

Prinz-Albert-Forschungen
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Band 3 / Volume 3

Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660 - 1914

Edited by

Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, John R. Davis

K · G · Saur München 2007

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung
der Gesellschaft von Freunden und Förderern
der Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten
sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.



Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier / Printed on acid-free paper

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Satz / Typesetting by Textservice Zink, Schwarzach

Druck und Bindung / Printed and bound by Strauss GmbH, Mörlenbach
Printed in Germany

ISBN: 978-3-598-23002-8

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Acknowledgements

The present volume is the outcome of two colloquia held at the Centre for British Studies, Humboldt University Berlin (2003), and the University of Greenwich (2004) respectively. We are most grateful to the British Academy for generous support under its 'Grants for International Networks' scheme, to the *Gesellschaft von Freunden und Förderern der Heinrich-Heine Universität Düsseldorf* for covering publication costs, and to the general editors of the Prince Albert Research Publications for accepting the volume in their publication series. Above all, we would like to thank the participants of the project for their unflagging enthusiasm for the project and the enjoyable and stimulating days spent together in Berlin and London.

Stefan Manz
Margrit Schulte Beerbühl
John R. Davis

Wolfgang Ischinger
German Ambassador to the United Kingdom

Preface

Few countries have deeper common roots than Germany and Britain, and our countries can look back on a long shared history full of a multiplicity of links and ties. Yet for decades the terrible conflicts of the first half of the twentieth century have understandably cast a long shadow over treatments of this history. Today, however, our relations have reemerged into the light. Bound by an ever greater friendship and understanding, exchange between our countries is vibrant as never before, politically, economically, and also culturally and socially. This is to our mutual benefit.

It is therefore very timely that we should begin to understand our history from a full range of perspectives and understand the totality of a relationship which is one of today's most important partnerships. I therefore warmly welcome this fascinating collection of essays which provides a window on the surprisingly rich German contribution to British life over three centuries. Admirable in their scholarship, these portraits are nevertheless above all human, demonstrating, in all their variety of contexts, the power of contact and communication to transcend borders and bring peoples together. As our world grows ever closer, this volume shows, in exemplary fashion, how history can serve our present and our future.

Stefan Manz, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, John R. Davis

Introduction

Towards an Anglo-German *Histoire Croisée*.

Migrants, Transfers and Cross-national Entanglements

Concepts of transnationality have recently found their way from globalisation discourses into the writing of history. Purely national historiographies, as well as their offshoot, International Relations, are increasingly permeated by the insight that cross-border entanglements between nations have, throughout the modern period, been too intense to allow for the construction of hermetically enclosed, 'national' economic, political or cultural entities¹. When researching the process and mechanics of entanglement, cross-cultural transfers deserve particular scrutiny. They constitute a black-box² within which are a complex set of interacting compartments. These include, for example, the historical and geographical setting, the nature of transmission channels, diffusion, sustainability and adaptation within the new cultural context, and the willingness and ability of the receiving end to integrate new elements. They also include agents, and although transfer does not necessarily depend on human movement, it is usually the case that migrants act as vehicles for intercultural transfer. The transformation of British food during the twentieth century is the most obvious example. Fish and Chips were first developed by Italian immigrants around 1900 and are today recognised as the ultimate British dish. Indian cuisine is well established within the British culinary landscape, just as Italian, Greek and Turkish food is in

¹ E. g. *Michael Werner, Bénédicte Zimmermann*, Beyond Comparison. *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity: *History and Theory* 45 (2006), 30-50; *Jürgen Osterhammel*, Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Erweiterung oder Alternative?: *GG* 27 (2001), 464-479; *Sebastian Conrad*, Doppelte Marginalisierung. Plädoyer für eine transnationale Perspektive auf die deutsche Geschichte: *GG* 28 (2002), 145-169; *Martin H. Geyer, Johannes Paulmann*, eds., *The Mechanics of Internationalism*, Oxford 2001; *Wolfram Kaiser*, Transnational Mobilization and Cultural Representation. Political Transfer in an Age of Proto-Globalization, Democratization and Nationalism 1848-1914: *European Review of History* 12/2 (2005), 403-424; Contemporary European History, Special Issue on Transnationalism, 14/4 (2005); internet forum <http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net/>; *Dirk Hoerder*, Transkulturelle Gesellschaftsstudien – Transcultural Societal Studies: *Sozial.Geschichte* 1 (2006), 68-77; *Sebastian Conrad, Jürgen Osterhammel*, eds., *Das Kaiserreich Transnational. Deutschland in der Welt 1871-1914*, Göttingen 2004.

² The image is borrowed from theorizations of technology transfer. See *Nathan Rosenberg*, *Inside the Black Box. Technology and Economics*, Cambridge 1982.

Germany, all reflecting major immigration streams in the respective countries, though simultaneously providing openings for further migration.

This volume is the first to investigate in a sustained way the role of migrating individuals and groups within Anglo-German transfer processes over a long-term period. It thereby brings together and develops two themes in Anglo-German relations that have hitherto not been heuristically connected under one thematic umbrella, namely migration and transfer. There has been a constant stream of German migrations to Britain throughout the modern period. This has included notable figures such as the painter Hans Holbein the Younger, the Hanoverian royals, news magnate Julius Reuter (1816-1899)³ or even footballer Jürgen Klinsmann, as well as more 'ordinary' figures such as tailor Henry Riesenbeck (d. 1762), pork butcher Michael Ebert, confectioner Julius Bechtle or governess Thekla Trinks⁴. Whilst merchants have always been a highly visible group both in terms of numbers and ethnic leadership, other occupational groups within the time framework of this volume include butchers, bakers, sugar refiners, hair dressers, musicians, governesses, teachers and academics. The size of the ethnic minority can only be estimated at several thousand before the nineteenth century. More or less accurate census categories from the mid-nineteenth century were then able to monitor a constant increase, followed by a minor slump just before 1914. In the 1911 census, the German minority amounted to 62,522 but more realistically approached 100,000⁵. Up until the 1890s, it was the largest continental immigrant group, only to be 'overtaken' by Italians and Jews from Eastern Europe in the prewar years. Internment, repatriation and immigration restrictions in the era of the two World Wars led to a further slump in numbers, with Jewish refugees constituting the most notable group during the 1930s. Economic migration has been an important factor since 1945 and in recent years has generated a relatively well integrated German minority of an increasingly transnational character. Numbers are on the rise again, up from 215,113 in 1991 to 262,276 in 2001, the areas with the highest cluster settlement being affluent West London suburbs, and in particular Richmond⁶. Specialist historical studies have fo-

³ Susan Foister, *Holbein and England*, London, New Haven CONN 2004; Adolf Birke, Kurt Kluxen, eds., *England und Hannover. England and Hanover*, Munich 1986; *Die Zeit*, 15.5.2003.

⁴ Gerald Newton, *Germans in Sheffield 1817-1918: German Life and Letters* 46/1 (1993), 82; *The Victualling Trades' Review*, *Hotel and Restaurateur's Journal*, 13.10.1890, 245; *Thekla Trinks*, *Lebensführung einer deutschen Lehrerin. Erinnerungen an Deutschland, England, Frankreich und Rumänien*, Eisenach 1897.

⁵ *Census for England and Wales 1911*; *Census for Scotland 1911*. For a critical discussion of census figures see Stefan Manz, *Migranten und Internierte. Deutsche in Glasgow 1864-1918*, Stuttgart 2003, ch. II. 3.

⁶ Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain since 1500*, London 1996; idem, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century 1815-1914*, Oxford, Washington D. C. 1995; idem, *The Enemy in Our Midst. Germans in Britain during the First World War*, New York, Oxford 1991; Richard Dove, ed., 'Totally Un-English?' – Britain's Internment of 'Enemy Aliens' in Two World Wars, Amsterdam, New York 2005 (Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies 7/2005); Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews 1933-1948. British Immigration Policy, Jewish Refugees and the Holocaust*, Cambridge 2001; Marion Berghahn, *Conti-*

cused on political⁷, cultural⁸, religious⁹, economic¹⁰, legal¹¹ and regional¹² aspects. There is a clear lack of scholarly interest into the current situation, though, and this certainly remains a *desideratum* with promising potential.

In order to enhance our understanding of the mechanics of migration, push- and pull-theories based on socio-economic comparative macro-analyses have recently been complemented with transnational network approaches¹³. These highlight the complexities of cross-border interconnection and feed into our second theme of Anglo-German transfer, or more specifically ‘intercultural transfer’. This concept was first developed in the 1980s for the Franco-German relationship and, since then, has inspired a wealth of studies on transnational entanglements¹⁴. In the political sphere, for example, traditional notions of national distinctiveness have been questioned for the nineteenth century. Policies, institutions, ideas and administrative arrangements were transferred across borders within newly emerging patterns of po-

nenal Britons. German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany, Oxford, New York 2006; *Johannes Dieter Steinert, Inge Weber-Newth*, Labour & Love. Deutsche in Großbritannien nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, Osnabrück 2000; Census for 1991 and 2001.

⁷ *Sabine Sundermann*, Deutscher Nationalismus im englischen Exil. Zum sozialen und politischen Innenleben der deutschen Kolonie in London 1848-1871, Paderborn 1997; *Sabine Freitag, Rudolf Muhs*, eds., Exiles from European Revolutions. Refugees in Mid-Victorian England, Oxford, New York 2003; *Christine Lattek*, Revolutionary Refugees. German Socialism in Britain, 1840-1860, London 2002.

⁸ *Peter Alter, Rudolf Muhs*, eds., Exilanten und andere Deutsche in Fontanes London, Stuttgart 1996; *Richard Dove*, Journey of No Return. Five German Speaking Literary Exiles in Britain 1933-1945, London 2000.

⁹ *Susanne Steinmetz*, Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinden in Großbritannien und Irland. Geschichte und Archivbestände, Bielefeld 1998; *Werner E. Mosse et al.*, eds., Second Chance. Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom, Tübingen 1991.

¹⁰ *Nils Jörn*, ‘With money and blood’. Der Londoner Stalhof im Spannungsfeld der englisch-hansischen Beziehungen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Köln 2000; *Stanley D. Chapman*, The Migration of Merchant Enterprise. German Merchant Houses in Britain in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Bankhistorisches Archiv 6 (1980), 20-41; *Gregory Anderson*, German Clerks in England 1870-1914. Another Aspect of the Great Depression Debate: Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities, ed. Kenneth Lunn, Folkestone 1980, 201-221.

¹¹ *Andreas Fahrmeir*, Citizens and Aliens. Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States 1789-1870, New York, Oxford 2000.

¹² *Manz* (note 5).

¹³ E. g. *Steve Murdoch*, Network North. Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746, Leiden 2006; *Margrit Schulte Beerbühl*, Deutsche Kaufleute in London. Welthandel und Einbürgerung, 1660-1818, Munich 2007; eadem, Jörg Vögele, eds., Spinning the Commercial Web. International Trade, Merchants, and Commercial Cities, c.1640-1939, Frankfurt a. M. 2004.

¹⁴ E. g. *Michel Espagne, Michael Werner*, eds., Transferts. Les relations interculturelles dans l’espace franco-allemand (XVIIIe-XIXe siècle), Paris 1988; *Michel Espagne*, ed., Les transferts culturels franco-allemands, Paris 1999; *Michel Espagne, Matthias Middell*, eds., Von der Elbe bis an die Seine. Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich, Leipzig 1993; *Marc Schalenberg*, ed., Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1998; *Nikolai Wehrs*, conference review of Europäischer Kulturtransfer im 20. Jahrhundert: H-Soz-Kult, June 2006, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de>. For a literature review see *Johannes Paulmann*, Internationaler Vergleich und interkultureller Transfer. Zwei Forschungsansätze zur europäischen Geschichte des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts: HZ 267 (1998), 649-685.

litical representation, transnational communication and network creation¹⁵. The approach has also been applied to the Anglo-German context, bringing to light transfers in areas as diverse as higher education, social reform, urban planning or consumer culture¹⁶. It is useful to reiterate some of its premises since they constitute the methodological frame of reference for our volume.

Crucially, intercultural transfer should not be read as 'transfer of culture' but as 'transfer *between* cultures'. The concept includes all products of human activity including ideas, know-how, goods and artefacts, technology, capital and, not least, culture. This approach replaces one-dimensional notions of 'influence' with an appreciation of the complexities of the transfer process. Empirical explorations into different compartments of our black box have come to two main conclusions. Firstly, transfer is not a one-way road but follows bi-(or multi-) directional channels. Secondly, elements are not transferred on a one-to-one basis but undergo a process of acculturation¹⁷. Both conclusions can equally be applied to transfer connected to migratory movements. Jürgen Kocka bridges the gap with his assessment that migrations not only transfer, but transform knowledge¹⁸. These general conclusions shall be tested, and for the most part confirmed, by putting the spotlight on the 'migrant' compartment within the black box.

Other geographical areas help extend the frame of reference. The modernising role of the German minority within Tsarist Russia has been well researched. During the eighteenth century, Germans were instrumental in realising reformist ideas, introducing new production techniques as craftsmen and engineers, spreading Western European ideas of progress and enlightenment as governesses, teachers and academics, or modernising the field of trade and commerce as merchants, to name but a few areas¹⁹. Whilst the reformist agendas of Peter the Great and Catherine II were, of course, informed by a transnational, and especially French and British, enlightenment²⁰, the crucial role of German migrants for the transfer process is of particular interest within our context.

¹⁵ *Kaiser* (note 1).

¹⁶ *Burkhardt Lauterbach*, *Beatles, Sportclubs, Landschaftsparks*. British-deutscher Kulturtransfer, Würzburg 2004; *Rudolf Muhs* et al., eds., *Aneignung und Abwehr. Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bodenheim 1998; *Dominik Geppert*, conference report for Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain – Cultural Contacts and Transfers: geschichte.transnational, 29. 5. 2006, <http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net>.

¹⁷ For the application of the term 'acculturation' in transfer studies see *Espagne* (note 14, 'Transfers'), 21 f.

¹⁸ *Martin Aust*, conference review of *Wissenstransfer und Migration. Europa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*: H-Soz-u-Kult, H-Net Reviews, September 2003, <http://www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews>. This also contains a range of pertinent case studies.

¹⁹ *Claus Scharf*, conference review of *Das 18. Jahrhundert. Transfer und Adaption europäischer Ideen im russischen historischen Kontext*: H-Soz-u-Kult, July 2006, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de>.

²⁰ *Heinz Duchhardt*, *Claus Scharf*, eds., *Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität. Wege und Formen der Rezeption der französischen und der britischen Aufklärung in Deutschland und Rußland im 18. Jahrhundert*, Mainz 2004.

Migrants were also relevant in German-American knowledge exchanges during the nineteenth century. Around six million people were involved in these cross-Atlantic population movements²¹. One of them was Friedrich List who built one of the first American railway lines in 1829. Upon his return to Germany in 1832, he went on to become one of the spokesmen of the railway discourse, proposing to build railways ‘like the Americans’, namely cheap and pragmatic²². We also have to add private and professional travellers such as engineers, businessmen or academics, amounting to 380,000 annually in the years leading up to 1914. These include Heinrich Kleyer, an engineer from Darmstadt, who travelled extensively in the United States and, after witnessing a bicycle race in Boston in 1879, was instrumental in introducing this sport and producing the first bicycles in Germany. The pedal cycle had been developed in Paris in the 1860s and had made its way to America via Britain²³. The evolution of transport exemplifies an area of innovation facilitated by a multilateral, cross-Atlantic exchange process involving people, ideas and technology. In general, receiving countries had to be equipped with a pre-existing capacity to integrate new elements and adapt them to their own specific needs. Although the factors explaining the success or failure of a transfer are difficult to determine, a general disposition towards economic and cultural change is indispensable. One element is the competitive spirit for emulation which Mokyr attributed to mercantilism²⁴.

The broader historical view teaches us that migrants have often acted as agents of innovation. Even in areas where explicit knowledge is well developed, e. g. through construction plans in technology, personal (or ‘tacit’) knowledge as embodied in migrants continues to play a pivotal role in the detection, transmission and introduction of new elements into a different cultural context. The theoretical two-tier differentiation of knowledge was first developed by Michael Polanyi in the 1950s. ‘Explicit knowledge’ is codified and can be expressed in numbers, words, plans, manuals etc., but only constitutes the tip of our knowledge iceberg. The larger part is made up of ‘tacit knowledge’ which includes personal experiences, beliefs, values and, within a professional context, can only be acquired through a long-term occupation with a given craft, machinery, skill or intellectual problem. It is personal, context-specific and therefore difficult to articulate²⁵. A swimming manual does not replace the actual experience of learning how to swim *in situ*. Migrants have played a role in the transfer of both types of knowledge. Such deliberations are all the more relevant, however,

²¹ Horst Rössler, *Massenexodus. Die Neue Welt des 19. Jahrhunderts: Deutsche im Ausland. Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Klaus J. Bade, Munich 1992, 148.

²² See Ralf Roth, *Amerika-Deutschland. Folgen einer transatlantischen Migration: HZ 281* (2005), 621-657, esp. 641-645, quote 642.

²³ Ibid., 644. For a global view see Dirk Hoerder’s seminal *Cultures in Contact. World Migrations in the Second Millenium*, London, Durham N.C. 2002.

²⁴ Joel Mokyr, ed., *The British Industrial Revolution. An Economic Perspective*, Boulder CO 1993.

²⁵ Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge. Towards a Post-critical Philosophy*, Oxford 1998 (first ed. 1958); idem., *The Tacit Dimension*, Oxford 1967.

when dealing with two or more different cultural contexts where tacit knowledge necessarily includes factors such as intercultural competence or language proficiency. It is only through human resettlement that it can be transferred.

Polanyi's model enhances our understanding of why individuals have played – and continue to play – key roles in cross-cultural transfers. The process of European industrialisation provides an abundance of examples. The British proto-industrialisation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was speeded up by the skills influx of immigrants and religious refugees from France, Holland and Germany²⁶. From the mid-eighteenth century then, British engineers, technicians and skilled workers were to be found in virtually all industrialising countries, including France, Russia, Germany, Scandinavia, and also colonial possessions and the United States²⁷. Although their numbers were relatively small, their significance for the diffusion of technology and entrepreneurial practice was immeasurable. If either the migrating individuals or the new environment did not 'function' as expected, transfers could be seriously disrupted. Reasons could include social snobbery towards re-migrant engineers as in the case of Sweden²⁸, frequent drunkenness as recorded for British expatriate workers in France, America and Norway²⁹, lack of intercultural competence³⁰, or an *a priori* failure to recruit appropriate specialists as in the case of the French steel industry³¹.

²⁶ *Raingard Esser*, *Germans in Early Modern Britain*: Panayi (note 6, *Germans in Britain since 1500*), 17–28; *Margrit Schulte Beerbühl*, *War England ein Sonderfall der Industrialisierung? Der ökonomische Einfluß der protestantischen Immigranten auf die Entwicklung der englischen Wirtschaft vor der Industrialisierung*: GG 21 (1995), 479–505.

²⁷ *Peter Mathias*, *Skills and the Diffusion of Innovations from Britain in the Eighteenth Century: The Transformation of England. Essays in the Economic and Social History in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. idem, London 1979, 21–44; *William O. Henderson*, *English Influence on the Development of the French Textile Industries 1750–1850: Britain and Industrial Europe 1750–1850*, ed. idem, Leicester 1972, 10–36; *P. E. Robinson*, *The Transference of British Technology to Russia 1760–1820: Great Britain and Her World 1750–1870*, ed. Barrie M. Ratcliffe, Manchester 1975; *Rudolf Muhs*, *Englische Einflüsse auf die Frühphase der Industrialisierung in Deutschland: Wettlauf in die Moderne. England und Deutschland seit der industriellen Revolution*, eds. Adolf M. Birke, Lothar Kettenacker, Munich 1988, 31–50; *Arnold Lassotta*, *Die Bedeutung englischer Technik und Techniker für den Aufbau der rheinisch-westfälischen Textilindustrie im 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert: Westfälische Forschungen* 44 (1994), 49–61; *Daniel R. Headrick*, *The Tentacles of Progress. Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism 1850–1940*, Oxford 1988; *David J. Jeremy*, *International Technology Transfer. Europe, Japan, and the USA 1700–1914*, Aldershot 1991; *Kristine Bruland*, *British Technology and European Industrialisation. The Norwegian Textile Industry in the Mid-nineteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989; eadem, ed., *Technology Transfer and Scandinavian Industrialisation*, New York, Oxford 1991.

²⁸ *Svante Lindqvist*, *Social and Cultural Factors in Technology Transfer*: Bruland (note 27, *Technology Transfer*), 15–36.

²⁹ *David S. Landes*, *The Unbound Prometheus. Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, Cambridge 1969, 149; *Jeremy* (note 27), 113; *Bruland* (note 27, *British Technology*), 134 f.

³⁰ *Stefan Manz*, *Technologietransfer und Spezialistenwanderung. Eine Augsburger Lagerbrauerei in Glasgow, 1889–1959*: ZUG 45 (2000), 225–247.

³¹ *John R. Harris*, *Attempts to Transfer English Steel Techniques to France in the Eighteenth Century: Business and Businessmen. Studies in Business, Economic and Accounting History*, ed. Sheila Marriner, Liverpool 1978, 227.

Generally, disruption or failure during the transfer process presents a worthwhile field of investigation, as three contributions to this volume testify in particular. Christiane Swinbank depicts the German Hospital in Dalston as a hybrid institution catering for the migrant community. The German system of sectarian nursing and public funding was not compatible with the British context. This necessitated a process of institutional adaptation which did not occur without tensions. Christiane Eisenberg shows that attempts to introduce German gymnastics, or *Turnen*, to Britain were doomed to failure due to differing military and educational traditions, the structural specificities of a market-driven leisure culture in Britain, but also insurmountable class-hierarchies *within* the migrant community. The limits of dissemination are also highlighted by Panikos Panayi. German cuisine did not enter the mainstream British culinary landscape to the extent that the Italian and later the Indian cuisine did. Not least the anti-German hostilities during the First World War interrupted a potentially sustained transfer process.

The eighteenth-century British outward stream of specialists was accompanied by an inward one of continental entrepreneurs and civil servants wishing to gain first-hand experience in Britain of the most modern products, machinery and technology – if necessary through industrial espionage³². Some of them stayed for longer periods of time to set up their own businesses or act as agents for their respective firms. As Margrit Schulte Beerbühl explains, German merchants in London developed transnational commercial networks which have to be seen as contributing factors to Britain's development as global trading power. Most entrepreneurs, however, left after a short visit. During the 1840s and 1850s, for example, virtually all important Norwegian textile entrepreneurs spent some time in Britain³³. As other centres of innovation emerged, however, the presence of foreigners in Britain signified a shift of *Gefälle*, or gap, in know-how in specific sectors. In chemistry, for example, a number of Germans including August Wilhelm Hofmann (1845-1865 Royal College of Chemistry) or Ludwig Mond (from 1862 Brunner, Mond and Co., Ltd.) were to be found in key positions of diffusion and innovation³⁴. Continental merchants and clerks were strongly represented in the urban business communities and provided foreign contacts, networks and language skills compensating for gaps within the indigenous workforce³⁵. In engineering, Norwegians now increasingly turned to

³² John R. Harris, *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer. Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century*, Aldershot 1998; Werner Kroker, *Wege zur Verbreitung technologischer Kenntnisse zwischen England und Deutschland in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1971.

³³ Bruland (note 27, *British Technology*), 61.

³⁴ For a table see Walter Wetzels, *Naturwissenschaften und Chemische Industrie in Deutschland. Voraussetzungen und Mechanismen ihres Aufstiegs im 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1991, 322 f.

³⁵ Hartmut Berghoff, *Englische Unternehmer 1870-1914. Eine Kollektivbiographie führender Wirtschaftsbürger in Birmingham, Bristol und Manchester*, Göttingen 1991, 72; Anderson (note 10); Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Staatsangehörigkeit und fremdes Know-how. Die deutschen Kaufleute im britischen Rußlandhandel des 18. Jahrhunderts*: VSWG 89 (2002), 379-399.

Germany rather than to Britain for their education³⁶. In the area of management, Stefan Manz analyses the case of Otto E. Philippi who transformed the threadmaking company of J.&P. Coats into Britain's largest industrial conglomerate before 1914.

Another example of migration taking place due to *Gefälle* is music. Since the seventeenth century, Britain attracted musicians to compensate for a perceived cultural gap between British music and that of continental countries, most notably Germany but also France, Italy and Austria. Anne Jarvis explains in her article that the presence of the Griesbach family as royal court musicians in London is to be seen in this context. A similar situation existed in academe – as John Davis illustrates – where notions of the superiority of German scholarship, built up as a consequence of theological, historical and scientific research, produced an opening for German academics across a variety of subjects, and in several educational sectors. Friedrich Max Müller, for many at the time the embodiment of the German Professor, provides here a case study of the incentives, challenges and obstacles to transfer, but also shows how such transfer on a small scale, but in crucially important posts, could have important and lasting consequences³⁷. The latter aspect equally applies to German printers, publishers and booksellers, as Susan Reed shows in her contribution. Despite their small numbers they occupied a crucial position for communicating German culture both within the ethnic community and to the host community. At the same time, however, it emerges that those who chose their material not purely on ethnic grounds were the most successful and prominent ones within the British book trade.

Throughout the modern period, Britain has found herself both at the sending and the receiving end. Migrations have been a driving force behind and a consequence of these transfers. Present-day connections between transfer and Highly Skilled Migration can help us to add a further methodological angle. The classic 'brain drain – brain gain' model which was first developed in the 1960s for the United States as being the 'world's largest skills magnet' is increasingly replaced with circulationist perspectives. A study into intellectual diaspora networks, for example, concludes that "*highly skilled expatriate networks, through a connectionist approach linking diaspora members with their countries of origin, turn the brain drain into a brain gain*"³⁸. The circulationist paradigm holds some relevance for earlier periods, not only for the nineteenth century as a period of proto-globalisation but also for earlier

³⁶ Kristine Bruland, The Norwegian Mechanical Engineering Industry and the Transfer of Technology 1800-1900: (as note 27, Technology Transfer), 247 f.

³⁷ Peter Alter, Deutschland als Vorbild britischer Wissenschaftsplanung um die Jahrhundertwende: Birke (note 3), 51-70. For a discussion of cultural transfers along power-political hierarchies see Eckart Conze, States, International Systems, and Intercultural Transfer: Culture and International History, eds. Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Frank Schumacher, Oxford, New York 2003.

³⁸ Jean-Baptiste Meyer, Network Approach Versus Brain Drain. Lessons from the Diaspora: International Migration 39/5 (2001), 91-110, quote 91; Louise Ackers, Moving People and Knowledge. Scientific Mobility in the European Union: International Migration 43/5 (2005), 99-129.

centuries. Horst Rössler, for example, scrutinises chain-migrating sugarbakers from Hanover and detects family networks, geographical cohesion, but also re-migration across borders. Virtually all of the movements discussed in this volume took place within closely knit professional, social or family networks. Explicit and tacit knowledge moved with them and was transformed in the process. Along those ‘sticky branches’, it was conveyed back and forth between the sending and receiving end. August W. Hofmann, for example, had come to London in 1845 at the invitation of Prince Albert to establish a Royal College of Chemistry. His assistants were all either German or British graduates of German universities. They included the eminent Peter Griess, who went on to become brewing chemist at Alsopp & Sons in Burton-on-Trent, Jakob Volhard, later professor of chemistry at the universities of Munich, Erlangen and Halle, and Edmund Mills, professor at Glasgow’s Andersonian University from 1875. Hofmann himself returned to Germany in 1865 to take up chairs at the universities of Bonn and later Berlin and become the first president of the *Deutsche Chemische Gesellschaft*³⁹.

Similar patterns apply to the area of religion. Frank Hatje’s and Ulrike Kirchberger’s contributions complement each other as they detect closely-knit transnational networks at both institutional and personal level, facilitating the exchange of people and religious ideas. Hatje shows that personal encounters between German pietists and English evangelicalists were crucial for the exchange of ideas, but also highlighted ideological differences. Kirchberger points to the presence of Germans in British missionary societies who saw the global infrastructure of the British Empire as a welcome opportunity to spread their convictions. Their role as agents of transfer was not confined to religion in as they also communicated knowledge about, for example, scientific and linguistic questions.

In numerical terms, Anglo-German migrations were predominantly westbound. The German community in Britain far outnumbered its British counterpart in Germany. It was more diversified in terms of class and occupation, more visible within urban ethnic neighbourhoods and more present in the host society’s public life. An investigation into ensuing transfer follows the preponderance of the migration stream but does not generally propose a one-dimensional and one-directional model for intercultural transfer processes. On the contrary, where relevant the contributions highlight its complexities, including network analyses, re-transfers, acculturation or failures. To revive the culinary example: Scottish-Italian remigrants have popularised Fish and Chips in the Tuscan town of Barga, which nowadays hosts an annual *Sagra del Pesce e Patate* (Fish and Chip Festival) and calls itself ‘The Most Scottish Town in Italy’⁴⁰. Transfer is a process, not an act. Other than in synchronic historical comparisons, the perspective has to be diachronic in order to

³⁹ Wetzel (note 34), 136 f.; *John Butt*, John Anderson’s Legacy. The University of Strathclyde and its Antecedents 1796-1996, East Linton 1996, 81.

⁴⁰ Independent, 15.8.2004.

highlight its dynamic nature⁴¹. It also has to be empirical. Concrete case studies have to be investigated within their historical context. The contributions in this volume subscribe to these premises and present a collection of case studies from different periods and topic areas, all held together by the geographical and methodological framework. They constitute mosaic pieces within a transnational Anglo-German *histoire croisée*.

⁴¹ Werner, Zimmermann (note 1), 35. For a wider perspective see Christiane Eisenberg, Kulturtransfer als historischer Prozess. Ein Beitrag zur Komparatistik: Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften, eds. Hartmut Kaelble, Jürgen Schriewer, Frankfurt a. M., New York 2003, 399-417.