Manchester’s population in the nineteenth century had a large German element. Estimates for 1864 put this at 10,000, including many poor labourers.\(^1\) German firms were prominent amongst the foreign firms: in 1830 they formed the majority (sixty-one out of seventy-four), and while the proportion declined the actual numbers continued to rise, to 153 in 1870.\(^2\) Many Germans came for a short period, others stayed for many years or even settled permanently. To cater for the cultural needs of middle-class Germans two institutions were established: Manchester Foreign Library (1830) and the Schiller-Anstalt (1860). Whilst both ceased independent existence early this century it is possible to trace their history through manuscript and printed materials held in Manchester Central Library. There is an especially close link with the Foreign Library because its stock passed to Manchester Free Libraries in 1903 and some of the books are now in the holdings of the Language and Literature Library.

**MANCHESTER FOREIGN LIBRARY**

‘Manchester Foreign Library for German, French, Italian and Spanish Books’ was established on 3 February 1830. It was to provide a stock of two-fifths German, two-fifths French, one-fifth Italian and a few Spanish books.\(^3\) Throughout its existence the majority of ‘proprietors’ were German and English and it would seem that the books in the other languages were mainly read by them also. It was possible to be a ‘proprietor’ on payment of three guineas for a share, plus an annual subscription of one guinea, or to be simply a member on payment of the subscription. Male proprietors had the right to vote and stand for election; all proprietors had the right to make recommendations for books. The printed catalogue of 1868\(^4\) has a list of proprietors at the time. Amongst the names are Philip Goldschmidt (Mayor of Manches-

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1 Curt Friese, ‘History of the German Church and Community’ (unpublished typescript, 197-). This, and all the other sources referred to, will be found in the Local History Library or the Archives Department of Manchester Central Library.


3 *Manchester Foreign Library Catalogue* (Manchester: Simms and Dinham, 1842).

4 *Manchester Foreign Library Catalogue* (Manchester: [Foreign Library], 1868).
ter, 1859), Charles Schunck (also President of the Schiller-Anstalt) and Frederick Engels [sic]. Four women were amongst the proprietors and the Library could also be used by the wives of the proprietors.

The post of Librarian was always held by a woman, and in 1896 the rules were changed so that women could be elected to the Committee (the wording ‘gentlemen’ was amended to ‘proprietor’). The composition of the Committee was specified in the regulations: initially it consisted of eight ‘natives of the United Kingdom’ and seven ‘foreigners’. Later the former designation was amended to ‘British subjects’ and the number reduced to twelve. There was great continuity amongst the holders of the post of Librarian as it remained in one family from 1837 to 1888. Sarah Jackson was succeeded by Fanny Jackson who married in 1855 (Frances Ann Wilkinson), then resigned, and was replaced by Rose Jackson until 1888. Her replacement was Mrs Margaret Wilkinson (possibly also related). On her retirement in 1896 a collection of nearly £40 was made – a not inconsiderable sum, as the salary then was £50 – and the Committee was generous in its thanks.

The Library was open a few hours most afternoons. It seems that many of the proprietors sent their office staff to collect books for them. There is reference in the minute books to a troublesome office-boy who persisted in smoking when asked not to do so. The Library was used also by members of the proprietors’ families. There is a vivid account of the Library in an article on ‘Our educational institutions’ in the Evening News of 4 October 1874: 5

The Library is located over a china shop in St Ann’s Street. From the windows, moreover, you can have a tolerable view of the fair promenaders who haunt St Ann’s Square and neighbourhood on Saturday mornings. The rooms do not seem to be much used, however, as places in which to lounge or gossip . . . Occasionally musical utterances reach your ears, and coming back to the outer-room, you find a pretty fraulein or demoiselle, all smiles and amiability, bending over the catalogue and conversing with the lady in charge of the establishment.

In the 1880s the Library was issuing over 6,000 books a year. These figures fell dramatically during the 1890s, to under 3,000 in 1900. Talks of amalgamation with the Portico and Exchange Libraries (in 1892) had come to nothing. Efforts were made to publicize the Library, amongst students of Owens College, for example. Cuttings in the minute book show the attempts to encourage the Manchester public to use the facilities: it was pointed out that the Library contained ‘over 12,000 volumes and no other such collection of foreign literature was accessible to the Manchester public’. 6

Negotiations with Manchester Free Libraries led to the handing-

5 ‘Our Educational Institutions: The Foreign Library’, Evening News, 4 October 1874.
6 ‘Minutes and Papers of the Foreign Library, 1830–1903’ (M555/4 1–2).
over of the collections in 1903. The Committee at that time expressed regret that the Library had to be given up:

But it was not the fault of the Committee who had been forced also by the current taste for light literature to buy nothing but novels. In spite of that though the Library offered the best choice and most convenient facilities for the lending of the books the general English public had shown too great an indifference – an astonishing fact, in these days of commercial rivalry between nations.

Gradually the major literary works from the Foreign Library have been added to the reference stock in the Central Library and the Foreign Library continues as a loan collection (now in twenty-two languages) within the Language and Literature Library.

It is possible to look in detail at the stock of the Foreign Library as several editions of the printed catalogue and supplements are extant. In addition the Archives Department of Manchester Central Library has the minute books of the Foreign Library and also the registers of recommendations for purchases. These last are interesting as they list not only authors and titles but also the name of the person recommending the book (the recommendations were voted on at Committee meetings). The entries for the 1830s are of particular value because they show one family – the Thodes – very active in recommending books, and thus throw considerable light on the reading tastes of a merchant family in Manchester at this time.

In his ‘List of Manchester Foreign Merchants’, Scholes assumes, as I do, that the Thode family was German, despite the anglicized Christian names (most proprietors of the Foreign Library are listed with English names, for example, Frederick Engels, and it seems likely that this reflects usage in directories at the time). The first entry in a Manchester directory is for G.F. Thode in 1828. He was a merchant in Half Moon Street, with a house in Greenheys. He seems to have been a founder-member of the Foreign Library as many of his recommendations appear in the early pages of the register. Although he does not appear in directories after 1832, he continued to figure in the register until the early 1840s. Edward Thode is first listed in a Manchester directory in 1838 (as a merchant, living at no. 13 Greenheys, Chorlton-on-Medlock). However, he was a proprietor of the Foreign Library from 1833 and on the Committee from 1837. His wife also made recommendations for new books. They seem to have left Manchester early in 1841 – too early to appear on the census record for that year. Certainly, later in 1841 it is recorded in the minutes of the Foreign Library that ‘the thanks of the Committee are due to Mr. E. Thode for the communication made by him through Mr. Leisler offering his services while abroad in any way contributing to the advantage of the Library’. A third Thode was resident in Manchester –

7 See below, 84.
Francis Henry Thode, who is listed in directories from 1838 to 1859. He lived in Greenheys until 1845. In the 1841 census he was listed as aged 35, a merchant. In 1845 he moved to Abbey Street, Greenheys and had his own company from 1850. Unlike the others he was not active in recommending books.

Unfortunately, there is no clue as to how the family knew of the books. A few entries only contain annotations with publishing details, and in one instance, referring to Reinhard’s *Ernst und Laune*, the comment: ‘Wolfgang Menzel speaks much in favor [sic] of this book . . . calls it both interesting and instructing’. Below is a list of recommendations by members of the Thode family, as given in the minute book:

**G.F. Thode**
- Heines Tragödien Lyrisches Intermezzo
- Schillers und Humboldts Briefwechsel
- Posgarn, Liebesgeschichten
- Posgarn, Germanus
- Platens verhängnisvolle Gabel
  - romantischer Oedipus
- Tieck, Novellenkranz für 1831, Novellen
- Dichterleben von Tieck
- Miscellen von Immermann
- Novellenkranz von 1832, Tieck
- Democritus oder hinterlassene Papiere eines lachenden Philosophen
- Bremer, Töchter des Präsidenten
- Briefwechsel zweier Deutschen
- Mundt, Th., Spaziergänge und Weltpfahrungen
- Merlin, Karl Immermann
- Wehmüller und ungarische National-Gesichter, Brentano
- Ponce de Leon
- Woltmann, K.L., Memoiren des Frieherrn von S—a
- Deportierten von Leopold Schaefer
- [Pfyffer], Skizzen aus der Insel Java
- Tieck, Zerbino
  - Kaiser Octavianus
  - Don Quixote
- Herwegs Gedichte
- Astralion von Hahn-Hahn

**Edward Thode**
- Lenau, Frühlings Almanach, 1835–6
- Gockel, Hinkel und Gackelaya, Märchen wiedererzählt von Clemens Brentano
- Savonarola, Lenau
- Gedichte von Lenau
- Hitzig, Leben E.T.A. Hoffmanns
- Niebuhrs Leben
- Ranke, Päbste
- Parcival von Wolfram von Eschenbach
- Niflinga Saga
- Eichendorff, Dichter und ihre Gesellen
  - Krieg den Philistern
- Münchhausen von Immermann
- Aus der Gesellschaft von Ida Gräfin von Hahn Hahn
Godwie Castle
Devrienz von Tiecks Schwester [sic]
Schlacht bei Roncevalle v Schlegel
Urania von 1839 mit Novellen von Tieck
Deutsche Volkslieder – Kretschmer
Deutsche Volkbücher nach den ältesten Ausgaben hergestellt von Simrock
Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation
Huber, Die englischen Universitäten
Neue Land- und Seebilder
Blasedow und seine Söhne, Gutzkow
Uechtritz, Blick in das Düsseldorfer Kunst und Künstlerleben
Blüthen aus Jacob Böhmers Mystick
Urania Taschenbuch, 1840
Die Höfe und Cabinetete Europa’s im 1800ten Jahrhundert, Förster
Neue Novellen, Theodor Kobbe
Die Epigonen von Immermann
Die Babylonier v. Uechtritz
Der junge Tischlermeister von Tieck
Die Serapionsbrüder von Hoffmann
Semilassos vorletzter Weltgang vom Prinz von Pückler-Muskau
Semilasso in Afrika
Lara Becker von Leopold Schaefer
Jugendwanderung aus meinen Tagebüchern vom Prinz von Pückler-Muskau
Duller, Loyola
Phantasiegemälde
O.T. von Anderson [sic]
August von Platen, Geschichte des Königreich Neapels, 1414/1442
Dr Julius, Nordamerikas sittliche Zustände
Ernst und Laune aus meinen alten Papieren von W. Reinhard
Bauernfelds Lustspiele
Achim von Arnims Werke
Der Cid von Huber
Memoiren aus den Archiven der Pariser Polizey
Gudrun, Nord See Saga nebst Abhandlung über das Mittelhochdeutsche Gedicht
Gudrun
Taschenbuch der neuesten Geschichte von Thiersch
Wilhelm Heinses sämtliche Schriften
Italia mit Beiträgen von Rumohr und anderen
Clemens Brentano, Gründung Prags
Lenau, Faust
Der Rechte von Ida Gräfin Hahn
Jenseits der Berge

Mrs Thode
Vittoria Accorombona, Tieck
Steffens, Was ich erlebte
Personalien, Jacobs
Beethovens Leben, Schindler
Erinnerungen aus meinem äusseren Leben, Arndt
Künstlergeschichten, Hagen
Die Gunderode. Briefwechsel mit Bettina von Arnim
Bechsteins Klarinette 3 Jg.
[Mrs Thode also recommended some French titles].

It would seem that on occasions it took a considerable time for books to arrive. Although Edward Thode recommended Deutsche Volksbü-
cher in 1840 (at the latest), according to the catalogue the edition bought was published in 1845–67. It is unclear how books were obtained at that period: later there are records that some were supplied on approval by a Manchester bookseller and some obtained through an agent in London who dealt with Herr Volckmar in Leipzig. No doubt other sources were used of which no record remains.

The first catalogue was printed in 1842. A much fuller classified catalogue was produced in 1868 and supplements were published into the 1890s. The catalogue of 1868 gives an indication of the variety of material held. There are large sections of travel literature, history and biography, and small sections on other topics such as physics, theology, and politics. The vast majority of the stock is in the two sections: ‘Romances, Novels, Polite Literature [Unterhaltungs-geschichten]’ and ‘Poetry and the drama’. This is borne out also by the comments in the Evening News article of 1874, referred to earlier. The writer says: ‘the collection as a whole partakes rather of the character of a circulating than a reference library. There is upon the shelves little that is exceptionally rare and curious. There is all that the general reader will be likely to require and little else’. Reference is also made to the presence of ‘piquant and naughty writers’ including Balzac, Eugène Sue, Alexandre Dumas and Comtesse Dash: ‘Even the titles of some of these works, if printed in an English catalogue, would be sufficient to banish it from the drawing-room’.

Periodicals were not important. Until 1857 the few periodicals taken were circulated round the Committee. From that date they were added straight to stock – a move which coincided with the arrival of the first issues of Westermann’s Jahrbuch der illustrierten Deutschen Monatshefte. The fact that periodicals were unimportant is a reflection of a major difference between the Foreign Library and places such as the Portico Library and the Schiller-Anstalt. The Foreign Library was not used as a meeting-place as the others were. It was used as a source of reading-matter which was borrowed to be read at home. It was used by the proprietors and also by their families. So much so that recommendations for new books were made by proprietors’ wives in their own name. Altogether, it was a very different establishment from the Schiller-Anstalt, as we shall see.

THE SCHILLER-ANSTALT
The Schiller-Anstalt was founded after the celebrations for Schiller’s centenary in 1859 (these had included a presentation of Wallenstein’s Lager and musical items in the Free Trade Hall). The Anstalt was to be a ‘literarisches-artistisches Institut’ to support and foster ‘deutsche Geistes-cultur’ for Germans in Manchester. Non-Germans could also participate, but all activities were to be conducted in German. Statutes

8 Friese, ‘History’. 
were published covering all aspects of the organization. The establishment of a library and reading-room appeared in Article one. The first President was Charles Schunk who served until his death in 1872. The Schiller-Anstalt opened on 4 July 1860 in the former Mechanics Institute on Cooper Street. By 1867 the rent was too high (‘eine exorbitante Miethe’ of £450) and other premises were sought. Land in the city centre was too expensive and a suitable place was found at Rylaw House on Oxford Road (variously numbered as 212 and 250).

Friedrich Engels chaired the working party set up to look at the proposed move. Their report is interesting as it sheds light on developments in the Schiller-Anstalt in the first years, on the nature of the German community and on likely developments after the move. The original Statutes had provided for an ‘Unterhaltungsraum’ as well as the library and reading room: a billiard table was installed and proved a major attraction. The Schiller-Anstalt, with its emphasis on the cultural nature of the establishment, wished to distinguish itself from mere ‘Clubs’. However, it would seem that the reading-room (providing newspapers and journals) and the billiards were the main attractions and this upset the more idealistic of the original members. In his report, Engels notes that the need for social facilities had perhaps been underestimated and that these facilities brought in members, which was what the Club needed. Younger Germans in particular who were in Manchester, often for too short a time to establish ties, were in need of somewhere reasonably priced and accessible. Changes in working conditions, with offices closing earlier and with consequently shorter breaks at lunch-time, meant that the timetable of the Anstalt would alter. It would be used more in the evenings, and from that point of view the new location south of the city centre (nearer the expanding suburbs) would prove advantageous. This was especially true for the organization of lectures, which had been done only on a small scale in the city centre.

After the move to Rylaw House in 1869 extensive lecture series were started with speakers from amongst the members, from Owens College and from visitors; they covered literary and scientific themes. In 1874 Dr Jordan gave four lectures from his works \textit{Die Nibelunge} and \textit{Hildebrands Heimkehr}. These lectures were usually open to the public, but especially popular subjects were restricted to members (and wives) only. The larger premises at Rylaw House also made it possible to organize more social events such as ‘Fastnachtsscherze’, possibly to be of more interest to the ladies. The two independent

9 Statuten und Ergaenzungsverordnungen der Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester (Manchester: Schiller-Anstalt, 1860–74).
11/Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt für das Geschäftsjahr 1874–75 (Manchester: Schiller-Anstalt, 1875).
German associations, the ‘Liedertafel’ and the ‘Turnverein’, were able to meet at Rylaw House as the out-buildings were converted into a gymnasium and music rooms. As Charles Hallé was a member of the Committee, music became very important and many concerts took place, with Brahms, Richard Strauss and, later, Pablo Casals performing.\textsuperscript{12} Smaller groups were formed within the Schiller-Anstalt. Some were short-lived, others, like the Schach-Verein and the Grütli-Verein (later Schweizer Verein), were popular for years.

Library provision was central to the Schiller-Anstalt. On opening, the Library contained 2,500 volumes, which had expanded to 5,000 by 1868. Spending on books was very low until the 1870s. Many books were donated by members: the 1870 annual report contains a reminder to the members ‘dass manches Buch, welches verstäubt und ungelesen zu Haus liegt, Werth erhält, wenn es in der Bibliothek der Anstalt den Mitgliedern zur Benutzung steht’. This special plea was necessary as the financial situation was bad, the move to Rylaw House having cost more than expected.

In the early years (until 1869) there was an arrangement with W.H. Smith to supply English novels. When this was suspended, eighty English novels were bought for stock. There was good coverage of writers such as Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, and Disraeli. Other books were generally bought in German and English, with a few in French, Italian, and Spanish. All subject areas were covered, and there seems to have been more ‘even’ coverage than in the Foreign Library, with much less emphasis on novels. As has been noted, many members of the Schiller-Anstalt were also proprietors of the Foreign Library, so it may be that they viewed the two collections as complementing each other. The catalogue of the Schiller-Anstalt was published in Leipzig in 1867.\textsuperscript{13} It is unclear why Leipzig was chosen, as all other material relating to the Schiller-Anstalt is also in German and was printed in Manchester.

Issue figures for the Anstalt are much lower than the Foreign Library and fluctuate considerably: 1868/9 – 3,444 works; 1873/4 – 1,811. One constant is that the bulk of material borrowed is in German. The main interest of the library and reading-room was not in the book-stock but in the periodicals. Whereas sometimes as little as £8 was spent one year on books (the maximum never exceeded £50), each year around £100 was spent on newspapers and journals. A very wide range was bought: in 1869 49 German, 17 English, 4 French, 1 Dutch, 1 Danish, 1 Italian and 1 Spanish. By 1872 this had become 28 German, 16 English and 3 French: of these 19 were daily and 49 weekly or less frequent. Some of the journals were later bound and added to library stock.

Because of the different nature of the establishment the library

\textsuperscript{12} Friese, ‘History’.

\textsuperscript{13} Katalog der Bibliothek der Manchester Schiller-Anstalt (Leipzig: n.p., 1867).
and reading-room were open much longer hours than the Foreign Library. The Librarian was expected to be in attendance the whole time, and for six days a week (9 a.m. to 9 p.m. according to the original Statutes).\textsuperscript{14} Perhaps not surprisingly, there was a high turn-over of Librarians (who received a ‘Salair’ of £77). The reading-room contained the book where members could suggest future purchases: it also housed the guest book, suggestions book, the members list and, of course, the catalogues of the lending and reference libraries, and the list of periodicals taken.

The Schiller-Anstalt moved in later years to a house in Nelson Street (the site of the Royal Eye Hospital). The Anstalt’s importance declined as people moved further out of the centre and were less interested in travelling back into the city at night. The Club was sold in 1911, and though efforts were made to continue the concerts elsewhere, in fact only one concert took place, in March 1912, and then the Schiller-Anstalt ceased to exist.

\textsuperscript{14} Statuten.