history of the Baedeker publishing house. There had been some attempts at listing the travel guides, to provide an overview of the range. But nobody then had a complete picture of the business of the publishing and bookselling firm, the ambitions of its founder Karl Baedeker and his successors, and their contacts with contemporaries. Karl Friedrich Baedeker had been making lists after 1945 to establish which editions were missing from the archive he was reconstructing after the losses in Leipzig. An American antiquarian had prepared a listing of the English-language editions, and a student, Anita Müller, had written an essay about the publishing programme in 1975 (of which I learnt from Herr Lippa, from Berlin, shortly before his death). However, all these initiatives – including my own record of the

^a Specifically, the Baedeker publishing house was destroyed in a raid by the RAF on the night of 3rd/4th December 1943.

publishing archives – were just the beginning. I then heard from L. Laurence Boyle in Canterbury, England, who was also researching the Baedeker history. Meanwhile, several connections had been discovered, which provided further insights. Following the original bibliography, which was first published in 1981, this supplemental companion sketch should, together with the second improved and extended edition of the bibliography, provide a general overview of the publishing house of Karl Baedeker.¹



Karl Baedeker (1801-1859)

Karl Baedeker (1801-1859)

Karl Baedeker, who was born on 3rd November 1801 in Essen, left his parental home at age 16 and went to study the book-trade profession with Mohr^b of Heidelberg. He also studied at the university in Heidelberg, where he enrolled in April 1819. In 1820, he met Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg^c in Bonn, who had established himself there as an impassioned champion of the student societies. In a handwritten memento dedicated to Karl Baedeker, dated 16 March 1820, he rhymed:²

“Respect the youth and humble German!
He is food for crow and raven.
Thus we greet the Day of Hermann^d
From our vengeance there’s no haven.”

^b The Mohr publishing house still exists today, as Mohr Siebeck. It was founded in 1801 by Jacob Christian Benjamin Mohr (1778–1854).

^c Theologian and scholar of the Old Testament, (1802-1869).

^d A reference to the battle of the Teutoburg Forest in 9 A.D., where the German Arminius (Hermann) annihilated the three legions of the Roman governor of Gaul, Publius Quinctilius Varus. The battle was used as a symbol of German freedom, first against Napoleon (in the play *Hermannsschlacht* by Heinrich von Kleist, 1808) and later by liberals against the reactionary rulers of the old German states.

It is likely that Karl Baedeker also got to know Hoffmann von Fallersleben^e in Bonn at this time, as he had joined the university there in 1819 to study German history.

He spent educational years in 1824 and 1825 with the pugnacious Berlin book dealer Georg Andreas Reimer^f, at 73 Wilhelmstrasse. Reimer had acquired the book dealership of the Royal High School from the state in 1800 (first in trust, then from 1817 as owner), and expanded it with a printworks. In 1822 he annexed the dealership of Weidmann in Leipzig. Reimer’s circle included men like Fichte, brought up at Schulpforta^g, Ernst Moritz Arndt^h and the theologian and writer Friedrich E.D. Schleiermacher. Karl Baedeker was in Berlin at a time when Reimer had to defend himself against strident attacks on his liberal politics by the authorities. In 1822, the official Censor banned the printing of *Huttens deutscher Schriften*. His attempt at publishing the *Mémoires de Napoleon* met with the same result. In 1823, he was even on the verge of having his trading licence revoked. However, Reimer was acquitted of the Censor’s accusations. A Cabinet orderⁱ to this effect was issued in February 1825. The following quote from the work of Doris Fouquet-Plümacher³ characterises the attitude of Reimer and the proceedings:

“During the period when Reimer himself suffered from the attentions of the police, he cared for unsupported young people arrested for demagoguery, who were imprisoned under sometimes severe

^e August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1871), poet and liberal politician, perhaps best known outside Germany for the text to Germany’s national anthem “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”.

^f Publisher and book dealer in Berlin (1776-1842).

^g Famous German public school in Saxony, founded in 1543 in the remains of a suppressed Cistercian abbey.

^h Poet and revolutionary, (1769-1860).

ⁱ I.e., an order by the Prussian government, no less.

conditions... But authority failed in this respect: it was unable to intimidate Reimer... His fighting nature and resolve, his firm liberal conviction of the rightness of his demands for justice and satisfaction, made him battle on.”

In contrast, Karl Baedeker’s friend and “brother” Hengstenberg, who he met again in Berlin, had changed; he was now attending the Philosophical and Theological faculty of Berlin University, where he was turning into an orthodox defender of the Lutheran Church. The continuation of the relationship between Baedeker and Reimer, which started in Berlin, later manifested itself in the marriage between Baedeker’s son Ernst and Ottilie Hirzel, Reimer’s grand-daughter.

When the Essen publisher’s son settled in the newly Prussian^j provincial capital of Coblenz, the publishing industry in Saxony and Thuringia was blossoming. The famous publishers and book dealers could be found in Gotha, Weimar, Hildburghausen and Leipzig. Perthes, Bertuch, Meyer and Brockhaus had reached new readers with their innovative ideas and top quality books with cartography, descriptions of foreign lands and dictionaries (in addition to literature, of course). The increasing discovery and mapping of the globe went hand in hand with developing technology (optical telegraphy, engineering works, colleges of architecture, improved steam power) and with a rationality, which sometimes found itself conflicting with the old structures. This gave rise to nationalist ideas, as expressed by a Freiligrath^k or a Körner^l.

^j The Rhine province had been French during Napoleon, but was given to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna.

^k Hermann Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876), lyricist, poet and translator from French and English; i.a. translated works by Robert Burns and Victor Hugo.

^l Gustav Körner (1809-1896), son of a Frankfurt book dealer, student revolutionary in 1830. He fled to the USA in 1833, where he became an attorney, Republican politician, brigadier in the Union army and Ambassador to Spain.

In 1832, Leipzig had 22 pure publishing houses and 49 publisher-book dealers (like the venture of Karl Baedeker in Coblenz), and in Bonn there were four publishers at the time. In comparison, Coblenz with Hölscher, Röhling and Baedeker was not such an unimportant place.

Was Coblenz chosen as a place for business by Karl Baedeker, together with his father (who had married his wife Mariane in nearby Neuwied, where she was born), for many commercial reasons? Or was Coblenz selected because this Prussian city was less affected by the unrest following the wars of liberation and the Restoration than Berlin or Bonn? Some years later, August Heinrich Hoffmann (von Fallersleben) felt particularly well at ease during a visit to Coblenz. In his *Erinnerungen* (memoirs), he wrote about his 1836 visit to Karl Baedeker: “...I first felt free and happy again with my worthy, open-minded, clear-headed and friendly Carl Bädeker.”⁴ By fortunate circumstance, copies of letters from Karl Baedeker to his father concerning day-to-day politics can be found in the Landeshauptarchiv of Coblenz.⁵ From these it can be deduced that Coblenz was not spared in the time after the liberation wars and the repression of all democratic movements. People were closely watched for their “way of thinking”, as will be seen, by way of example, in a letter from 1833. Karl Baedeker’s political views can be summarised as decidedly opposed to the French. In a letter dated the 12th February 1838 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Germany’s liberation from Napoleon Baedeker said: “...the firm conviction of each one for himself and for all, that nobody will stay behind when the King calls and the country is in danger. We also spoke of the duty of the fathers to bring up their sons in the same spirit, that of faith and devotion to King and country – a duty which falls on all Rhinelanders, the settlers on the Rhine.”

On the other hand, he, like many of his fellow citizens, hoped that the Crown Prince (from 1840 King Frederick William IV) would value the role of the citizen higher than his father had: “In peculiar contrast to earlier views, the opinion is now forming that the rule of the

Crown Prince will inaugurate a new victorious era for the country. It cannot be denied that, in the eyes of many, the personality of the King has retreated to the background with the ascendance of the Crown Prince. God bless and protect them both!" One must remember that the law prescribed punishment for any slight of the ruling house. Criticism consequently had to be circumspect. Already, the citizens of Coblenz had a notable voice in politics. They were, however, generally monarchist, in contrast to the burghers of Trier, who still tended towards France. Baedeker also told his father how the visit of the Crown Prince in 1833 was viewed by an independent-minded, republican citizen of Coblenz. Newspaper articles were censored down to single statements by the Crown Prince. At the time of the visit, an opposition article appeared in Trier, which Karl Baedeker contrasted to an article published in his father's paper in Essen: "The Trier article has, as I mentioned, aroused general anger here. I have offered a counterstroke through the excellent essay in your paper, which I have forwarded to the *Rhein- und Moselzeitung*^m...".

In 1838, Karl Baedeker was struck by some thoughts on the occasion of the 1813 anniversaryⁿ: "Truly, it does good sometimes to escape from these depressing circumstances, this stale atmosphere, to steel the old heart again and, despite all that is bad, low and narrow-minded, once more breathe free in one's patriotic chest." The same letter also included a speech from a publication by the poet Görres^o, which he had received direct by post from the publisher in Regensburg. He sold 80 copies in two days, letting it take priority over all other business. He advised his father to order 30 copies, via Engelmann^p, their

^m The "Newspaper of the Rhine and Moselle", a liberal Catholic paper in Coblenz at the time.

ⁿ The 25th anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, generally celebrated as the liberation of Germany from Napoleon.

^o Joseph von Görres (1776-1848), catholic writer.

^p Wilhelm Engelmann (1808-1878), agent and book dealer.

agent. With reference to other publications that he and his father were selling, he presumed that he was already under suspicion, as he was distributing pamphlets against Archbishop Droste of Vischering^q (an opponent of the King of Prussia in the political discussion over the blessing of mixed marriages), and that he must therefore be very careful. He recommended to his father: "In your position, I would take a very non-partisan standpoint in the paper, too." The publication by Görres must have been *Athanasius*, "in which he went to war against Lutheranism and the Prussian bureaucracy with fanatical rage."⁶ Baedeker's comment: "...it is of course sharp and has angered me in many places, but I had expected he would have struck even harder."

Bookshops blossomed in the German-speaking world, reading societies were formed and the demand for educational material was strongly supported by publishers such as Meyer and Brockhaus, among others. A book dealer was an educated person who kept in personal touch with poets, publishers and other opinion-formers. But he was also a businessman with stock that might stay on the shelves for years, and who had to take measures to prevent unauthorised copying of works entrusted to or already published by him. Already in 1815, in the German Confederation Act of Vienna^r, there was a suggestion that the copyrights of writers and publishers ought to be protected. In January 1834, the Frankfurt book dealers Carl Jügel and Heinrich Karl Remigius Brönnner presented a draft for copyright legislation, but it was not until 1837 that laws were passed in Prussia and the German Federation to protect "property in works of science and art".⁷

^q Clemens August Droste zu Vischering (1773-1845), Archbishop of Cologne.

^r The Deutsche Bundesakte (agreed at the Congress of Vienna 1815 as part of the overall political settlement after the fall of Napoleon) was the constitution of the German Confederation, a loose association of 39 independent German states, which lasted until the changes following the Austro-Prussian war in 1866. The constitution included Article XVIII which stated that the Member States in General Assembly should adopt common rules for the protection of copyright.

Karl Baedeker had contacts all over Germany. He had got to know some authors, such as Krummacher, Natorp and Diesterweg in his parental home. During his journeying in Southern Germany and Berlin and his stops for learning purposes, Karl Baedeker must have become acquainted with students, scientists, editors and book dealers, who were influential in the contemporary cultural and political life. He knew, was friendly with or had business dealings with Freiligrath, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Gervinus (one of the Göttingen Seven), Schücking (*Allgemeine Zeitung*), Dingelstedt and Hengstenberg. He was also a collector and had already taken over from his father a collection of autographs by famous people, such as politicians, kings, scientists and poets. As is shown by the *Verzeichnis der Autographen-Sammlung von K. Baedeker, Buchhändler in Coblenz*, published in 1847, he was also personally acquainted with many of the contemporaries whose names appeared. The personalities mentioned can be found among the approximately 1500 autographs, as well as, for instance, Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, Emanuel Geibel^u and Annette von Droste-Hülshoff^v.

The business opened in the Rheinstrasse (Paradeplatz) in Coblenz on 1st July, 1827. At first, Baedeker rented the premises. As late as 18th November 1833, he was still writing to his father that he was unlikely to decide on the possible purchase of the house from the estate of the book printer Hermann Heriot, before the set date of 2nd December. Heriot's widow demanded lifelong rights of occupancy, and

^s "The General Newspaper", founded in Tübingen in 1798 by Johann Friedrich Cotta, the most important liberal paper in Germany in the early 19th century. Ceased publication in 1929.

^t "Index to the Collection of Autographs by K. Baedeker, book-dealer in Coblenz".

^u Emanuel Geibel (1815-1884), national-romantic poet.

^v Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848), one of the most important German women poets. Her "Geistliches Jahr" remains a popular collection of (Roman Catholic) poems.

he felt the auction starting price of 12,500 Taler was too high under the circumstances. But on 10th March 1834, the purchase of the property by Karl Baedeker from Heriot's estate for a price of 15,050 Taler was legalised before the notary Joseph Deuster, and so he acquired the buildings no. 454 and 455^w. His daughter Anna, married to Ferdinand Sehmer, later inherited the property. It was destroyed towards the end of WWII in a bombing raid.⁸



A decorative china plate showing the Baedeker house in Coblenz; with kind permission from the porcelain house Commes, Coblenz

^w When the French occupied the Rhineland, they abolished the old street numbering system and replaced it with a house numbering system, giving every house in a town one single, serial number. It is said that they were unable to cope with the German streetnames. After the liberation, it obviously took the local bureaucracy a while to reinstate the old system, as the address became Rheinstrasse 18 first in 1852.

The father, Gottschalk Diederich Baedeker, had sent round a request to his book dealer colleagues on the occasion of the opening, asking them to support the efforts of his son Karl in Coblenz. The German Book Dealers Association^x was founded two years earlier. This organisation also provided the opportunity to exert further influence to gain business beyond the region. This included the annual Easter fair in Leipzig^y with agents and colleagues, where one would also meet suppliers, printers and paper manufacturers. Karl Baedeker used the Engelmann firm, founded in Leipzig in 1811 as a publisher-book dealer, as agents, as did his father in Essen and his brother Adolph in Rotterdam.

At the beginning of his career in Coblenz, Karl Baedeker aimed to satisfy the widest possible range of general demand. A comparison of the programme offered by the publisher Friedrich Röbling in 1829, with that of Baedeker in 1835, would show a great similarity. This is because, as is well known, Baedeker took over this firm in 1832. Bodmer's Rhine views, drawn by Lassinsky, and the travel guides for Coblenz and for the Rhine by Prof. J. A. Klein were also on offer. Baedeker changed the publisher name for some printed works and thus established a basic inventory on which to build further. At his shop, views, panoramas, and city descriptions as well as Schiller and Goethe could be found. The business blossomed; Karl Baedeker had gained public respect, as his father pointed out in a birthday presentation of 1st March 1832 in honour of his wife Mariane.⁹ Karl had been married for two and half years; his daughter Anna had been born shortly before (December 1831) after the early death of the firstborn. The public respect was also apparent in that, a few years later (on 5th November 1839), he was made a City Councillor together with three other citizens of Coblenz. He

^x Founded in Leipzig in 1825 as *Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler*. Still in existence, now in Frankfurt am Main as *Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels*.

^y At the Leipzig Book Fair, the *Börsenverein* (which really means market or exchange association) would conduct the settlement of the year's business between publishers and book dealers.

remained a member of the City Council until his death; his final attendance at a meeting was on 2nd April 1859. It cannot be deduced from the evidence available why he was not approved for the honour of the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle (Royal Ministry of Internal Affairs and Police, list of proposals p.322), even though the supporting testimony includes evidence of good sense, a "respectable personality" and good influence on fellow citizens. Bellinghausen wrote in his dissertation¹⁰ that Karl Baedeker declined this honour. Councillor Heuberger was given the order on 20th September 1842, together with Baedeker's brother-in-law Landfermann.

In 1831 Heriot in Coblenz published *Das Moselthal zwischen Koblenz bis Zell* by J. A. Klein. Hölscher, like Baedeker, offered Bodmer's Moselle views. The practice at the time was for artists to sell their drawings for preference to publisher-book dealers, who would then take on the commercial risk in their own names. Hölscher, Jügel in Frankfurt and Baedeker all carried on this business. Therefore books, views and panoramas can be found with different publisher names. Herr von Lassaulx, inspector in "Princes' Wied"^{aa}, had signed up to the subscription list for the above book. The author of *Rheinischen Antiquarius*^{bb}, Herr von Stramberg, who later completed Klein's Moselle description, stayed away from the Baedeker stable. J. A. Klein (1778-1831), already mentioned on several occasions, eventually became Professor of History at the Coblenz Gymnasium^{cc}. In 1827, his position was suspended (he was later reinstated) and one year later, he published his now famous foundation for the Baedeker travel guide.

^z "The Moselle Valley between Coblenz and Zell".

^{aa} Wied was an ancient county of the Holy Roman Empire. The Counts of Wied were elevated to principedom in 1784, but by the time described here, it had lost its sovereignty and was part of Prussia. It is sometimes referred to as *Fürstliches Wied* (Princes' Wied).

^{bb} "The Rhenish Antiquarian".

^{cc} Higher secondary school.



To which publishing subjects could Baedeker turn, if he were to use his good contacts with famous men of literature? Coblenz was, presumably, too far from the literary currents of the time for a publisher to be able to take advantage of them. But there were many “public” commissions and opportunities, such as statutes and bye-laws, schoolbooks or religious books. In the second annual volume of the Book Dealers Association’s publication^{dd} (1835), there is evidence of these activities, in the form of advertisements for service orders for Lutheran parishes in the Rhineland and Westphalia, as well as for the protocols of the Rhineland parliament. The year before Baedeker published the first schoolbook; in 1836 he offered, for example, a French school grammar and a French reader by Dr. Knebel for secondary schools. The Coblenz publisher-book dealer also managed to present a rather sensitive publication. As a result of an agreement made at the end of 1836, he, as a non-Catholic, published the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und katholische Theologie*^{ee}. It was the vehicle of the Hermesians, whose beliefs had been condemned by the Roman Catholic Church as heretical in earlier years; until 1842 the publication was produced by the professors Achterfeldt, Braun, Scholz and Vogelsang of Coblenz.

A son, Ernst, was born on 26th October 1833 (christened Ernst Friedrich Adolph on 19th November), who would have to take over the business in 1859 following the sudden death of his father. But more of that later.

After Karl Baedeker took over the publishing business of Röhling in 1832, he published at least the *Rheinreise*^{ff} by J. A. Klein under his own publishing name, in both German and French. He added a map of the Rhine’s course to these volumes, but otherwise changed

^{dd} *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, first published 3rd January 1834.

^{ee} “Journal of Philosophy and Catholic Theology”.

^{ff} “Journey on the Rhine”.

nothing. Maps of the course of the Rhine were at the time still quite rare, as the detailed topographical survey of the Rhineland had not been finalised until 1828. The inclusion of such a Rhine course map added much value for the user, given that the panoramas or the cartographic Traveller's Atlas by Delkeskamp did not appear until 1825 and 1844, respectively. The Becker Brothers' lithographic office already had experience of producing this map in an approximate scale of 1:290,000, as they had produced (in 1830) the roadmap of the Prussian Rhineland. So far, there is no evidence of a new edition of the separate guide to Coblenz; it can be assumed to be unlikely, as the publishing programme of 1834 still contained the booklet in German and French. Only copies under the Röhling name are as yet known. On the other hand, Baedeker lowered the sales price in 1834 and from 1837 *Koblenz* and *Coblence* can no longer be found in the programme.



Building inspector von Lassaulx, mentioned above as subscriber for the Klein guide to the Moselle valley, now became one of Baedeker's authors. In the second edition of *Rheinreise*, which was published in mid-1835, he provided an article on the architectural history. As was then his practice, Karl Baedeker sent some copies to book dealers who he thought might have sales opportunities. In particular, this would have included dealers along the Rhine. Other copies were sold through advertisement in the Association's publication (the *Börsenblatt*). As a sales point, these advertisements mentioned the

architectural-historic supplement by von Lassaulx, but not the potential for travellers' interest.

One publishing attempt was to offer publications related to spas and the taking of waters. To be mentioned here are the *Versuch einer medizinischen Topographie von Koblenz*^{gg} by Dr. Julius Wegeler in 1835, the small volume *Bad Bertrich* of 1847 and the *Wissenschaftliche Begründung der Wasserkur*^{hh} by Dr. W. Petri from 1853. The book by Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Lachmann of Brunswick, advertised for 1845, was never published (and has so far not been found in manuscript either), but in the same year Jügel in Frankfurt published a similar work on Ostend by Dr. Hartwig, who had been recommended as a German spa doctor by Baedeker in his guides to Belgium. Dr. Hartwig was a practising doctor in Antwerp, and during the season, at Hotel d'Allemagne in Ostend; while Prof. Lachmann, founder of the Institute for the Blind in Brunswick, practised in the capital of the Duchy of Brunswick. Further research there has been without result.

The year of 1836 brought the new member of the Association a significant publishing coup, namely:

The Traveller's Manual of Conversation...

with the German subtitle:

*Neues Handbuch für Reisende, enthaltend Gespräche und ein Wörterbuch*ⁱⁱ...

This was aimed at travellers on the German-Dutch Rhine railway. In addition, Karl Baedeker made the following appeal in English:

^{gg} "Essay for a Medical Topography of Coblenz".

^{hh} "Scientific Foundations of the Spa Cure".

ⁱⁱ "New Handbook for Travellers, containing Forms of Speech and a Dictionary...".

“Ch. Bädeler, Bookseller in Coblenz (Rheinstrasse) recommends to the traveller’s notice his collection of Guide-Books, Maps etc., his Panoramic and other views of Rhenish scenery and his select assortment of works in English, German and French literature.”

The introduction further states:

“The publisher also takes this opportunity of informing the English tourists in the Rhine-provinces, that he is at all times ready to afford any information to those travellers, who do him the honour to visit his establishment.”

His brother Adolph opened for business in Rotterdam at the turn of the year 1836/7. Dutch books were offered for delivery to Southern Germany via Coblenz to Frankfurt. In the other direction, Karl Baedeker, in co-operation with his brother Adolph, offered his guidebooks and some collections of views in Rotterdam from 1839 on.

A son Karl was born on 25th January 1837; and Fritz Baedeker first came in to the world on 4th December 1844. Both were to make important contributions to the firm.

After his move to Coblenz in 1827, Karl Baedeker had gained a group of friends, to which the Landfermann and Heuberger families belonged. Landfermann^{jj} was a school inspector and Heuberger, who like Baedeker’s mother came from Neuwied, was since 1828 district councillor in St. Goar. However, this high political position did not occupy him fully, so he formed the so-called “Heuberger circle” with many artists and writers. Between 1842 and 1844 he was visited by, among others, Hans Christian Andersen, Justinus Kerner and Emanuel Geibel, who had settled in St. Goar. Heuberger took leave from his political duties in April 1848. The acquaintance with the family of Dr. Wilhelm Landfermann, Royal Prussian Privy Councillor and School

^{jj} Dietrich Wilhelm Landfermann (1800-1882).

Inspector, later developed into family ties through the marriage of Baedeker’s son Fritz and Landfermann’s daughter Flöry.

Karl Baedeker used the time between 1835, when the second edition of *Rheinreise* was published, and 1839 to develop the basis for his future travel guides. It must have been unsatisfactory to have *Rheinreise* still standing around on the shelves (Lasinsky’s drawings were very faint in this edition, as the lithographic stones had been worn out by overuse) and at the same time see competing products in the hands of travellers. For the German-speaking customer, Engelmann, Schreiber, Reichard and Jahn were the authors of note, to which could be added translations from the French as well as John Murray with his *Handbook for Travellers on the continent, being a guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia and Northern Germany, and along the Rhine, from Holland to Switzerland*, which was available for English customers from 1836. (The origin of this book was a family journey of 1828 and a resulting travel account published in 1831 entitled: *A family tour through South Holland; up the Rhine; and across the Netherlands, to Ostend*). Johanna Schopenhauer^{kk}, too, noticed passengers on the Rhine steamers with Schreiber’s travel guide. Baedeker sold Murray’s book in his own shop, but learned from that how to develop his own concept. The outcome was, in 1839, three volumes: the third edition of *Rheinreise* and the two first editions of *Belgien* and *Holland*. Modestly, Baedeker called them “short books for travellers, who wish to find their way easily and quickly on their own”. Belgium had grown into a unified state, which rapidly put new railway connections to use, and Holland was easy to reach through the services of the steamship companies on the Rhine.

The *Rheinreise* was different, both graphically and in terms of its content, from its predecessors. A handy volume with a stricter content of about 300 pages, as opposed to more than 500 previously, it was bound in a yellow cover with heraldic signs, views and Biedermeier

^{kk} Johanna Schopenhauer (1766-1838), writer (and mother of Arthur S., the philosopher).

costumes of the Rhineland, drawn by Levy Elkan. The coats of arms show the German Rhine states Baden, Bavaria, Hesse and Nassau; the Prussian eagle spreads its wings protectively over them all. The pagination shows that changes to the content were still undertaken during the preparation for printing; the section about the Upper Rhine from Strasbourg to Mainz was first planned as an appendix, but later given space at the beginning of the description, as the flow of the river would dictate. This was also mentioned in the foreword. Could the political currents of the time have had an influence? There were great tensions on the Franco-German border, which in 1840 led to a national “storm of outrage” in Prussia.

The disposition of the content shows general overviews of useful information about communications, passport requirements, inns, tips, art collections and about wine growing, before the actual description of the area begins. Within each section, there is advice on inns, coffee-houses, spas, steamers, post-coaches, fun fairs and beer gardens, changes of the guard; then the sights were described. What was considered worth seeing? The “places of note”: churches, particular buildings, institutes and collections (often private) were given space and description. Only very rarely did developments of industry count (as can be seen in *Belgien* under Verviers and Seraing). A contemporary review in the *Rheinische Provinzial-Blätter*¹¹ greeted the *Rheinreise* with the following words¹¹:

“The good publisher therefore had to meet all demands on a book of this kind, and so fulfil the requirements of its audience ... the style is pleasant and attractive, without suffering from the excessive hyperbole characteristic of the first edition ... It is particularly praiseworthy that for every main place described, the book offers in smaller print everything about inns to be chosen, cab prices, coffee-

¹¹ “Rhenish Provincial Notes”.

houses, spas, post-coaches, tips and sights – everything which otherwise would require many questions”

In order to bring all the material together, Karl Baedeker went travelling himself and brought back copious notes. But he also used various editors and collaborators, from whom he requested further information, which he could then work in to the narrative. He originally intended the volume on Germany and the Austrian Empire to be edited by Otto von Czarnowsky, just as the small band on Bad Bertrich in 1847 had been written by the geologist Heinrich von Dechen (a pre-announcement was made in the *Börsenblatt* on 10th July 1839). A speciality of Baedeker’s was his critical eye on the inns, as can be seen in the prefaces to many different travel guide editions. He wrote to a friend that he would always keep a sharp eye on the inns and would draw special attention to the bad ones.

In time, the workload exceeded his capacity, as the material to be processed grew larger and larger. He now had to make more effective use of his time as, besides the successful publishing of travel guides and other material, he was also from time to time engaged on the Board of the Association (1849-1852). In 1850 he presided over the General Assembly, when draft new statutes by the Berlin book dealers were debated and then decided against. Baedeker set up a new preparatory committee with the advice that it should stick to the old basis of the statutes; changes should only be undertaken when inevitable because of the “present circumstances”. For the Association, its natural role was to promote progress, together with commercial and press freedom (Heinrich Heine: “Freedom of the press is the consequence of freedom of speech”). For Baedeker, the Association was solely a book-dealer’s organisation, which should keep itself to itself.



The competition let Baedeker feel the heat of commercial rivalry. At first Murray praised the German-language Baedeker editions, but later the publishers became fierce competitors. Murray published his first *Switzerland* in 1838, and followed this in 1849 with the first French translation, in co-operation with the Maison firm in Paris. This is the same firm which in 1851 had copied chapters of Baedeker's 1846 *Le Rhin* for its own publication. In 1852 the Coblenz firm then produced its first French translation of *Schweiz*. The translation was made by Charles François Girard, who was a teacher in (badly paid) state employ in Basel. C. F. Girard was in need of additional employment to keep his large family, so he also translated, among other works, Alexander von Humboldt's letters to Varnhagen von Ense, and Eduard Ossenbrüggen's *Die Alpen und Gletscher der Schweiz*^m.

In 1858, Baedeker received high professional praise for his work from the well reputed geographical publication *Petermann's Mitteilungen*²:

"As we present here the latest edition of the well-known Bädeker's Guidebook for Travellers, we do so in the fullest conviction that the indefatigable author must unreservedly be awarded the first prize in this branch of geographic literature..."

Baedeker often had greater plans than he could fulfil in practice. He was, for example, in Holland and Belgium in September 1855; he was planning to publish the 4th edition of *Holland* in 1856. One year later, he was placating his customers with reference to a "later appearance"; and in July 1858 the first joint edition for Holland and Belgium was finally printed (6th edition). Some Baedeker documents from the 1850's demonstrate Baedeker's national pride *vis-à-vis* the French; he would have had no complaints if his sons Ernst and Karl had had to take up arms, even though this would have been a hindrance to the growing business. Before 1848, Baedeker had however declined

^m "The Alps and Glaciers of Switzerland".

to help Freiligrath in the move towards democratization with the publication of his politically explosive *Glaubensbekenntnis*^m of 1844. Their friend in common, Heuberger, stood at the poet's side at this worrying time; Karl Baedeker had referred Freiligrath to Heuberger in 1841.

At the age of 52 Karl Baedeker regretted to a correspondent that he had not found a way of realising all his current ideas already at the age of 26. The oldest son Ernst took over the retail bookshop in January 1859, so that his father could focus entirely on the publishing work. This was also necessary because in the last few years, more and more announcements of planned publications were made, which then could not be fulfilled in practice. Karl Baedeker was preparing the publication of a volume on Paris since 1847; he also travelled to Paris and Northern France a few times, but the guidebook did not appear until May 1855. Baedeker then had completely overlooked the importance of the great Exhibition of Industry of that year, in which many countries participated. A supplement was announced by means of a glued-in blue slip, but this supplement has so far never been seen in original.

The demand for the travel guides was from time to time so great that, when the stocks ran out, older editions still in store were distributed, even though the publisher in his preface always sought to disclaim responsibility for discrepancies in outdated editions.

Karl Baedeker died on 4th October 1859; his successor in the firm was his son Ernst. There are many anecdotes about the Baedekers, but the best is surely the notice from the *Gartenlaube*^{oo13}, 1861, where it is told how, at the end of the funeral procession on the 7th October 1859, a traveller wandered with the red book in his hand. A citizen of Coblenz

^m "Credo" or "Declaration of creed".

^{oo} "The Arbour", a weekly family magazine founded in 1853. Ceased publication in 1944.

called August Gertner, who had acquired the ninth edition (1856) of *Rheinlande* on 11th April 1857, later recorded this tale in his copy.

To round off this first chapter I would like to add a word on the print runs of Baedeker's travel guides from these early years. All assumptions concerning printing volumes are speculative, as there are no records in existence. To assist with the estimates, one might note that only well-off travellers could afford guidebooks; such were counted in hundreds or, in the spas, at most in their thousands. The guides were meant for use in travel; they met the fate of all books depicting landscapes: they are rarely found, because, in addition to normal wear, they are often either not preserved or later cut up for their prints – unfortunately!

From 1839, the travel guides kept their typical Baedeker style, which had proven to work commercially. The critical description of many facilities for travellers had led to a reputation for incorruptibility, as Baedeker – despite attempts at influence – would not change his assessment. Two things, however, changed: The external appearance from a yellow Biedermeier binding to the unmistakable red binding with gold print on the spine and front, which rapidly became a trademark. From 1856 this was the only format used. The appearance remained, even if the materials changed. Later editions were not bound in linen, but in so-called bookbinder's cloth (*Kaliko*). There were also paperbacks from 1932 on Weimar, Rom, Berlin, Munich, Thuringia and Schwarzwald.

Other publishers kept trying to copy the appearance of the bindings, as can be seen in examples from Grieben (from 1857) or Bohné in 1860 (with the unauthorised French translation of *Paris*, including use of the Baedeker name).

The other change concerned the introduction of town plans in the flow of the text, to allow the reader quicker orientation and finding of sights. Town plans already existed in earlier travel guides (see, for example, the editions of the Artaria publishing house in Milan), but

they were not as exact and complete as those of Baedeker (in co-operation with Eduard Wagner from Darmstadt). It was to his advantage that, through improved land registration, the sources had become better. The only comparable productions from the time can be found in the encyclopaedias of Brockhaus or Meyer. The fourth volume (1854) of Meyer's *Volksbibliothek für Länder-, Völker- und Naturkunde*^{pp} contains a plan of St. Petersburg¹⁴, and other travel guides, such as Murray's, first contain town plans from about 1850. Therefore, there are no illustrations in the *Deutschland*, *Holland*, *Belgien* and *Paris* guides. The *Rheinlande* and *Schweiz* retained their full-page views until the start of the 1860's, as was the custom of the time. On the other hand, volumes like *Schweiz* and *Südbayern* contained panoramas as illustrative additions. Illustrations only appeared in the *Griechenland*, *Palästina* und *Syrien* and *Ägypten* volumes from 1883.

^{pp} "Popular Library of Geography, Ethnography and Natural Science".

Ernst Baedeker (1833-1861)

Although Ernst Baedeker was still young, he had, by the time he took over responsibility for the business, already assembled a wealth of practical experience. He had enjoyed a good education in Brunswick, Leipzig, Stuttgart and in London (with Williams & Norgate). In addition, he had already assisted in the preparation of the second Paris edition. After joining the management of the business on 1st January, 1859, he married the daughter of the publisher-book dealer Salomon Hirzel^{qq} in May of that year. Salomon Hirzel was the son-in-law of Georg Andreas Reimer, once Karl Baedeker's employer in Berlin. Ernst's father-in-law was since 1854 the publisher of, inter alia, the *Deutschen Wörterbuch* of the Grimm brothers.

Ernst Baedeker wanted to continue building the publishing house after his own vision, though not much time was allowed him. He went at the task whole-heartedly, carrying out research during his own travels and expanding the publishing range. Under his leadership, the first guidebook in English appeared, namely *The Rhine*. This title was, under an agreement made with Murray towards the end of 1860, sold at different prices in England and on the Continent from 1861; instead of 4

^{qq} (1804-1877), Swiss publisher, active in Leipzig. The publishing company he founded in 1853 is still active, now part of the Deutscher Apotheker Verlag in Stuttgart.

shillings it cost 4/6 in England. Murray charged, as a comparison, 9/- for his *Handbook for Northern Germany*, which also included the Rhineland. Four shillings was the equivalent of 1 Thaler 10 Silbergroschen; while 9 shillings would have corresponded to 3 Thaler. The German-language edition of *Rheinreise* also cost 1 Thaler 10 Silbergroschen. *Paris* in English was another publishing ambition, but John Murray was able to prevent this, as he was himself preparing a volume on the French capital, which however only appeared in 1864.

In February 1860, Ernst Baedeker presented his publishing programme for the coming year in a circular. In addition to six already finalised travel guides there were seven revised editions and one further to come. A planned volume on Italy was not yet ready for publication, although his father had already completed the preparations. Therefore, the Northern Italy edition was delivered one year later as a compilation of parts from *Süddeutschland* and *Schweiz*. The completion of Central and Southern Italy was planned for 1862. The reviewers had high hopes and expected of him the same model preparation of the volumes, as that instigated by his father. Editorial journeys to Northern Germany and Switzerland were undertaken in 1860; and trips to Southern Germany and Austria were planned for 1861. But Ernst Baedeker died unexpectedly on 23rd July 1861; his grave is in Coblenz at the Carthusian cemetery, near to the last resting place of his father.

Karl Baedeker II (1837-1911)

Now the younger brother, 24-year old Karl had to take over the publishing house. The most urgent task was finishing the first German-language edition on London. In 1862, the next *Great Exhibition* after the Paris industrial exhibition of 1855 took place – in London. The growing industrialisation and the participation of German states and companies meant that an even greater flow of travellers could be expected. With the publication of the London edition in German (from 1862) and French (from 1866), the Baedeker house went straight “into the lion’s den”, that is, it started competing with Murray in his home territory. There were already some guides to London in German, but now, the well-known Baedeker name made the competition far livelier. Baedeker succeeded in publishing the volume on time, and it even included a loose appendix on the Great Exhibition. Ernst had already largely completed the London manuscript, possibly on the basis of his father’s planned England edition. Some unpleasantness with a competing German product describing itself as a Baedeker was certainly an annoyance, but turned out not to be a disadvantage. By comparison, the presentation of the Great Exhibition in a competing publication (Verlag Bruckmann, Stuttgart) shows a more detailed layout, with nearly 12 pages of narrative; Baedeker was content with the loose – already mentioned – appendix of barely four pages. While Baedeker mentions no bookshops in London, Bruckmann lists Williams & Norgate with

A n h a n g

zu

Baedeker's Handbuch für Reisende nach London.

Die „International Exhibition“ ist von dem Herzoge von Cambridge im Namen ihrer Majestät der Königin am 1. Mai 1862 in Gegenwart Sr. Kgl. Hoheit des Prinzen Friedrich Wilhelm von Preussen eröffnet worden. Sie zerfällt in 4 Haupt-Abtheilungen:

1) Producte der Berg- und Hüttenwerke, des Landbaues, chemische Stoffe und solche aus dem Pflanzen- und Thierreiche, welche zu Manufacturwaaren verarbeitet werden.

2) Maschinen und Wagen, Gegenstände der Land- und See-Baukunst, Instrumente für Krieg (Waffen u. dgl.) und Frieden (Präcisions-, musicalische und chirurgische, Uhren u. dgl.).

3) Baumwolle, Leinen, Seide, Wolle, Leder in allen Stadien der Verarbeitung. Papier und Bücher, Möbel, Metall-, Glas- und Töpferwaaren.

4) Gegenstände der modernen schönen Künste (Architektur, Malerei, Bildhauerei, Stich).

Der Katalog der Ausstellung (1 s. für die Gewerbe- und 1 s. für die Kunst-Abtheilung) weist über 27,000 Aussteller nach, welche sich in folgender Weise auf die verschiedenen Länder vertheilen:

Grossbritannien etwa 8000,
 Deutschland (incl. ganz Oesterreich und die Hansestädte)
 4222 (1851 nur 2338),
 Frankreich 3923 (1851 nur 1809),
 Belgien 863,
 Italien 1289,
 die übrigen Länder etwa 9000.

*Supplement to the London guide: International
 Exhibition of 1862 (D420)*

their full address, and does not forget Dulau and John Murray (“publisher of the famous travel guides”). The two volumes look confusingly similar: the same format, the same binding, the same decorative impressions, only differing in that the Bruckmann cover is in the brown-red colour of the Murray books¹⁵.

Thus the co-operation with John Murray ended in 1862; Williams & Norgate, with whom Ernst had had the first part of his training, took over the representation in England. The harsher business climate resulting from Baedeker's drive to get established is noticeable in the preface to the first edition of *Switzerland*. The English had already travelled as tourists to Switzerland for decades, and this made the market lucrative for more publishers. The tourist centre Interlaken developed, the mountains were conquered, and Karl Baedeker wanted to get his share of the action. Edmund von Fellenberg, co-founder of the Swiss Alpine Club, wrote in his bibliography of literature on the Bernese Alps in 1886¹⁶ that he would stop his listing of travel guides with Ebels *Handbuch* of 1843 (there were already too many). In 1864, the Justus Perthes publishing house of Gotha presented in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* a detailed exposition of the opening of the Swiss mountains for tourism under the glorious name *BAEDEKERIANA*¹⁷. Quoted samples from travel guides by Baedeker, Berlepsch and Tschudi were compared. Murray was in the market with editions in English, and from 1849, also offered a French edition in co-operation with the Maison firm from Paris. Baedeker had established a link with the Swiss Alpine Club, founded in 1862. With the above-mentioned Edmund von Fellenberg, pioneer of the Bernese Oberland in the footsteps of his teacher Studer, Karl Baedeker in 1863 made the first ascent of the Silberhorn, in the Jungfrau range. His pride over this pioneering ascent shines through in the 1863 edition of *Schweiz*. The Swiss had, up to this time, competed with the English in a kind of first-ascent-bagging tourism. Besides the gaining of geological data and observations, the drive for sporting glory was the determining factor. Certainly, these climbing forays cannot be compared with modern alpinism; the upper ranges were hardly explored at all and technically accomplished equipment was not available, but

despite this, impressive achievements were made. Even von Fellenberg expressed recognition of Karl Baedeker's efforts.¹⁸

“Karl Bädeker from Coblenz, who was on friendly business terms with several members of our Alpine Club section, had come to Berne towards the end of July, so I had an opportunity to tell him about my first attempt, not imagining that this telling of the tale would light the fire of mountain- and glacier-enchantment, which soon burst out in full flame and led him on to great deeds.”

During August and September, Baedeker climbed several peaks, covering long distances over glacier and rock as he did so. As a mark of respect towards von Fellenberg and his partner Roth, a wonderfully illustrated book on the 1862 first ascents of the Doldenhorn and the Weiße Frau was published in Coblenz in both German and English (Coblenz 1863). The inserted map to scale 1:50,000 is, according to the experts, probably the first map produced in this manner in Switzerland. The relief of the land is reproduced through the use of colour lithography, after an 1850 water colour original by J. R. Stengel¹⁹. A second volume appeared in 1865 under the title *Das Hochgebirge von Grindelwald*^r, written by Christian Aeby, Edmund von Fellenberg and Rudolf Gerwer. The Preface mentions:

“In accordance with the friendly encouragement of the gentleman Publisher, the authors have undertaken to describe the beauties of some of the most wonderful peaks of our mountain ranges, in a series of routes.”

The map insert for this volume, made by the Swiss cartographer Rudolf Leuzinger in scale 1:50,000, is also remarkable. It is the first four-colour map, appearing one year before the earliest previous known such map²⁰. It was made in Berne by J. Dalp. Leuzinger, who also engraved some maps for Baedeker.

^r “The High Alps at Grindelwald”.

A year later, another first ascent was achieved, this time in Stubai^{ss} in the company of the geographical writer and Alpine scientist Anton von Ruthner. Baedeker had asked to be taken along, but the first ascent of the Ruderhofspitze cannot have been a pleasant experience. It is not mentioned in any of the guide books. Was this because von Ruthner, in contrast to Karl Baedeker, did not suffer sunburn during the return journey? Ruthner had taken precautions against sunburn and windburn by smearing gunpowder on his face, while Baedeker used glycerine for the same purpose, but to much less effect, and the result was worthy of a few comments by the Austrian climber.²¹

^{ss} An alpine district in Austria, near Innsbruck.

Organisational arrangements

So far, little has been said about the organisation of the publishing house and of its production of publications following the take-over of the Röhling range of books and views.

In contrast to the Bibliographisches Institut^t, which by 1828 had built up a large business for its time and was located in Hildburghausen, the Baedeker house remained a medium sized family enterprise. This only changed after 1945; but more of that later.

The founder started with the publication of books, papers and views for the local demand. He employed no cartographers or printers in the firm, but sourced such work externally, as he expanded his range of publications. The early volumes give little indication of the printer, for example in the first reprint of the *Rheinreise*. Only the map of the Rhine mentions the lithographers, the Becker brothers of Coblenz. The second edition of 1835 was printed by Dubois & Werle, also in Coblenz. In 1839, the Lehnhardt firm in Mainz was taken on for lithographic work. From 1843, plans were supplied from the

^t Bibliographisches Institut, a publishing house founded in 1826 by Joseph Meyer in Gotha, still exists (now merged with Brockhaus). It is abbreviated B.I. hereafter.

lithographers Wagner & Kohl (later Ed. Wagner) in Darmstadt, and from 1848, printing was sent out to the paternal firm of G. D. Baedeker in Essen. Both firms worked for the younger Baedeker firm over generations, in good times and in bad. Letters, written by the founder in 1848 to Eduard Wagner show how hard commercial times could make it difficult to find work for the printers. These have been published in an appendix to the reproduction of the 6th edition of *Rheinreise*, edited by Peter Baumgarten²². On 24th March 1848 Baedeker gave instructions to stop further cartographic work. At this time, unrest had broken out in Berlin and since the 13th March, military forces had been brought in.

The hard times around 1848 can be seen in the guidebook publishing policy: in 1848 the only new publication was *Schweiz* (second edition), in 1849 *Rheinreise* (sixth edition), in 1850 *Belgien* (4th edition), and it wasn't until 1851 that several new volumes were published: *Deutschland* in two parts, *Holland* and *Schweiz*.

The factual content considered worthy of inclusion had meanwhile grown so much that by 1851, the volume *Deutschland und Österreichische Kaiserstaat*^u was split into Northern and Southern parts. The South covered *Österreich, Süd- und West-Deutschland* (Austria, Southern and Western Germany), including the Rhine area and Northern Italy. *Mittel- und Nord-Deutschland* (Central and Northern Germany) covered mainly Prussia and Saxony. From 1853, *Österreich* and from 1855, *Südbayern* and *Tirol* were described in separate volumes. This kept the size of the books manageable; they each covered distinct touring areas beside the classic Rhine Valley. The attempt to depict the Moselle valley separately was abandoned in 1854, in favour of including it in the Rhine guidebook.

Ernst Baedeker had already noted that a summary of the Northern parts of Italy would be marketable. The competition came from publications by Artaria of Milan (later in Vienna) both in Italian

^u "Germany and the Austrian Empire".

and French, by Murray in English and by Jahn, Neigebauer and Reichard in German. Thus the first edition of *Ober-Italien* was brought to the market in 1861. At the same time, the ninth edition of *Schweiz* could be extended with new routes, as the new volume freed up space (by taking over routes hitherto described in the Swiss volume). His brother Karl had wanted to publish a comprehensive guide to the whole Alpine area; this was the purpose of his travels between 1862 and 1864.

Because of great demand in the 1860's, parallel series of editions were printed. This led to confusion for later collectors as well as the bibliographer. (This is a continuing problem, and not just with this publishing house.) To assist with the company management, Heinrich Ritter was appointed Prokurist^{vv} in 1862.

But the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 also brought disorder to the publishing plans. One result, for example, was that the volumes on Central and Southern Italy could not be brought out until the end of 1866. Due to the mobilisation, Karl Baedeker was unable to reply to various letters until December 1866, instead of May. In addition he was unable to send out the review copies of the freshly printed Central and Southern Italy volumes. For the first time, an academic co-editor was taken on. This was Professor Anton Springer (b. 1825), who was appointed to the chair in History of Art at the University of Bonn a few years earlier.

A new competitor had appeared on the scene, impacting the firm. Hermann Alexander Berlepsch (b. 1814) had, after emigrating from Germany published, inter alia, a series titled *Schweizerische Fremdenföhre*^{ww} through the J. J. Weber publishing house in Leipzig. He described these books as travel guides which, by separately covering

^{vv} A *Prokurist* is an employee authorised to sign on behalf of the firm – there is no direct equivalent in Anglo-Saxon company law. Until then, the head of the firm would have been the only person able to make binding contractual undertakings.

^{ww} “Swiss Tourist Guides”.

specific regions of Switzerland, would offer help to the traveller in a handier format. There were also other publishers of travel guides such as Goldstadt-Grieben. H. A. Berlepsch was “discovered” by Bibliographisches Institut in Hildburghausen (in contrast to today, where publishers simply hire experienced travel guide editors). Berlepsch was entrusted with the compilation of a new travel guide for Switzerland. The first edition appeared in 1862, lavishly illustrated (woodcuts and panoramas, later editions also had steel engravings from Bibliographisches Institut). The volume cost 2 Thaler, Baedeker's *Schweiz* 1 Thaler 22 Silbergroschen. Contemporary reviewers spoke of a remarkable competition, as evidenced by the following comment in the *Berlinische Nachrichten*: “a competition for Baedeker, which does honour to German thoroughness and good taste,” or in *Petermann's Mitteilungen* of 1864²³:

“The Berlepsch guidebook, available since 1862, seeks to better its forerunner through wider content, finer craftsmanship, maps carefully drawn to scale, cleanly executed panoramas and description of the flora for a large part of the Alpine foot-tourists who perhaps longed for a better product...”. A shorter excerpt was published in 1864, and from 1865 also a cheaper edition was published with fewer illustrations and panoramas.

There was, however, plenty of scope for both publishers, as the market was growing and the books satisfied different requirements and surely also different approaches. The competition was not so sharp that Berlepsch would avoid the subject of the first ascent of the Silberhorn by von Fellenberg and Baedeker: “Climbed for the first time in August 1863 by Messrs Fellenberg from Bern and Bädeker from Coblence.”²⁴

The difference was described as follows in the 1926 centenary publication of the B.I.²⁵: “The geographic publisher achieved its most important expansion through the publication of Meyer's travel guides... Though creating a range of travel guides for the changed requirements of the time may not have been a new publishing concept... as Baedeker's guides already for years had done, the fresh competition

from the new business certainly reinvigorated this branch of publishing.”

An example from the sixth edition (1867) of *Paris und Nord-Frankreich* shows how great events could force a change to a volume. This title was announced for April, but did not appear until May, as the preparation of the large, three-strip city map had delayed the publication. The International Exhibition, the fifth in the series since the start in London 1851, had grown to an industrial exhibition with 42,000 exhibitors and about 9.3 million visitors. Important firms from this starting epoch of the industrial revolution had gathered in Paris, including many German firms, which showed important examples of export achievements by steelworks, paper mills, glass and chemical manufacturers. In August 1867, Baedeker had to release an improved version of the guide and at the same time produce a loose appendix, covering the exhibition. Bookshops which still had the May edition could order this appendix of 16 pages (plus a plan of the exhibition) free of charge, with the request from Baedeker that: “...we ask you kindly not to order more copies of the appendix, than you have copies of the guidebook in stock, as it is only of interest for travellers to Paris.”²⁶

There were two major organisational changes in 1869/70: Karl's brother Fritz Baedeker became a partner of the firm from 1 March 1869, and as of 1 February 1870, the firm sold the retail business to Friedrich Denkert and Wilhelm Gross. A watershed was thereby passed: under Fritz, the enterprise reached its fullest bloom, and from now on, the focus would be entirely on publishing activities. The importance of travel guides in the overall output of German books can be seen in the statistics for 1869 and following years:

	Total number of literary works	Geographical works (inc. travel guides)
1869	11,305	269
1870	10,108	234
1871	10,669	248
1872	11,127	267

Since 1868, the advertisements in the *Börsenblatt* showing the publishing range had gained in size. Now frequently one to three pages showed listings of travel guides in stock, surely also a necessary result of the intensified competition and the increased demand. Other publishing activities should not be forgotten either; these were mainly legal and mathematical literature.

From the beginning of the 1870's it became clear that the firm could no longer operate away from Leipzig, the capital of German publishing. Preparations were made for a move there. In 1871 Leipzig already had 114 publishing houses and 249 book dealerships. The city competed for book business market share with Berlin, Stuttgart, Vienna and Zürich. About 18% of Germany's book production was delivered from Leipzig to the whole world.

For the second Baedeker-Symposium (1984 in Coblenz), Dr. L. L. Boyle delivered an overview of the steps that led in 1872/3 to a complete transfer of the business to Leipzig²⁷. The simultaneous move of the cartographic firm of Eduard Wagner from Darmstadt reflects the close cooperation between the two firms which had proved itself over decades.

From 1872, Wagner decided to partner with Ernst Debes, who came from the Justus Perthes publisher in Gotha. Ernst Debes (1840-1923) had been employed by Perthes between 1858 and 1868.

Previously, he worked as cartographer for *Stieler's Handatlas*^{xx}, the most famous atlas of its time. (In 1908, Debes was awarded an honorary doctorate.) The cartographic works of Wagner & Debes relocated to Leipzig from 1 January 1873. Thereafter, they continued to produce innumerable maps of top quality for the Baedeker firm. They also produced important works under their own name. For example, they published in 1878 a *Kleiner Schul-Atlas*^{yy} with 19 maps in colour lithography. But the cartographic work was not always universally praised. For the sixth edition of Baedeker's *Unter-Italien*, for example, there were concerns raised that, for the tourist, there was a mismatch between the scale of the maps and the surfeit of detail resulting from a photographic reduction of the original drawings. The maps and plans of Baedeker's travel guides were often among the best available in the market. Many plans were prepared for Baedeker, and then were also used as illustrations in other books. One example is Hassert's book *Die Städte*^{zz}. When reviewing and comparing maps and plans, it is necessary to bear the original year of publication in mind, in order to follow their entire development.

Although first Wagner and later Wagner & Debes became suppliers "by Royal Appointment" to Baedeker, a few other names, well-known in the field of cartography, are also worth mentioning.

In the first instance, the Berlin professor Dr. Heinrich Kiepert should be named. He drew some maps for *Palästina* (1875) and *Unter-Ägypten* (1877). Like Kiepert, other cartographers also worked for other publishers, such as Reimer or Perthes. Johann August Kaupert (1822-1899) and Leopold Kraatz, from Berlin, also worked for Baedeker. Kaupert was appointed the head of cartography for the Royal Prussian Survey in 1875, and Kraatz had done much work for Grieben. Richard

^{xx} Named after Adolf Stieler (1775-1836), cartographer.

^{yy} "Small school-atlas".

^{zz} "The Cities".

Lepsius (1851-1915) contributed to the cartography for *Unter- and Ober-Ägypten*; later he was the creator of the seven-sheet geological map of Germany published by Perthes. The titles on ascents in the Berner Oberland, published under Karl Baedeker in 1863 and 1865 (see note 17 and *Reisen & Leben*, issue 20) also contained very good cartographic work. For this we must mention Rudolf Leuzinger (1826-1896). It is not yet clear from which supplier Karl Baedeker got Stieler's travel map, which was included with the 1842 and 1844 editions of *Deutschland und Österreichischer Kaiserstaat*. Adolf Stieler had died in 1836 and any co-operation with Baedeker in 1842 can no longer be deduced from the archives of Justus Perthes, now part of the Hermann Haack publishing company.

Leinwanddecken

zum Einlegen einzelner Abteilungen aus
Baedekers Reisehandbüchern

können durch jede Buchhandlung bezogen werden. —
Baedekers Reisehandbücher sind zum **Zerlegen in einzelne selbständig geheftete Abteilungen** eingerichtet. Man bricht zu diesem Zweck das Buch am Beginn und am Schluß der loszulösenden Abteilung stark auf und durchschneidet die sichtbar werdende Gaze, auf welche die Bogen geheftet sind.

Fritz Baedeker (1844-1925)

A time of even more ambitious undertakings now commenced, even though these were often affected by greater difficulties than had been experienced before. With the rise of imperialism in Europe, class struggle made its entrance and many academics were sent out to research the Near East and Africa. Many voyages of discovery resulted in detailed descriptions, so that an increasing number of travellers acquired a wish to visit these places. What could be more obvious than publishing a travel guide for the Orient? Karl Baedeker suggested in August 1872 to Dr. Georg Moritz Ebers^{aaa}, that he should undertake this work, together with other experts. Ebers had been in Egypt and Nubia in 1869/70. Another contributor was Dr. Albert Socin^{bbb}, an expert on Palestine (there was at the time even an “Association for the Exploration of Palestine”). It was hoped that Dr. Gurlitt could be persuaded to cover the Mediterranean and Dr. Lüders the description of Athens. The first sketch divided the subject as follows:

^{aaa} Georg Moritz Ebers (1837-1898), Egyptologist and writer, professor in Leipzig.

^{bbb} Albert Socin (1844-1899), Swiss orientalist.

- I. 1. Trieste-Corfu-Alexandria-Cairo
2. Cairo-Suez-Nile Delta
3. Excursion on the Nile
- II. 4. Alexandria-Jaffa-Jerusalem
5. Jaffa-Beirut-Damascus
6. Jerusalem-Damascus-Lebanon
7. Beirut-Tripoli-Cyprus-Smyrna
- III. 8. Pest-Danube-Constantinople
9. Trieste-Brindisi-Corfu, Syracuse-Athens-Constantinople
10. Trieste-Corfu-Corinth-Athens
11. Marseille-Piraeus-Athens-Constantinople
12. Constantinople
13. Smyrna-Asia Minor
- IV. 14. Athens and Greece

As these grandiose plans turned out to be difficult to fulfil, individual volumes were published for parts of the region: first, in 1875, *Palästina und Syrien*, edited by Dr. Socin. Naturally, additional editors were already on their way, and Karl Baedeker also went on a voyage to the Orient in the first half of 1874.

The scientific world took note of Baedeker's ambition to publish a new guide to the Orient under professional guidance:

“...but only few may know that the journey (of Prof Ebers to Egypt) was also undertaken for the purposes of a Baedeker project. Baedeker is currently letting a large number of experts travel in the

Orient, in order to produce a travel guide thereto. As much as this is to the benefit of the tourist and the improved knowledge of the Orient, so it is also a measure of the means expended on the Baedeker guides, and certainly this is not limited to material means, but the use of important scientific resources is latterly a characteristic feature of Baedeker's undertakings."²⁹

As is stated in the preface to *Palästina und Syrien*, Dr. Socin went frequently to Syria and later made a further trip, for the purpose of editing the volume. A contract made in 1875 with Dr. Ebers for the publication of *Unter-Ägypten* shows, for example, the minimum print run (1000 copies) and the fee payable³⁰. In the same year, Dr. Lüders was won over for work on *Griechenland*. This also justified the removal of the description of Athens from *Unter-Italien* with respect to Dr. Kekulé^{ccc}, who was responsible for the treatment of history of art in the Italy titles.

But Dr. Ebers was not working alone in describing Lower Egypt; others, such as Dr. Ascherson, recommended by Dr. Schweinfurth, delivered further contributions. Dr. Ascherson, who later took over the proof-reading of the entire volume, delivered the last improvements in July 1876, so that the book could finally be produced as Part 2 of the Orient in the beginning of 1877. The large number of names in the preface was an expression of thanks to the many collaborators and, at the same time, the best possible recommendation for a travel guide, which successfully strove to also satisfy scientific requirements.

Although the foreword to *Unter-Ägypten* stated that *Ober-Ägypten* was being printed, it was not until 1891 that the latter volume was published. In the above mentioned contract, Dr. Ebers was promised that the first edition of *Ober-Ägypten* as published by Baedeker would show Ebers as sole author. It went against the grain for Fritz Baedeker to publish the old 1877 manuscript by Dr. Ebers, even though the

^{ccc} Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz (1839-1911), archaeologist.

author demanded this with reference to the terms of the contract. Perhaps other publications by Ebers added to this feeling, such as *Ägypten in Wort und Bild*^{ddd} of 1879-80, or *Cicerone durch das alte und neue Ägypten*^{eee}, of 1886. In December 1888 Fritz Baedeker further expressed his personal lack of interest in the book; describing it all as an "unhappy enterprise". Nearly two years later, a first draft of a new manuscript was ready. Prof. August Eisenlohr^{fff}, who had visited Egypt for the first time in 1869-70 on an assignment by the Grand Duke of Baden, went back to Upper Egypt in early 1890 for preparation of the manuscript. Prof. Socin was engaged on revising Arabic names. Once Prof. Ebers had, in January 1891, added the very last touches, the volume was finally published. Also, the names of eminent Egyptologists, who had been directing excavations and research, can be found in the Index of Names and Places. Thus, the text shows who made which research trips when – an outstanding compendium of Egyptology in addition to *Petermanns Mitteilungen!*

In 1894, Prof. Ebers, that determined negotiator, agreed with Fritz Baedeker that the Egyptologist Prof. Steindorff should be taken on for the next edition (the 4th edition of 1897, which was the first to cover Upper and Lower Egypt together). This volume appeared in January 1897, with the publisher expressing the hope that, after 20 years of revision to reach its present state, it would not now incur further costs! As noted earlier, Dr. Lüders had been entrusted with the work on *Griechenland*. In 1883, the volume appeared, based on a manuscript by Dr. Lolling^{ggg}, which still survives (a part of the manuscript, reprinted from the galley proofs, was published in 1989). The manuscript was so long, however, that Fritz Baedeker thought it would need to be

^{ddd} "Egypt in words and pictures".

^{eee} "Cicerone through the old and new Egypt".

^{fff} August Eisenlohr (1832-1902), Egyptologist.

^{ggg} Habbo Gerhard Lolling (1848-1894).

published in at least two volumes of the size of *Mittelitalien*. The description of Athens was only considered ready for publication after the publisher had compared Lolling's text with that of Gurlitt (from the Southern Italy guides) and reworked it accordingly. Dr. Reinhard Kekulé, who had helped with the section on Greek art history, suggested expanding the book with two plates of Greek architecture, to be inserted after the index.

Dr. Wilhelm Lang from Stuttgart, editor of the well-respected newspaper *Schwäbischer Merkur*, was for many years a frequent and faithful contributor of observations from his own travels. Fritz Baedeker often compared notes with him, later leading to entries in the travel guides. Lang's *Peloponnesische Wanderung*^{hh31} served as source for a description of Geoffroy de Carytenaⁱⁱⁱ in the Greece guide. By sending over a copy of the first edition of *Griechenland*, Fritz Baedeker requested permission somewhat in arrears for having used this source. The gratitude of the publishing house for information was expressed by sending copies of the new editions of the Rhine, Switzerland, Southern Germany and Russia as they appeared. Even such small corrections as, for example, that the price for breakfast in the Moselle and Eifel towns had increased from 2.25 to 2.50 Marks, were promptly noted.

An expansion of the volumes on Italy with a catalogue on the great Italian collections of art was considered with Dr. Kekulé for a few years (1877-1880). This idea was based on the publication of Dr. Gsell-Fels' detailed travel guide by Bibliographisches Institut in Hildburghausen. However, it was decided not to proceed with the expansion because of the publication of Burckhardt's *Cicerone* and

^{hh} "A Wandering in the Peloponnesos".

ⁱⁱⁱ Geoffroy de Bruyeres was Lord of Carytena (or Karytaina), a town and fortress in the Peloponnesos, in the 13th century.

because of the difficulty in persuading Prof. Springer of the value of the idea.ⁱⁱⁱ

From May 1878, Fritz Baedeker was sole proprietor of the publishing house, having first risen to junior partner in March 1869. At the same time, Heinrich Ritter was made Prokurist, a position he held for many years. The reason was the onset of the incurable mental illness of Karl Baedeker, which led to his admission at the Kennenberg asylum near Esslingen in 1884. On 19 May 1911, Fritz Baedeker, his wife Flöry, his sister Hanni and her husband Fritz Bingel announced that Karl had passed away one week earlier.

It was not just the great new guides that demanded much labour and attention. Many corrections and much advice was received from travellers, and this material had to be verified and validated. Even though Fritz Baedeker and Heinrich Ritter (who had taken over responsibility for the areas of Southern Bavaria, Tirol and Switzerland from 1868) undertook specific journeys themselves, it was impossible for the in-house editing team to review everything. In addition, there was a need to counter the publications of the competition. The best-known reaction of the firm was the issue of the city guide for Berlin in 1878, as a defence against the Berlin firm of Kiessling, which had been publishing a Berlin Baedeker since 1876. Until then, Baedeker had focused on the guides to the Paris and London metropolises (not counting the 1847 guide to Bad Bertrich). Other publishers like Grieben or Nicolai had Berlin guides in their programmes, but now the Baedeker name was being used for unauthorised competition. As legal action could take a long time, the guide to *Berlin, Potsdam und Umgebung* provided quicker relief.

ⁱⁱⁱ In 1891, however, Baedekers published a two-volume work by Prof. Wolfgang Helbig, entitled *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (Guide through the public collections of classical antiquities in Rome), followed by a French edition in 1893 and an English edition in 1896.

Since 1870/71, another city guide was available, for the Greek capital Athens. Karl Wilberg^{kkk}, a German book dealer resident there, who was related to the Baedeker family, had the right to publish a city guide on Athens as an excerpt from Baedeker's Southern Italy. At least four editions, in up to three languages (German, English, French) were produced in Germany and sold only in Athens. A fifth edition has meanwhile been discovered, with publication years given as 1886 (in French) and 1888 (in English). I have also seen a sixth edition, without a publication year³². This copy of the book, described as the sixth edition is, however, not recognisable as a Baedeker production. It was printed after the publication of the first edition of *Griechenland*, without indication of the publisher. It might be this venture was undertaken without reference to the publishing house in Leipzig. Furthermore, the listing of books for sale in this volume includes a guide to Greece by Murray, and the publisher's name was pasted over with the address of the Beck bookshop in Athens. Similar inferences can be drawn from the fifth edition of 1886, for example by considering the format, which clearly deviates from the standard size. The contents suggest that the earlier editions were printed in English and French only to meet local demand (the first English edition of Greece appeared in 1889). In 1896, the year of the first modern Olympic Games, a volume on Athens appeared from the publishing house in Leipzig.

The production of the first edition of Spain and Portugal after 15 years of effort, demonstrated that new editions could cost the publisher dearly. Unlike the guides to the Orient and Russia, *Spanien und Portugal* could not achieve the effect of "noble advertising" desired by Fritz Baedeker. This volume was not blessed with publishing luck with respect to its quality; it contained many errors and omissions, so that the second edition of 1899 required complete reworking.

^{kkk} Karl Wilberg (1829-1882), book dealer in Athens. His mother Luise was a younger sister of Karl Baedeker (I).

How were the authors remunerated? Prof. Justi received 300 Marks for the approximately 50 pages of the History of Art of Spain; in addition he received 100 galley prints of his article and a free copy of each new edition. The freelance contributors always had to give up all rights to their work, in return for the one-time fee. Additional payments were only made for rewrites.

Two examples of changes and corrections show the efforts made to improve the text even between print runs of the same edition. The first example is a change in the appreciation of the Edelweiss inn in Sils Maria, Switzerland. Around 1890, this place boasted not just the Edelweiss, but also the Alpenrose guest house, which was recommended by Baedeker. One customer wrote to the publisher to say that he did not think that the differing treatment of the two houses in the Switzerland guide was justified. Fritz Baedeker, once he had agreed that the observation was correct, stopped the production of the 25th edition, which was already being printed, so that later issues of the book could include the missing extra asterisk. Dr. Foerster, a very observant collector, pointed me to the other example: D368 *Ober-Italien*, 14th edition 1894. This volume was experimentally printed on thin paper; it weighs only 291 grammes. Two years later, the edition was reprinted, this time on slightly heavier paper (373 grammes). It also included a number of other changes. A few examples will suffice: on page XXIII the postal tariff for picture cards was added; on various pages ale-houses, steamers, inns and guesthouses were re-evaluated; on page 65 the word *Fiaker* was replaced with *Droschke*^{lll}; on page 186, in the description of Venice, the addresses of German banks were added; and stylistic changes such as "*am Bahnhof*" replaced with "*beim Bahnhof*" (Trieste) were made. A map of the local transport connections in Milan was pasted in at page 89. This map was added later to the 1894 edition, as the city plan of Pavia of page 121 is reproduced again on the insert.

^{lll} Both words mean "cab" (as in hansom cab), though *Fiaker* (from Hotel St. Fiacre in Paris) was already then rather an old-fashioned word.

Below is a comparison of the publication ranges of Baedeker and of the Bibliographisches Institut, which in the meantime had moved to Leipzig:

Baedeker	Meyer (B.I.)
Rheinlande, 28 th ed. 1899	Rheinlande, 9 th ed. 1899
Süd-Deutschland, 26 th ed. 1898	Süddeutschland, 7 th ed. 1897
Nordwest-Deutschland, 26 th ed. 1899	-
Nordost-Deutschland, 26 th ed. 1899	Ostseebäder und Städte an der Ostseeküste, 1899
Südbayern, 29 th ed. 1900	Deutsche Alpen: I: Bayerisches Hochland, 6 th ed. 1898 II: Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, 6 th ed. 1900 III: Wien, Ober-, Nieder-Österreich, 4 th ed. 1899
Österreich-Ungarn, 25 th ed. 1898	-
Berlin, 11 th ed. 1900	-
Belgien und Holland, 22 nd ed. 1900	-
Schweiz, 28 th ed. 1899	Schweiz, 16 th ed. 1900
Paris, 15 th ed. 1900	Paris, 4 th ed. 1900
Riviera, 2 nd ed. 1900	Riviera, 4 th ed. 1899 (revision of ed. 1897)

Ober-Italien, 15 th ed. 1898	Oberitalien, 6 th ed. 1898
Mittel-Italien, 12 th ed. 1899	Rom und die Campagna, 4 th ed. 1895
Unter-Italien, 12 th ed. 1899	Unteritalien, 3 rd ed. 1889
Italien i. e. Bande, 4 th ed. 1899	Italien in 60 Tagen, 6 th ed. 1900
London, 13 th ed. 1898	-
Großbritannien, 3 rd ed. 1899	-
Schweden, 7 th ed. 1898	Norwegen, Schweden, 7 th ed. 1899
Rußland, 4 th ed. 1897	-
Griechenland, 3 rd ed. 1893	Türkei und Griechenland, 2 vols, 4 th ed 1892 (incl. Turkey and Asia Minor)
Athen, 1896	-
Spanien, 2 nd ed. 1899	-
Palästina, 5 th ed. 1900	Palästina, 3 rd ed. 1895
Ägypten, 4 th ed. 1897	Ägypten, 3 rd ed. 1895
Nordamerika, 1893	-
-	Dresden, sächs. Schweiz, 5 th ed. 1900
-	Harz, 15 th ed. 1899
-	Der Hochtourist in den Alpen, 3 vols. 1899
-	Riesengebirge, 12 th ed. 1900
-	Schwarzwald, 8 th ed. 1899
-	Thüringen, 15 th ed. 1900

In addition to the German-language guides, there were now 20 French and 24 English editions, so that by 1900, 70 different guides were on offer. In contrast, Bibliographisches Institut had specialised in German-language guides to tourist- and walking areas. The volumes on the Baltic resorts (*Ostseebädern*) and the German Alps belong to this category. These served the ever-growing numbers of mountaineers, who were now starting to flood into the mountains, thanks to the efforts of the Alpine Associations in making them accessible.

Big undertakings like *Nordamerika*, *Spanien und Portugal* and *Rußland* would always remain Baedeker's domain, while Meyer with his guides to the Orient had become serious competition for Baedeker.

Hans (=Johannes) Baedeker, born in 1874 and the eldest son of Fritz Baedeker, entered the business in 1899 as representative of the third generation; Ernst Baedeker (b. 1878) followed a few years later. Thus the continuity of the family business was preserved, which business by the turn of the century had not yet reached its zenith. The senior partner was however worrying about the future in 1903. "The good old days" were over, as far as he was concerned. It was not so much the Social Democrats, as the Ultramontanists^{mmmm} he saw as a danger for the political future. This was the year when Ludwig Thoma wrote for the satirical publication *Simplicissimus*³³:

"This is a painful reflection
on the latest election;
the results of the poll
made many eyes roll.
The middle classes, bemused
were anything but enthused

^{mmmm} The Ultramontanists were a Roman Catholic movement strongly in favour of the Pope and in particular associated with the doctrine of papal infallibility.

and looking quite glum
the government kept *stumm*."

But there were yet some interesting years to come before 1914, in which plans were made and to some extent the results were also gathered.

The second edition of *Rußland* became famous through two great congresses which took place in Russia. In the sixth edition, Teheran and Peking were included as a result of journeys made by a Dutchman and by Prof. Conrady, who had been teaching for six months in Peking. In addition, as had happened earlier with *Ägypten*, the German Embassy assisted with the checking of details.

At least from 1904, Fritz Baedeker was busy preparing a guide *Um die Welt* [Around the World]. He was hoping that his sons would publish it, but in 1907 Bibliographisches Institut published the first edition of *Weltreise* [Tour of the World]. Hans Baedeker was already working on the second edition of *Nordamerika*. A few years later (1907), work started on the last great extra-European title: *Indien*. Originally, the guide was to cover South and East Asia; with support from Norddeutscher Lloyd, the preparation was undertaken by Dr. Georg Wegener^{mm}. The publishers hoped to knock out the above mentioned publication from Bibliographisches Institut through excellent research and outstanding cartography. The assistance from Norddeutscher Lloyd of course came with its own agenda, as the shipping company wished to add impetus to German Far Eastern shipping activities. The initial focus was sea freight, but already by 1905, some 30,000 passengers for the Far East travelled on German ships. The demand for shipping grew from the good service and excellent, modern ships³⁴.

Indien was published in 1914. The foreword mentions important individuals who assisted in its production. In addition to Prof. Dr.

^{mm} Georg Wegener (1863–1939).

Georg Wegener, they included Dr. Vogel of the Indian Archaeological General Inspectorate and Prof. Dr. Richard Garbe.

The publishing house appeared only rarely at exhibitions; neither did it place much advertising under Fritz Baedeker. The distribution of review copies was supposed to be sufficient marketing for the new editions. The publisher could, however, never be sure whether the review copies were ever read, or tended to end up in the wastepaper basket. The volumes on *Rußland, Palästina und Syrien, Griechenland* and *Ägypten* were showpieces of the house, acting as “noble advertising” to confirm the reputation of the firm. There were many references from reviews in papers and magazines, which were accessible both to professionals and to the general public. Many reviews around the turn of the century limited themselves to relatively short notices on new editions, with reference to the already well-known high standards of the house. The trademark had become associated with quality, and this was always expected to lead to profit. But there were also some advertisements, for example in a general magazine^{ooo} from 1873 and in all editions of the Geography Calendar from 1903 to 1914. From the years after World War I, advertisements in the Centenary *Börsenblatt* of 1925 and in the book *Was kostet mein Urlaub?* [How much is my holiday?] of 1932 are examples of half-hearted attempts to up the marketing ante on the competition. Whether Grieben, Meyer or other publications, they were all breathing down the neck of the Leipzig publisher. Marketing activities in the new travel magazines such as *Deutschland* also developed into vital sources of information. However, Baedeker made relatively little use of these.³⁵

The firm was represented at the 1876 World Exhibition in Philadelphia, showing its cartographic skills. A throng of friends was a great accolade for its participation at the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris; which was received with relief in Leipzig. As the first *Bugra*

^{ooo} Unfortunately the cutting lacks indication of origin.

(International exhibition of book craft and graphics) was held in Leipzig in 1914, Baedekers were also present. Leipzig wanted to describe itself as the centre of the German book trade, not to say the world's book trade. Baedeker shared Stand 34 with Wagner & Debes, which was flanked by those of F.A. Brockhaus and Salomon Hirzel. The publisher was represented by Dr. Fritz Baedeker (he had been given an honorary doctorate by Leipzig University in 1909), Heinrich Ritter, Hans and Ernst Baedeker. Baedekers had brought out a multiple-page prospectus, complemented with two Leipzig city plans, for the event. In addition, the sites of book dealers and bookshops, and of the Exhibition area had been drawn onto the first city plan (as also seen in the 31st edition of *Nordwest-Deutschland*)³⁶.

Wagner & Debes were represented by Heinrich Wagner, son of Eduard Wagner (who had started his firm in Darmstadt in 1835) and by Heinrich Debes, now 74 years old. Of the same age was Prof. Hermann Wagner^{ppp}, who had become the Göttingen teacher of Dietrich (=Diez) Baedeker (b. 1886), Fritz Baedeker's youngest son, and of Eduard Wagner, son of Heinrich Wagner. Prof. Hermann Wagner had, like Debes, learned the art of cartography at Perthes in Gotha.

The First World War and its aftermath changed ambitions and expectations; the Baedeker house too had to adjust to the new circumstances. The influence of post-war disorder is worth closer study. The economic situation in Germany in 1919 demanded a reorientation away from pleasure travel. The many re-prints of English and French editions points to renewed export sales of the travel guides. Different “emergency editions” such as *Holland, Süddeutschland (ohne Oberrhein und Baden)* and *Österreich-Ungarn (ohne das heutige Österreich)*^{qqq} were necessitated by political realities and the outcome of the war. From

^{ppp} Hermann Wagner (1840-1929), cartographer and geographer.

^{qqq} “Southern Germany (excluding the Upper Rhine and Baden)” and “Austria-Hungary (excluding present-day Austria)”.

1920, travel interest began to concentrate on Germany; new tourist activities were developed everywhere, as foreign holidays no longer were within reach. In any case, there were many restrictions on overseas travel in the years immediately after the war. Baedeker now developed the German regional guides, and thereby went into direct competition with Meyer's travel guides. A statement by the head of the Weser mountain tourism association, Senator F. W. Meyer of Hamelin shows how the holiday-makers sought recreation in Germany: "Tourists are lodging everywhere, even in the most remote places"³⁷. The *Reichszentrale für deutsche Verkehrswerbung* [Reich central for German travel business] was founded in 1921 by the Ministry of Transport in Berlin, and in the same year the Prussian country travel union opened in Magdeburg. The publisher spoke in the foreword to these regional guides of "recognition of the beauty of the German countryside and of German cities".

After Hans Baedeker returned home from the war with an illness, it was not until 1920 that he again became fully active in the publishing house. His youngest brother Dietrich was finally able to defend his 1919 written dissertation on morphology for Prof. Mengheim in Vienna. In the same year, he married a fellow student from Vienna. It was for this reason as well as commercial reasons that he decided to finish his studies in Vienna rather than in Göttingen. He then started to work for the publisher in 1922.

In 1920, Baedekers broke with almost 100 years of tradition and decided to accept advertising in the guides, in order to cover at least part of the production costs. From the accounts of another publisher, it can be seen that these costs were up to ten times higher than in 1914. In addition, it was difficult to source good quality paper. The rapidly accelerating rate of inflation made budgeting and pricing a game of hazard. From 13th September 1922, an attempt was made to work with price indices. The base price was multiplied by a varying index number; this rose within a single year from 60 to over one billion.³⁸ With accelerating inflation, the sales price for the books stayed below the

replacement cost for a year, until the entire market collapsed. A short period of stability was then brought by the *Rentenmark*³⁹ reform in 1923. This turning point meant, for Baedeker as for the other publishers, that work could restart on new guides, to generate new business. Exports had been facilitated for German publishers by the hard currency provisions of the January 1920 Sales Regulations for Export (for Baedeker, this meant, in particular, the French and English re-prints of pre-war editions).

WIR REISEN MIT

B A E D E K E R

<p>DEUTSCHLAND in einem Bande. Für Bahn u. Auto. 96 Karten und Pläne. 1932. RM 12.50</p> <p>RHEINLANDE. 104 Karten und Pläne. 1931. RM 10.80</p> <p>SÜDDEUTSCHLAND. 104 Karten u. Pläne. 1920. RM 11.25</p> <p>TIROL U. ETSCHLAND. 82 Karten u. Pläne. 1929. RM 11.25</p> <p>ÖSTERREICH (ohne Tirol) 70 Karten u. Pläne. 1931. RM 11.25</p> <p>SCHWEIZ. 128 Karten und Pläne. 1930. RM 12.50</p>	<p>PARIS und Umgebung. Chartres, Reims, Verdun. 63 Karten und Pläne. 1931. RM 10.80</p> <p>NORWEGEN, Dänemark, Island. 80 Kart. u. Pl. 1931. RM 12.50</p> <p>ITALIEN v. d. Alpen b. Neapel. 98 Karten u. Pläne. 1931. RM 11.25</p> <p>OBERITALIEN mit Florenz. 106 Karten u. Pläne. 1931. RM 12.50</p> <p>RIVIERA Südost-Frankreich, Korsika. 90 K. u. Pl. 1930. RM 13.50</p> <p>DALMATIEN und die Adria 71 Karten u. Pläne. 1929. RM 10.-</p>
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und viele andere Bände für Deutschland und für das Ausland

Vollständige Verzeichnisse sind durch jede Buchhandlung stets zu haben

³⁹ The Rentenmark was brought in on 15th November 1923 to stop the hyperinflation, at a rate of 1 RM = 1 million million of the old paper marks. It wasn't intended to be a full currency replacement, only a temporary device, but was accepted by the people and remained in circulation even after the introduction in August 1924 of the Reichsmark.

Hans Baedeker (1874-1959)

When Fritz Baedeker died on 9th April 1925 at the age of 81, his eldest son Hans took over the management of the firm. Some aspects of this influential publisher's life work can be gathered from the eulogy by the Rev. Max Scheibe, held on 14th April:³⁹ "It was the continuation of his father's foundation, now nearly a century ago, to which he, who had originally a different career in mind, became devoted; first together with an older brother, then alone, later with a long-standing true friend and colleague and then apprenticing his oldest son, who was finally joined by the two younger sons. The task, to develop the edifice given to him both as to size and as to its internal perfection, to deal with the frequent changes in circumstances and the ever increasing requirements with sure judgment and ever vigilant firmness, thereby preserving and enhancing the flawless reputation his father's work already had acquired, even beyond the borders of the homeland, to retain and secure the position at the very apex of this literary sector, this task he masterly fulfilled." Two years later it was the duty of the new head of the firm to honour the centenary of its foundation. A small *Festschrift*^{sss} was published, the text of which was also reproduced in the *Börsenblatt*.

^{sss} A *Festschrift* is a publication on the occasion of an anniversary or significant birthday.

Hans Baedeker later (in 1940) wrote an essay on the development of the firm, but neither a detailed historical description, nor any bibliography appeared in the centenary year. How the editorial work proceeded in these years has been described by the former editor Gerhard Peters; he also mentions the names of his colleagues in Leipzig during the years between the two World Wars.⁴⁰

That anecdotes and fond memories of the Baedeker publishing house often are related, is surely to do with the enormous impact of its publishing activities, together with the fact that little of the company history was recorded in earlier years. The Baedeker name is often associated with other concepts or used in other connections; there are many pictorial works which directly or indirectly refer to the 'power of the red travel guide'. The twenties brought a great deal of literature on the subject of travel. In this, Baedeker held an undisputed position, which in the end made it almost into a generic term for the sector. As examples the quotes in *Käsebiere Italienreise* by Ludwig Thoma, the *Narrenbaedeker* by Arthur Holitscher and the book *Baedeker des Herzens* by Werner Bergengruen^{ttt} could be mentioned. Though the second edition, following a protest had to be



^{ttt} Werner Bergengruen (1892-1964), poet and writer of German-Baltic origin.

renamed *Badekur des Herzens*,^{uuu} Hans Baedeker is said later to have regretted the change – or so I was told by a relative of the poet Bergengruen.

Beside the regional guides, most guides to European countries were revisited together with Canada and Egypt as intercontinental destinations. Egypt was on everyone's mind due to the great archaeological discoveries. The famous professor Georg Steindorff^{vvv} edited this volume, which appeared in German in 1928 and in English in 1929. When the economy again took a turn for the worse in the early thirties, the Baedeker firm was also affected. In March 1931, management described the work on the guides as very time-consuming and costly, so that new plans, such as a revision of *Indien*, could not be considered. All employees had to be given provisional notice for 31st December 1931.

Dr. Gerhard Peters, already mentioned, had been made responsible for the fifth edition of *Spanien und Portugal*. He therefore made a long visit to these countries between March and June 1928. Letters from Hans Baedeker, Herr Moll and Herr Hölzel show both concern and good humour. First a quote from Hans Baedeker's letter of 22nd March:

“As we have not yet heard anything from you about the progress of your travels, I almost fear that my comments about ‘long travel epistles’ have frightened you off, and that would make me sorry. All I meant was that you mustn't – when you are tired in the evening – write down long tales, and that a simple postcard will do to keep us updated about the journey and how you are keeping.”

In another letter dated 11th April, he said among other things:

^{uuu} *Baedeker des Herzens*: A Baedeker (guide) to the heart; *Badekur des Herzens*: a spa treatment for the heart. First edition in 1932, second in 1956.

^{vvv} Georg Steindorff (1861-1951), Egyptologist.

“Many thanks for your letter from Barcelona of 21st March and for the letter and postcard from Granada. Your story about the successful progress of your travels made us very happy and dispersed all our worries.”

Correspondents also presented themselves without prompting. An example is Herr Albert Ziegler, who resided as painter and graphic artist in Madrid. Hans Baedeker requested Dr. Peters to visit this gentleman in order to see “what kind of cove he is”. Perhaps Herr Ziegler possibly could proofread the drafts on the paintings in the Prado; but first Peters would need to give him an “explanatory chat” about the way the publishing house wished this work to be undertaken.

Though Dr. Peters left the publishing house in the early thirties, the connection with the Baedekers was not broken. Somewhat jumping the chronological order to the time immediately after 1945, we shall mention here the continued contacts between the publisher and its former editor. Peters had made contact with Hans Baedeker at the end of 1946, to which he replied on 14th January 1947. In this letter, there is a description of developments after the Leipzig bombing on 4th December 1943:

“...my apartment in Davidstrasse escaped, as did ... my brother's house in Plagwitzer Strasse. We have provisionally located our firm there, although as we, like many other publishers here, have no licence, we can't say much about future plans.”⁴¹

The year 1933 then brought changes which made an impact in all walks of life. Travel abroad was quickly taken over by the state in the form of the Reich committee for overseas travel, through a law enacted on 23rd June 1933. Control of these “Reich concerns” shifted from the private sector to provincial governments. Thus the publication of travel guides was subject to influences that ranged well beyond pure tourism. The content was changed where it might run counter to political wishes; and the actual state of affairs was also considered. There is not much point in speculating over the whys and wherefores from as yet

incomplete sources. But there are some facts which shall be related here, to serve as a starting point for further research.

The Regulation on the Publication of Cartographic Works was published by the Reich Minister for the Interior in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*^{www} on 6th February 1940, in annual volume 1940, Part 1, page 294. The aim of the regulation was to ensure that installations of importance to the war effort should no longer be recognisable. These provisions were strengthened by a new announcement of 21st August 1942. In these new provisions, defined areas and places that should not be shown were specified. A further regulation in 1944 restricted the sale of travel guides and similar products to certain classes of people only. Whether the 1940 regulation was also used to force changes to the mapping and descriptive text of locations of no importance for the war effort can so far neither be confirmed nor disputed. It is known from the example of Bibliographisches Institut that such influences were brought to bear (a result was known as the 'brown Meyer').⁴² Externally, the regime in power was keen to use everything possible for its own propaganda that could further its political aims – especially abroad. Once Bibliographisches Institut had withdrawn from the travel guide business, only Baedeker remained as an internationally acclaimed firm. Similar examples are known from cinema and literature.

In a letter of September 1933 Hans Baedeker describes the difficulties with the corroding staples; and then goes on to the commercial situation:

“For my richly appointed books it is precisely the binding that is so extraordinarily costly, that it drives the sales price extremely high, even at a small profit margin. As described above, so much manual labour is involved, that it could only be offset through a reduction of the contents. In economically challenging times such as the present, it is almost impossible to budget for a price low enough for the intended

^{www} The official publication of laws and regulations for the *Reich*.

audience to pay. Most of the time I have to ask myself whether to cancel entirely the publication of a new revisited edition, or to aim for every possible saving in the production, the contents, the printing and finally in the binding... By way of example I refer to this year's two small volumes on BERLIN and ROME, for which particular circumstances allowed the use of wire staples.”⁴³

In October 1934, the publisher received a loan from the German state, which enabled him to carry on working, specifically “for the good reputation of Germany in the world”. It is probable that this loan came from the funds of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront*^{xxx44}. Among other publications this year was *Madeira*; this island appeared in the KdF travel programme. (KdF = the “Kraft durch Freude” holiday organisation). The 1936 Berlin Olympics provided the Third Reich with an opportunity for the full deployment of its propaganda (not just in Baedeker's travel guides, but also, for example, in the three-language special edition of the *Simplicissimus* magazine and the double-meaning motto “Wir weisen die Welt in die Schranken”^{yyy}).

In the above mentioned letter, Hans Baedeker also relates the story of how the travel guides of the T.C.I. (Touring Club Italiano) came to be and describes their secure position:

“The T.C.I. guides are published with the backing of the extraordinary resources of an association of 400,000 members and – as I know from the annual reports, being a long-standing member of the T.C.I. myself – in the interest of the Italian cause, deliberately without thought for commercial viability. They are published on demand by the State and receive subventions from time to time... Every member

^{xxx} The German Labour Front was the structure replacing all independent trade unions in Nazi Germany. One of its subdivisions was the Kraft durch Freude organisation, which arranged cheap holidays for German workers.

^{yyy} Which could mean “we will show the world [what we can do] in the arena”, but also “we will show the world our cupboards”, i.e., we have nothing to hide.

receives the first editions free of charge (!). You might be interested in some details about the background of these guides... The first President of the T.C.I. came personally to Leipzig not long before the war^{zzz}, to request permission from me to use my guides to Italy as the basis of their planned guides, in return for a fixed fee. I declined the proposal as a matter of principle, but Herr Bertarelli nonetheless went ahead with his plan without my knowledge during the war, and prepared a guide to South Tyrol in Italian on the basis of our earlier *Südbayern, Tirol* etc volume, freely making large editorial changes and additions. But the entire design of the book, typeface as well as content, even the red binding ... was taken from my books, and many parts were directly translated from the German original.”

H. B. wrote further that the new layout of sections in the 1928 *Oberitalien* was immediately adopted by Bertarelli. Translations were also made from the Italian guides into English, French and German.

In the Olympic year Karl Friedrich Baedeker joined the publisher as editor. He started thinking about the “task and form of a travel book” which he presented three months after joining. Excerpts from his paper are presented below with kind permission of the family. They speak for themselves in factual openness and clarity.⁴⁵ These quotes show, on the one hand, considerations related to the market position, and on the other hand, they highlight possible developments of future travel and consequently also of the travel guide:

“The friends of the Baedeker are – and I observe this again and again – only too often people who do not use it in practice, even though they have the money and travel frequently...”

“As a general rule, the attitude of the press is to give us praise as emphatic as it is impersonal, while at the same time avoiding any factual comment on anything.”

^{zzz} That would be the First World War.

“There are of course open enemies along with the hidden ones. These are the subjectives, the romantics among travellers, people who – so they say – experience everything deeper and more personally and sometimes prefer a field mouse to a cathedral, need no help, keep their eyes open and discover things for themselves: their India, their Italy, their England – as they say.”

“The man for whom, so I believe, we must be writing, is he who wishes to understand a country and its people as a living composite, as a composite with which he must deal politically, as a member of a different nation, and which as a human being he desires to understand. This interest is no longer cosmopolitan and aesthetic, as it once was in a time when the traveller liked to look upon the world as a beautiful garden, in which surprising revelations were to be experienced, and he quickly forgot that what he saw was the living reality. The purpose of travel is no longer to gain knowledge of the treasures of old Europe, at least not for the masses. As the point is the living and highly developed picture of a country – at least in most cases – the expansion of history at the expense of current and new affairs can no longer be permitted to the same extent as before. To this end, all large historic buildings and works of art are important as expressions of the essence of the people in its development through the ages, and serves to that extent the understanding of the present and everyday of the people of the country. To show the current political and economic factors which determine the attitude of the country that is to be studied, as one needs to deal with it as a citizen, and wishes to understand it from its own principles as a human being – to point overall to these factors seems to me to be the main task of a travel guide.”

“It is certainly true that the Germans have a love for, and habit of understanding other countries; but it is equally true that we make the mistake of assuming the same of other countries, which have neither the desire nor the inclination therefor. I also think that Europeans can only keep alive the will to understand each other, if Europe is seen as a dynamic concept, reaching for an ideal, such as Christian Occident,

general Enlightenment, or Communism. If no such idealistic goal longer carries any weight, then nobody can arrest the apathy and enmity of its parts. Mere neighbourhood on a continent makes no guaranteed basis for getting on with each other. In this state of bad politics, it is important to learn to understand the psyche of countries, so that of the stranger can be made an acquaintance.”

“The natural and historic laws which apply in a country, and the expressions which it forms and has formed, are the handles by which the present of a country and its people may be known. This present is what must be understood and be brought to one’s attention.”

“In my view, there is no better way of presenting history in our books than through tables. A presentation in story form is almost by necessity going to be tied to one particular tendency of history-writing, and it must also leave some periods out, in order to emphasize others. These tables deal with social history from the viewpoint of politics and religion. The industrial history is a special case, where an article in narrative form can be justified, so that interesting dates and the personal specialities of the author can be brought out. The general country history must never turn into an essay, but the industrial history and review may advantageously do so. For England, for example, it seems to me that it would be very interesting to know how she lost her forests, how many large cities there are, and to what extent her resource requirements are covered by domestic production.”

“My motto ‘do away with guide thinking’ means: away with the Routes, away with the railway, away with any transport concepts whatsoever. The transport world is developing so rapidly that it can no longer be fully grasped. In my view, the basic error of any automobile guide, of our treatment of the motorist too, is that the psychology of the driver is totally forgotten. His requirements can not be served in the same way as those of the railway passenger of old.”

Karl F. Baedeker ended his report with a system according to which for example the notable points of a city could be divided:

- I. the practical information
- II. the geographical situation of the city
- III. history
- IV. the wherewithal of the city
- V. the important buildings
- VI. the collections
- VII. excursions

A comparison between *Berlin* (1936), *Stuttgart* (1949) and *Koblenz* (1977) brings out the practical implementation of these ideas over a span of about 40 years:

Berlin 1936		Stuttgart 1949		Koblenz 1977	
I.	General	I.	Practical advice	I.	Practical advice
II.	Practical remarks	II.	General about Stuttgart	II.	Overview and history
III.	The City	III.	City description	III.	The old town
IV.	The museums	IV.	Environs	IV.	The outer districts
V.	The near environs				

While the history of Berlin is described in Part I, that of Stuttgart is presented in Part II.. From the example of *Hamburg* (1951) the end result can be compared with the draft:

Draft		Final form	
I.	General	I.	General overview
II.	The inner city	II.	Practical advice
III.	Districts and suburbs	III.	The inner city
IV.	The port	IV.	Districts and suburbs
V.	Museums and collections	V.	The port
VI.	The upper Elbe area. The Heide.	VI.	Museums, Institutes, Libraries
VII.	The lower Elbe	VII.	The upper Elbe area. The Heide
VIII.	Practical advice	VIII.	The lower Elbe

“It is necessary to make it quite clear that I do not believe in a future for the travel guide in its present form for the longer term. All the care and effort expended on the contents, all the well thought through calculations can do no more than preserve status quo. If the format of the book no longer fulfils the wishes of the traveller, then all the effort is in vain”, Karl F. Baedeker wrote to end his review of February 1937⁴⁶. From 1948 the balance of considerations became his to decide, as editor-in-chief.

In her essay *Zwischen Kultur und Gegenkultur – Baedeker und die ersten Arbeitertouristen in der Weimarer Republik*^{aaaa} Christine Keitz⁴⁷ shows what advice the new classes of travellers were expecting from their travel guides. On the one hand, the cultural history was appreciated also

^{aaaa} “Between culture and counter-culture – Baedeker and the first working class tourists in the Weimar Republic”.

by the working class travellers, on the other, their demands on lodging and sustenance were simpler, as the worker could not afford the same monetary outlay as the middle class traveller, and also didn't feel as well at ease in the grand hotels.

When World War II broke out in 1939, one industry after another was brought to a halt, as ever more employees were drafted into the armed forces. This was also the case for travel and tourism; some organisations for overseas travel soon existed only on paper. The guides to Berlin and other cities and regions from 1936 and 1938 onwards demonstrate the increasing influence of propaganda. Baedeker published the guides to the occupied Alsace and occupied Poland (*Generalgouvernement*). Within a timeframe of two months, between April and June 1943, a new edition of *Generalgouvernement* was produced, with some of the place names changed. In 1944 a Baedeker guide to Italy appeared in the series *Bücher des Frontarbeiters* (books for the front worker), among service instructions and cartographic works.

After World War II, not much was left of the Baedeker house in Leipzig. The brothers Hans, Ernst and Dietrich tried to rebuild something within their very limited means. It is remarkable, in hindsight, that already in the spring of 1948 a thin volume could be produced, which was on Leipzig. Together with Edy Reusch, HB, as Hans Baedeker stamped his mail and also was generally known, described the half-destroyed city in Baedeker style. HB described this little book as a ‘flower of ruins’ and thought at the same time already about producing something similar for Berlin. By order of the Soviet occupation authority, pages 61 and 62 had to be changed, and the city plan retouched, so that the headquarters of the Soviet command could not be identified (but the information remained in the street index).

Karl Friedrich Baedeker (1910-1979)

In 1948 Karl Friedrich Baedeker obtained a licence in the British occupation zone, so that he could start editing and publishing from Malente-Gremsmühlen. In 1949, the volume on Stuttgart appeared, which was edited by Oskar Steinheil, who had moved to this city. The places of publication were Leipzig and Hamburg, but the letterhead of this early era still shows addresses in Malente-Gremsmühlen, Hamburg and Leipzig. Oskar Steinheil continued to work on motoring guides until his death in October 1971.

The first regional guide after the war, *Schleswig-Holstein*, was finished in October 1949. Karl Friedrich Baedeker, who also often signed himself just K.B., set strict guidelines for the volumes which were to be produced, not just for himself, but also for the part-time employed Kurt Eitner and for his freelance collaborators. In June 1949, he wrote to Herr Brandt, who was to participate in the production of many guides⁴⁸:

“Meanwhile, you will have made yourself somewhat familiar with the editorial setup and my plan.” At the same time, he did however leave his colleagues freedom to draft suggested new sections, so that he could then join extracts from many individual parts to a

harmonised whole. Referring to the above mentioned foundational essay from 1937, K.B. wrote in July 1949:

“In fact, I am not of your opinion, that the visitor should make prescribed tours with the book in hand. That was the old days.”⁴⁹ Then follows, in this letter, instructions for the presentation of *Hamburg* (Herr Brandt had been asked to participate in the work on this), the disposition of sections and the expected usage. K.B. considered a strict alphabetical presentation of sights, streets and locations, but could not decide whether this would increase the user-friendliness. As we know from the volume published in 1951, K.B. on the whole retained the earlier disposition, even though changes to the content can be observed. The alphabetic listing has only recently been introduced, though the old postal route books used this method already at the beginning of the 19th century.

Originally, *Hamburg* was supposed to be only slightly larger than *Stuttgart* with 96 pages. The material was however so rich, that it grew to more than 400 pages. This also explains the unexpectedly long editing process. The final revision had to wait, as the first edition of *Frankfurt* had to be ready in time for the automobile exhibition of April 1951. The publication of *Hamburg* was also delayed by the not inconsiderable problems caused by the Hamburg Senate, which at first had offered a contribution to the production costs, which however never was received. Instead, advertisements were accepted in an appendix. The book was finally shipped in October 1951 during the “Hamburger

... und immer wieder Baedeker

für den Hotelier, der seinen Gästen mit präzisester Auskunft dienen will
für das Reisebüro, das die Kunden zuverlässig beraten möchte
für die Organisationen, die ein unaufdringliches Werbemittel von internationalem Ruf schätzen
für jeden, der Baedeker verkauft, ein sicherer Umsatzträger.

<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">Baedekers München</td> <td style="text-align: right; padding: 2px;">4,40</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">Baedekers Südbayern</td> <td style="text-align: right; padding: 2px;">10,50</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">Baedekers Nordbayern</td> <td style="text-align: right; padding: 2px;">7,50</td> </tr> </table> <p style="font-size: small; margin-top: 5px;">Alle drei Bände auch in englischer Sprache.</p>	Baedekers München	4,40	Baedekers Südbayern	10,50	Baedekers Nordbayern	7,50	<p style="font-size: small; margin-top: 10px;">KARL BAEDEKER HAMBURG • RICHARD PFLAUM VERLAG MÜNCHEN</p>
Baedekers München	4,40						
Baedekers Südbayern	10,50						
Baedekers Nordbayern	7,50						

Buchwoche” (Hamburg Week of Books fair). The costs for the first print run of 5,000 copies were very great, due to the use of high quality paper, rare at the time. This first run was however sold out within less than three months, so that an unchanged re-print of 2,500 copies on somewhat cheaper paper was prepared.

The range expanded very quickly; in 1955 24 different city and provincial guides were produced in German and English. By 1963, there were already 39 guides; to that were added three of the originally planned four volumes on Great Britain in English (1966-1970).

In the autumn of 1956, the publishing house moved from Malente-Gremsmühlen to Freiburg. In 1961, the business results did not keep up with the planned workload, so that K.B. from time to time doubted his own publishing skills. The pressure was great, not least the filial duty towards the three preceding generations of publishing. The range of short guides then came about after a pause for thought: these were city guides with a plan and brief descriptions for a quick overview. The first booklet was *Kiel und Umgebung* with 36 pages. This city guide series consisted by 1990 of about 250 editions. For some cities, only a single edition was published, such as *Detmold* (1974), but for others up to eight editions appeared, for example *Bamberg*. Often long and sometimes fruitless negotiations about an uptake guarantee for part of the edition had to be undertaken with the local authorities. Budgetary considerations often delayed decisions, or caused changes to those already taken. A title such as *Hamburg* resulted in a sale of only 8,000 copies over 16 years, which was not financially acceptable. The competition had, for example, a guide called *Hamburg 7-7*, which in the same time sold some 200,000 copies in 12 editions; but then this product was aimed at quite a different audience. In 1973, *Leipzig* appeared in a second edition after the famous first one of 1948, prepared by Prof. Heinrich Greiss of Freiburg. He was assisted by the Leipziger Werner Lachmann. In a letter to Prof. Greiss, K.B. offered the following thoughts about this new edition⁵⁰:

“LEIPZIG promises to be an interesting volume and from a political point of view, our second contribution to keeping the conviction that there can only be one Germany.” In hindsight a wish which was fulfilled (the third edition followed in the spring of 1991).

Now we must again return the focus to 1951. In Stuttgart *Baedekers Autoführer-Verlag* (Baedeker’s Motoring Guides) was founded by Karl Baedeker, Kurt Mair, owner of *Mair’s Geographischer Verlag*, and by Oskar Steinheil. Steinheil had worked for Baedeker already before 1945 in Leipzig. His best known creation is the first motoring guide to Germany, which was published in 1938. After 1951, the publication of motoring guides to German and European destinations continued. A start was made with a series of ten guides to German destinations, followed by country guides for Germany through to Bulgaria. The country guides reached up to 16 editions between 1953 and 1980 (*Deutschland – Bundesrepublik Deutschland*), and several editions were reprinted without changes. An example from *Jugoslawien und Griechenland*, 3rd edition, might show the different outcomes of edition numbering. The firm planned the publication for 1962 (this is also stated in the business documentation); but it only appeared towards the end of the year, with the publication year stated as 1963 and with a sheet of corrections. Notations like “1969/70” do not refer to the year of publication, but were intended to show the period of currency. *Spanien und Portugal*, 7th edition, was published in August 1969, but contains the copyright indication 1969/70. And the regional guide *Bayerische Alpen* appeared in November 1963 in its 6th edition, with publication year given as 1964. Several editors and scientists worked on these titles, which again show a consistent disposition and, for the regional guides of Western Germany, also have the same number of pages.

A new series was introduced in 1976, which corresponded to the sheets of Mair’s general map. The general map could be used together with the compact guide to find the desired destination quickly. This is the principle which K.B. already in 1936 thought of as “do away with the Routes”. The guides were then further developed by adopting the

coordinate network of the general map, which helped the requirements of the motorist.

Baedekers Autoführer-Verlag was responsible for this new series, and also for the USA guide, which first appeared again in 1974, under the direction of Dr. Peter Baumgarten (he took over in 1972; Oskar Steinheil died 1971; Hans Baedeker, son of Dr. Dietrich Baedeker was also employed in this firm as editor and production manager until 30th April 1985). Dr. Baumgarten is now (1991) responsible as the editor-in-chief for all Baedeker city guides and Baedeker-Allianz guides.

By 1977, the firm could look back on 150 years of history. Instead of a jubilee publication, a successful reprint of the 1846 3rd edition of *Handbuch für Reisende in Deutschland und dem Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaat* was published. In that year, K.B. summarised the work until then as follows:

“1. Big country guides: The days of the motoring guide in this large format seem to be ending. We will therefore replace them with a new type in the classic form...

2. The district guides were a transitional solution, which I also never liked; but with the help of Shell they promoted our revival after the war.

3. Provincial guides: The volumes I produced for Southern Bavaria, Northern Bavaria, the Black Forest, Rhineland, the Ruhr area and so forth did not gain the response necessary for such an expensive effort. For example: Tyrol was published in 1956 in 15,000 copies, and after 20 years, some of this edition still remains unsold.

4. City guides: This series I developed especially... We have thereby found a new solution for a particular niche, as could be expected of Baedekers.

5. Compact guides: ... Nonetheless the contents of such a volume are very comprehensive. I believe that ... Baedekers have found a solution.

6. Handbooks: Unfortunately the commercial situation in England is such ... that I was unable to produce vol. IV Scotland.”⁵¹

In the years after 1945 the publisher had at their service the following gentlemen, with all their knowledge and experience, either as employees or on a freelance basis (listed alphabetically):

<i>Otto U. Brandt</i>	Bremen-Bremerhaven, Celle, Hamburg, Kiel, Lübeck, Lüneburg
<i>Kurt Eitner</i>	Cologne/Bonn (in English), Hamburg, Cologne, Cologne and the Rhineland, the Ruhr area, Tyrol, Tyrol and Salzburg
<i>Dr. Gerhard Peters</i>	Detmold, Vienna, History of Art in the motoring guide to Spain
<i>Kurt Pomplun</i>	Augsburg, Bamberg, Berlin, Brunswick, Innsbruck, Nuremberg, Regensburg, Salzburg, Würzburg

In addition there are many other names that should be mentioned, such as Dr. Walther Baedeker, H. A. Piehler, Dr. Margarete Bessau, Prof. Greiss, Dr. Peter Baumgarten, Mrs. Thekla Lepsius, Oskar Steinheil, Dr. Ernst Borgwardt, Dr. Gerhard Marauschek, Dr. Ekkehard Wiest, Martin Anger, Uwe Jacobi, Dr. Gerd Treffer, Dr. Hans Eichler, Dr. Hansjörg Garte, Dr. Klaus Goebel, Beatrice Weintz. Florian Baedeker must be specially mentioned as editor; he worked on several city guides, for example *Basel*, before he for only a brief time became the head of the company on the death of his father in June 1979.

Dr. Friedrich A. Wagner, the Nestor of current travel journalism, wrote an obituary in the FAZ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung) on 13th July 1979, from which the following is quoted⁵²:

“He carried the name of his ancestor ... Karl Baedeker ... carried on the tradition of his family and its famous publishing house, in that he translated experience of the world, cultural history and careful attention to travel guides ... But he was distant throughout his life from

all that we know as mass tourism, and was not prepared to pay heed to superficial “country bagging” or fashionable globetrottery. A solid provincial or city guide, rich in knowledge and facts ... represented his clear and modest mind ... ; he was in the best sense a representative of the educated German citizen and understood every part of his profession as publisher of guidebooks ... ; through his co-operation with Mair’s Geographischer Verlag, he eased the way for the new generation of Baedekers.”

Karl Friedrich Baedeker not only had an outstanding professional knowledge – his studies in philosophy with Karl Jaspers^{bbbb} left a great impression on him. Existentialist philosophy and Jaspers’ description of the responsibility for one’s actions could have been his own motto. He described himself what he had learnt from Jaspers as “Serious acts, real creation, persisting opinion.” In happy expectation and pride he presented the celebrated philosopher with a copy of the first edition of the city guide to Heidelberg.⁵³

Baedeker also exercised himself with literary essays, as can be seen from an extensive correspondence with Robert Musil^{cccc}, the poet and creator of *Mann ohne Eigenschaften*^{dddd}. The section on this correspondence in *Robert Musil: Studien zu seinem Werk*^{eeee} presents an introduction written by K.B., which gives the most important data of his life⁵⁴: Book dealer apprenticeship in Munich, in 1931 a year spent in England, from 1932 studies in Munich, student worker in Silesia and then from 1934 studies in Heidelberg under Prof. Jaspers. In addition, K.B. had a great love of sports – this was the origin of an *exlibris* showing a skier taking off from a ski-jump of books.

^{bbbb} Karl Jaspers (1883-1969), philosopher and psychopathologist.

^{cccc} Robert Musil (1880-1942), Austrian writer and critic.

^{dddd} The Man without Qualities, unfinished novel in three volumes, published 1930-1942.

^{eeee} “Robert Musil: studies on his work”.



When Florian Baedeker lost his young life in a tragic accident in October 1980, Karl Baedeker’s widow Eva Baedeker had to take over the direction of the publishing house at an age when others already start thinking of retiring. She had worked along with her husband since the publisher’s revival in Malente-Gremsmühlen in the then British occupation zone, and had thought through, influenced and assisted in the publishing decisions with him. She had also worked on the spot as editor of the planned guide to

Paris in the early 1950’s (it was supposed to have been published in Leipzig, but that was no longer possible). Eva Baedeker now carried on the publishing in Freiburg with steely determination together with decades of experience – latterly in co-operation with the Langenscheidt publishers.

In Kemnat (today a suburb of Ostfildern near Stuttgart), where Mairs Geographischer Verlag and Baedeker’s Autoführer-Verlag had acquired a new building in 1972, the first edition of USA appeared two years later. From 1979 a new type of travel guide was presented, the *Baedeker-Allianz Reiseführer*. In the introduction to the first edition of *Deutschland – Bundesrepublik Deutschland* explains as follows:

“This travel guide belongs to a new generation of Baedekers. In co-operation with the Allianz insurance company, which through its assistance has enabled this new concept, a travel guide has been prepared for a long time, which in all details is designed to meet the wishes and expectations of the holiday-maker.”

This series realised the idea of presenting travel destinations from A to Z, which K.B. already had thought of in 1949. In 1981, the Baedeker Allianz travel guides for countries were complemented by Baedeker Allianz pocket guides for smaller regions and cities. Today (1991) there are more than 70 German language guides in this series, plus foreign language editions in English, French and some other languages (under licence). From 1989, all the Baedeker Allianz guides are being changed over to a standard pocketbook format. Titles such as *Frankreich* or *Mexiko* with more extensive contents (7-800 pages) will be printed on special paper, in order to retain a handy size. That it is vital to stay up to date is shown by the running reworking of the *DDR* (German Democratic Republic) title at the end of 1989 and start of 1990. Each volume contains a travel map. The co-operation between the Ostfildern publisher and other firms is not just in one direction, through licence agreements granted, but services have also been purchased. Two examples of this are *Asien* and *DDR. Asien* first appeared in 1986 as a licence publication of the *All-Asia Guide*, 13th edition, Hong Kong, in the classical Baedeker format as a "continuation" of the 1914 *Indien* volume, with the remark in the foreword: "After a long interruption the present book ties in with this classic travel guide...". The *DDR* volume was developed from the *Reisebuch DDR*. The copyright belonged to Tourist-Verlag, East Berlin. The authors were essentially the same.

The competition sharpened between the Baedeker firm in Freiburg, belonging to the Langenscheidt group, and the Baedeker Autoführer Verlag. As Berlin was getting ready to celebrate its 750th anniversary, three Baedeker city guides were in preparation: *Der Große Baedeker Berlin* and the city guide, both from Freiburg, as well as the Baedeker Allianz guide, which included a calendar of the planned festivities in both West and East Berlin. But with effect from 1st July 1987 (160 years to the day after the foundation of the house in Coblenz), an agreement to unite the activities was reached between the two Baedeker firms:

Reunion of the two Baedeker publishing firms

With effect from 1st July 1987 the Karl Baedeker Verlag in Freiburg/Berlin has joined with Baedekers Autoführer-Verlag in Kemnat near Stuttgart. The new enterprise will be called Karl Baedeker GmbH. The publisher will be headquartered in Kemnat with a branch operation in Munich. The firm is owned 50% each by Mairs Geographischer Verlag and the Langenscheidt group. Karl Ernst Tiebiger-Langenscheidt and Dr. Volkmar Mair will be directors of the new company. Programme decisions will be made by Dr. Florian Langenscheidt and Dr. Volkmar Mair in co-operation with Dr. Peter Baumgarten. The Langenscheidt side will concentrate its activities in the business on editorial and production issues, while the Mairs Geographischer Verlag side will focus on management and sales matters. Through the amalgamation of the two Baedeker firms and their ranges (well over 100 country, regional and city guides), the Langenscheidt group and Mairs Geographischer Verlag with their great experience in the tourism arena will acquire a considerable reinforcement of their impact on the travel guide market. Consideration has also been given to the licensing of the respected Baedeker name to related product areas. The editorial responsibility for the Baedeker Allianz series of travel guides will hereafter be carried by Baedeker Verlag on behalf of Mairs Geographischer Verlag. The delivery of the joint Baedeker programme will from 1st January 1988 be the responsibility of Mairs Geographischer Verlag.⁵⁵

Information aus dem Hause

Baedeker

zur gefl. Kenntnisnahme:

Mit Wirkung vom 1. Juli 1987 sind die beiden bisher bestehenden Baedeker-Verlage

Baedekers Autoführer-Verlag (Stuttgart)
und
Verlag Karl Baedeker (Freiburg)

in einer neuen Verlagsgesellschaft unter dem Namen

Karl Baedeker GmbH

mit Sitz in Ostfildern-Kemnat bei Stuttgart vereinigt.

Endnotes

¹ The following endnotes and the accompanying bibliography provide further insight; beyond that further findings will be published in REISEN & LEBEN. In essence I have attempted to describe interdisciplinary connections; including the history of communications and transport, the history of the book industry, the general economic and political developments, and cartography. Various works, already published several times and which may be studied elsewhere, have not been used.

² See Hinrichsen, Alex W.: Neue Erkenntnisse in der Baedeker-Forschung, in: REISELEBEN, Heft 13, Holzminden 1986.

³ Fouquet-Plümacher, Doris: Jede neue Idee kann einen Weltbrand anzünden. Georg Andreas Reimer und die preussische Zensur während der Restauration, Frankfurt/M. 1987.

⁴ Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich: Mein Leben, vol. IV, Hannover 1868-79.

⁵ Here I would like to express my thanks to the archivist Herr Krüger at the Landeshauptarchiv in Coblenz, for the easy and extensive support provided for the research. Text and quotes from the next pages, where they

concern Karl Baedeker's political views, stem from the letter copies made available, as does also the description of the circumstances surrounding the proposed honour. Political "way of thinking" is here to be understood as a necessity of life under the Restoration after the wars of liberation, the liberal movement and republican/democratic struggles for the participation of the citizens in the execution of governmental powers.

⁶ See Meyers Konversations-Lexikon, 4th edition 1887, entry for "Görres".

⁷ See Schulze, Friedrich: Der Deutsche Buchhandel und die geistige Strömungen der letzten hundert Jahre, Leipzig 1925, ZA-Reprint Leipzig 1990.

⁸ See note 5, as well as Notarial documents Deuster N 574 of 18 March 1834, archived in the annex Rommersdorf of the Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, 5450 Neuwied 22 (for this matter I am grateful to Herr Helmut Kampmann, 5400 Coblenz). In addition I have reviewed unpublished material made available to me by Herr and Frau Klaus P. and Wilhelmine Schweimer (in particular: Lebenserinnerungen von Prof. Dr. Adolf Bingel 1879-1953), for which special thanks are due.

⁹ Bädeker, G. D.: Einige Worte, gesprochen am Geburtstage seiner geliebten Gattin am 1. März im Kreise der Kinder, als (gedruckten) Manuscript für seine Kinder, Essen 1832.

¹⁰ For the exact dates of service as Councillor and on the City Council I am obliged to the City Archive, Coblenz, to whom I hereby express my thanks; see further also: Bellinghausen, Hans: Karl Baedeker und sein Werk, in: "Moselland", June issue, Luxembourg 1942.

¹¹ Rheinische Provinzial-Blätter, neue Folge, vol. 6/1839, supplement to No. 95, Cologne.

¹² Petermann, A.: Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie, annual vol. 1858.

¹³ Diezmann, A.: Der getreue Eckardt der Reisenden, in: Gartenlaube No. 4, 1861.

¹⁴ Meyer's Volksbibliothek für Länder-, Völker- und Naturkunde, vol. 4, Hildburghausen (without year of publication, about 1854).

¹⁵ Bruckmann's Reisebibliothek: London und seine Umgebungen nebst Beschreibung der Nordseehäfen und der wichtigsten Städte Englands. Zugleich als Führer für die zweite allgemeine Industrie-Ausstellung. Stuttgart-Frankfurt-Hamburg-London-Leipzig 1862.

¹⁶ Fellenberg, Edmund v.: Itinerarium für das Excursionsgebiet des S.A.C. für 1885 und 1886. Kritisches Verzeichnis über die Gesamtliteratur über die Berner Alpen, Berne 1886.

¹⁷ Petermann, A.: Mittheilungen... *ibid*, annual vol. 1864.

¹⁸ Jenny, Edmund: Der Ruf der Berge, die Erschließung der Berner Hochalpen von Edmund von Fellenberg, Erlenbach-Zürich, München, Leipzig, no year (1925).

¹⁹ See p. 29 (?) of the publisher's catalogue and Kretschmer, I. / Dörflinger, J. / Wawrik, E.: Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie, vols. C/1 and C/2, Vienna 1986, p. 731.

²⁰ See Kretschmer, I *et al*, as above.

²¹ See Hinrichsen, Alex W: Karl Baedeker II als Bergsteiger, in REISELEBEN, Hefte 7/8, Holzminden 1983/84.

²² Baumgarten, Peter: Afterword to "Rheinreise von Basel bis Düsseldorf", Coblenz 1849, reprint Dortmund 1978.

²³ Review reprinted in a travel guide to Switzerland; Petermann, A.: Mittheilungen..., *ibid*. annual vol. 1864.

²⁴ Berlepsch, H. A.: Reisehandbuch für die Schweiz, 3rd edition, Hildburghausen 1865.

²⁵ Hohlfeld, Johannes: Das Bibliographische Institut, Festschrift zu seiner Jahrhundertfeier, Leipzig 1926.

²⁶ See the advertisements of the Karl Baedeker publishing house in Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel, Leipzig 1867.

²⁷ Boyle, L. Laurence: Wer war Karl Baedeker? in: REISELEBEN, Sonderheft 1, Holzminden 1984.

²⁸ Hassert, Kurt: Die Städte geographisch betrachtet, Leipzig 1907.

²⁹ Petermann, A./Behm, E.: Mittheilungen..., *ibid*, annual vol. 1873

³⁰ see Hinrichsen, Alex W.: Neue Erkenntnisse..., *ibid*

³¹ Lang, Wilhelm: Peloponnesische Wanderung, Berlin 1878.

³² See Hinrichsen, Alex W.: Athens and its environs, in: REISEN UND LEBEN, Heft 15, Holzminden 1987.

³³ Thoma, Ludwig/Heine, Thomas Theodor: Das große Malöhr im Juni 1903, Munich 1903.

³⁴ Langenbeck, Wilhelm: Die Geschichte des Norddeutschen Lloyd, Leipzig 1921.

³⁵ See Sedlacek, Yvette: Baedeker's Reisehandbuch. Ein Name wird zum Inbegriff für Reiseliteratur (manuscript for diploma thesis, Munich 1990, Holzminden 1991) and Hinrichsen, Alex W.: Werbetätigkeit des Verlags Karl Baedeker, in REISEN UND LEBEN, Heft 18, Holzminden 1989. The pasting in of publisher's programmes in books is known from at least 1815 (see Schulze, Friedrich: *ibid*, p. 103); in books published by Baedeker these slips were particularly frequent in the 1840's, until the range then started to be printed on the inside cover.

³⁶ See Roth, P: Leipzig im Mittelpunkt des Buchhandels, Leipzig 1914, list of exhibitors and plan of the exhibition.

³⁷ Hinrichsen, A./Humburg, N./Grohs, W.: Das Weserbergland, touristische Erschließung, Senator F. W. Meyer, weitere Entwicklung, Holzminden 1982.

³⁸ See Schulze, Friedrich, *ibid.*, p. 257 f.

³⁹ Gedächtnisworte am Sarge von Dr. Fritz Baedeker, geboren in Coblenz 4. Dezember 1844, gestorben in Leipzig 9. April 1925. Gesprochen am 14. April 1925 von Pfarrer D. Dr. Max Scheibe. Private imprint, 6 pp.

⁴⁰ Peters, Gerhard: Redakteur an Baedekers Reisehandbüchern 1925-1934, in REISEN UND LEBEN, Heft 15, Holzminden 1987.

⁴¹ Excerpts from letters, which I have acquired from Dr. Gerhard Peters.

⁴² See Hinrichsen, Alex W.: Verkaufsfähig, in REISEN UND LEBEN, Heft 17, Holzminden 1988, as well as Sarkowski, Heinz: das Bibliographische Institut. Verlagsgeschichte und Bibliographie 1826-1976. Mannheim-Vienna-Zurich 1976.

⁴³ Letter 13th September 1933 to a correspondent (my property). Note: emphasis on certain matters mine.

⁴⁴ See Smelser, Ronald: Robert Ley. Hitlers Mann an der "Arbeitsfront". Translated from American [sic] by Karl and Heidi Nicolai. Paderborn 1989. Here especially the descriptions of the "KdF" organisation and the references to the financial resources of the DAF being used for such aims.

⁴⁵ Baedeker, Karl Friedrich: Von der Aufgabe und Form des Reisebuches, without indication of place, February 1937, unpublished manuscript.

⁴⁶ Baedeker, Karl Friedrich: *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Keitz, Christine: Baedeker und die ersten Arbeitertouristen, in REISEN UND LEBEN, Heft 19, Holzminden 1989.

⁴⁸ The following quotes from letters are taken from correspondences with Mr Otto U. Brandt, who for years assisted in the production of city guides for the Karl Baedeker publishing house. All rights belong to me, as I have acquired these sources from Mr Brandt; the same applies to correspondence transferred to me by Mr Kurt Eitner and Dr. Gerhard Peters. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for this. The first volume on which Mr Brandt worked was the first edition of "Hamburg und die Niederelbe" of 1951.

⁴⁹ See note 48.

⁵⁰ Letter from K.B. to Prof. H. Greiss of 28th August 1972 (my property)

⁵¹ Letter from K.B. to a correspondent of 19th April 1977 (my property)

⁵² Wagner, Friedrich A.: Welterfahrung im Handbuch, zum Tode Karl Baedekers, published in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 13th June 1979.

⁵³ Letter from K.B. to Prof. Jaspers of 8th April 1968 (the original is in the Deutschen Literaturarchiv/Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Marbach/N., to which I hereby express my thanks for allowing me the use). The manuscript departments of all larger libraries, for example those of Bonn, Dortmund, Freiburg, Munich, Nuremberg and Weimar have helped me with insights in this correspondence; I am also very grateful for this.

⁵⁴ Dinklage, Karl (Ed.): Robert Musil, Studien zu seinem Werk, Reinbek 1970.

⁵⁵ Press release by Karl Baedeker GmbH.



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Family tree of Karl Baedeker, Coblence

A. Ancestors

1. **Zacharias Gerhard Diederich**, born Dortmund 19 Sep 1750, died Essen 19 Aug 1800, married Essen 20 Jul 1775 to Anna Theodora Bastian (prev. m. Busch, prev. m. Wohlleben, born Essen 28 Oct 1736, died Essen 2 Apr 1795).
2. **Gottschalk Diedrich**, born Essen 13 Jul 1778, died Essen 23 Mar 1841, married Neuwied 21 Oct 1800 to Mariane Gehra (born Neuwied 1 Mar 1781, died Essen 15 Dec 1847).

B. Karl Baedeker and his siblings

- 3.1 **Karl**, born Essen 3 Nov 1801, died Coblence 4 Oct 1859, married Essen 4 Oct 1829 to Emilie Heintzmann (born Zabrze 16 Oct 1808, died Coblence 28 Jul 1879); founder of the publishing house.
- 3.2 **Amalie**, born Essen 27 Jun 1803, died Essen 15 Feb 1820.

- 3.3 **Louise**, born Essen 8 Mar 1805, died Essen 5 Dec 1883, married Essen 21 Oct 1825 to Friedrich Wilhelm Wilberg.
- 3.4 **Aline**, born Essen 25 Dec 1806, died Essen 21 Mar 1848.
- 3.5 **Edmund**, born Essen 8 Nov 1808, died Bladenhorst 27 Jul 1853.
- 3.6 **Adolf**, born Essen 24 Nov 1810, died Honnef 4 Oct 1906, married 27 May 1851 to Johanna Bohn (born Coblenz 16 Mar 1819, died ?); book dealer in Rotterdam (also published various books and views together with Karl) and Cologne.
- 3.7 **Gustav**, born Essen 9 Nov 1812, died Essen 5 Jan 1820.
- 3.8 **Julie**, born Essen 24 Mar 1815, died Essen 7 Jun 1891.
- 3.9 **Eduard**, born Essen 22 May 1817, died Essen 18 Mar 1879; partner in the firm of G. D. Baedeker.
- 3.10 **Julius**, born Essen 21 Aug 1821, died Essen 22 Nov 1898, married (2nd) Essen 21 Aug 1859 to Clara Wilberg (born 29 Mar 1837, died Essen 25 Jun 1923); partner in the firm of G. D. Baedeker.
- 3.11 **Mathilde**, born Essen 6 Feb 1825, died Essen 21 Dec 1877.

C. Children of Karl and Emilie Baedeker

- 4.1 **Heinrich**, born Coblenz 8 Jul 1830, died Coblenz 1 Feb 1831.
- 4.2 **Anna**, born Coblenz 13 Dec 1831, died Coblenz 2 Jun 1908, married Coblenz 19 Jun 1856 to Ferdinand Sehmer.
- 4.3 **Ernst**, born Coblenz 26 Oct 1833, died Coblenz 23 July 1861, married Coblenz 22 May 1859 to Otilie Wilhelmine Hirzel (born Leipzig 24 Dec 1838, died

- Berlin 5 Oct 1908); took over the publishing house after the death of his father 1859.
- 4.4 **Albert**, born Coblenz 29 Jul 1835, died Coblenz 23 Feb 1836.
- 4.5 **Karl**, born Coblenz 25 Jan 1837, died Kennenburg (near Esslingen) 12 May 1911; from 1858 partner and 1861 sole owner of the publishing house, resigned 1878.
- 4.6 **Laurette**, born Coblenz 12 Mar 1839, died Coblenz 16 Apr 1839.
- 4.7 **Emilie**, born Coblenz 25 Sep 1841, died Coblenz 28 Feb 1844.
- 4.8 **Fritz**, born Coblenz 4 Dec 1844, died Leipzig 9 Apr 1925, married Coblenz 18 Jun 1873 to Flöry Landfermann, daughter of school inspector Dr Dietrich Landfermann (born Coblenz 13 Aug 1849, died Leipzig 25 Mar 1916); first partner and after the resignation of Karl sole owner of the publishing house, moved the firm to Leipzig in 1872/73, Honorary Doctor 1909.
- 4.9 **Louise Wilhelmine**, born Coblenz 12 Oct 1846, died Tübingen 12 Aug 1906, married Coblenz 27 Jun 1872 to Friedrich Wilhelm Adolf Bingel (born 18 May 1842, died 9 Oct 1906).
- 4.10 **Johanna**, born Coblenz 12 Oct 1846, died ? 26 Apr 1936, married Coblenz 21 Jul 1870 to Fritz Bingel (born 29 Jul 1844, died 14 Feb 1915).

D. Children of Dr. Fritz and Flöry Baedeker

- 5.1 Johannes (**Hans**), born Leipzig 29 Jul 1874, died Leipzig 4 May 1959, married Leipzig 29 Apr 1902 to Martha Engelmann (born Leipzig 19 Oct 1879, died Leipzig 22 Feb 1947); partner and after the death of his father owner of the publishing house (later together with his brothers Ernst and Dietrich).

- 5.2 **Karl**, born Leipzig 3 Feb 1877, killed in action Liège 6 Aug 1914, married 22 Aug 1908 to Katharina Fielitz (born Greifswald 13 May 1888, died Freiburg 8 May 1973); physicist, doctor.
- 5.3 **Ernst**, born Leipzig 6 Jun 1878, died Leipzig 9 Jan 1948, married 1915 to Hedwig Klamroth (born Coblenz 17 Apr 1889, died Leipzig 12 May 1916); partner in the publishing house.
- 5.4 **Marianne**, born Leipzig 22 Sep 1881, died 18 Apr 1966, married Leipzig 5 Oct 1905 to Max Hacke (Senior Lieutenant in the reserve and farmer at Alt-Lönnewitz near Torgau); 7 children, among them Ernst-Max (known as Peer Baedeker).
- 5.5 Dietrich (“**Diez**”) Otto Heinrich, born Leipzig 3 Oct 1886, died Stuttgart 3 Oct 1969, married 24 Aug 1919 to Malwine Clara Maria Sommer (born 1889, died Leipzig 19 May 1969; Ph. D.); partner in the publishing house, Ph. D.

E. Children of Dr. Karl and Katharina Baedeker (5.2)

- 6.1 **Charlotte**, born Jena 20 Jun 1908, died Freiburg 19 Oct 1976
- 6.2 **Karl Friedrich**, born Jena 21 Aug 1910, died Freiburg 5 Jun 1979, married Leipzig 23 Oct 1937 to Eva Bessau (born Konitz 24 Sep 1913, died Freiburg 11 Mar 1984; she managed the publishing house from 1980 to her death); restarted the publishing house in 1948 in Malente, Western Germany, later in Freiburg.

F. Children of Dr. Dietrich and Dr. Malwine Baedeker (5.5)

- 7.1 **Hans Enno Ferdinand Karl**, born Leipzig 15 Apr 1920; employed in Baedekers Autoführer-Verlag, Stuttgart and Ostfildern (until 1985).

- 7.2 **Otto Heinrich Gilbert Friedrich Karl**, born Leipzig 5 Jun 1926; employed in Verlag Karl Baedeker, published various guides in the USA for the International Transportation Association in his own name, edited with Kurt Eitner *Kletts Handbuch für Reise und Wirtschaft AFRIKA*, 3 vols., 2nd edition 1975.

G. Children of Karl Friedrich and Eva Baedeker (6.2)

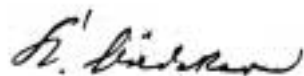
- 8.1 **Corinna**, born Leipzig 20 May 1939, married 22 Jul 1971 to Dr. Peter Schmidt-Tomé (city archaeologist).
- 8.2 **Dieter Florian**, born Eutin 4 Nov 1943, died Schwenningen 26 Oct 1980, married to Elke Hadwich (born 23 May 1945); took over the publishing house 1979 on the death of his father.

H. Child of Florian and Elke Baedeker (8.2)

- 9.1 **Jan Karl**, born Freiburg 28 Nov 1979.

Signatures of the family

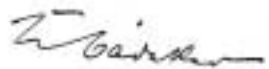
Karl Baedeker I



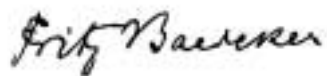
Ernst Baedeker



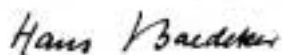
Karl Baedeker II



Fritz Baedeker



Hans Baedeker



Karl F. Baedeker



Eva Baedeker



Florian Baedeker



Genealogy of the firm

1827-1872	In Coblenz, publishers Karl Baedeker, Ernst Baedeker and Karl Baedeker (II).
1872-1959	In Leipzig, publishers Karl Baedeker (II), Fritz Baedeker, Hans Baedeker, Ernst Baedeker, Dr. Dietrich Baedeker.
1948-1987	In Malente-Gremsmühlen and Freiburg, publishers Karl Friedrich Baedeker, Eva Baedeker, Florian Baedeker, Karl-Ernst Tielebier-Langenscheidt, Dr. Florian Langenscheidt.
Since 1951	Additionally in Stuttgart (from 1972 Kemnat) Baedeker's Autoführer-Verlag , publishers Karl Friedrich Baedeker, Kurt Mair, Oskar Steinheil, Dr. Volkmar Mair.
Since 1 July 1987	In Ostfildern and Munich Karl Baedeker GmbH , publishers Karl-Ernst Tielebier-Langenscheidt, Dr. Volkmar Mair and managed by Dr. Florian Langenscheidt and Dr. Peter Baumgarten.

Overview of the Hinrichsen numbers

Year	German	English	French	Other
1832-1944	D 1-499	E 1-266	F 1-226	S 1-30
1948-1970	N 1-39b	N 3-43		
1963-1990	K 1-908 City guides, compact guides			
1952-1973	G 1-94 Shell Motoring guides, German regions			
1953-1980	H 1-161 Shell Motoring guides, large country guides			
1979 onwards	A..., B..., C..., Baedeker Allianz travel guides			
1957-1965	T 1-11 Touropa-Baedeker, Shell travel guide Federal Republic of Germany			
	R 1-12 Reprints			

The following Hinrichsen numbers have been changed to improve the listing:

BK 1988 = Baedeker-Katalog, first edition 1988

BB 1991 = Baedeker-Bibliographie, second edition 1991

BK 1988	BB 1991	BK 1988	BB 1991	BK 1988	BB 1991
N 1	K 461	N 9	K 301	N 23	K 514
N 2	K 631	N 13	K 302	N 24	K 633
N 3	K 632	N 16	K 303	N 25	K 515
N 5	K 511	N 19a	K 304	N 31	K 305
N 6	K 512	N 20	K 51	N 32	K 306
N 7	K 513				

The following variants are not listed:

- a) Books not indicating re-prints, bound after 1920. These volumes can be recognised from the publication years of other editions listed on the endpapers;
- b) Re-prints by the Bibliographisches Institut of post-1930 editions;
- c) Different paper qualities;
- d) Books of the same edition indicating different publishing partners in England, France and the USA;
- e) Differing titles on the covers of German regional editions;
- f) Changes, replacements or retouching on maps and plans for an edition offered over a longer period of time. The history of changes can be found partly in the history of the firm, partly in essays in REISEN & LEBEN.

For each supposed variant, careful consideration must be given as to whether significant changes are involved, beyond mere printing accidents (e.g. for D 492 instead of "Ägypten" the spelling "Agypten"). All additions and deletions in the bibliography have been verified with actually observed examples, but they are however no indication of a standard. Please make your observations known to the publisher for future revisions. Dr. L. L. Boyle of Vine Cottage, Patixbourne, CT4 5BX, England has prepared a detailed listing of variants, for all volumes

made accessible to him. In the bibliography, information received from Boyle is indicated by >B<.

Those publications of J. A. Klein, which became the property of Karl Baedeker as part of the takeover by him of the Röhling publishing firm, have been listed as predecessors of the travel guides of Karl Baedeker. Other publications were also acquired in this takeover, such as the *Beschreibung der Stadt Neuwied* (Description of the town of Neuwied) by F. A. Beck (cf. publishing programme of Röhling in 1829 and of Baedeker in 1835).