

# **The Rise and Fall of Germans in the British Hospitality Industry, c1880-1920**

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## **Abstract**

*German migrants were to be found in significant numbers in the British hospitality industry during the period 1880 to 1920. They worked as waiters, chefs, and managers of restaurants and hotels. This article has three main sections. It begins with a brief outline of the rise of restaurants and hotels in late nineteenth-century Britain and the role of migrants in this process. It then analyses the Germans in the British hospitality industry in the decades leading up to the First World War. The article then focuses upon the rise of hostility towards Germans with the approach of the Great War, which led to dismissal, internment and repatriation during the conflict..*

## **Keywords**

*Germany, Britain, hospitality, migration, waiters, chefs, restaurant, hotel, World War I, internment*

The growth of the British hospitality industry in late-Victorian Britain went hand in hand with a significant expansion of the concomitant labour market. Restaurants and hotels emerged, drawing in both a native and foreign labour force. Most of the migrants originated from continental European countries such as France, Switzerland and Austria-Hungary, but the state which sent the largest numbers was Germany. Migrants found employment as waiters, chefs, restaurant owners and hoteliers, reflecting the general internationalisation of the sector as French style cuisine and restaurants became increasingly popular. Migrants worked especially as waiters: just before 1914, about ten per cent of all waiters in London hailed from Germany. The “German waiter” was a trope and familiar sight for British restaurant-goers, just as East Central European or post-colonial Asian migrants are today. Anti-German hysteria during World War I did not only put an end to this phenomenon, but also clouded its place in historical memory in the long term.

The following article uncovers the history of Germans in the British hospitality industry from the late-Victorian years until the aftermath of the First World War. It initially outlines the transformation of eating out in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century and examines the role of migrants in this process. It then zooms in on the German element within this immigrant workforce. Although the geographical scope of the article encapsulates Britain as a whole, two locales have been selected for a more detailed analysis: London as the main magnet for immigration, and Glasgow as Scotland’s industrial and trading centre, as well as gateway to emerging tourist destinations. This regional approach will generate empirically sound conclusions on themes such as migration motives, career patterns, skills transfer, ethnic network creation, trade unionisation, and significance within the local hospitality industry. The article will then move on to outline the rise of anti-German hostility before and after the outbreak of the Great War. Just like other Germans living in Britain, restaurant and hotel employees were classified as “enemy aliens” from August 1914, pushed out of the job

market, and interned on the Isle of Man and elsewhere. At the end of the war, many were repatriated just like their compatriots in other sectors of the labour market.

The experience of Germans in the British hospitality industry between c1880 and 1920 finds contextualization in two wider historical developments. First, the centrality of migrants in the development of the catering trade since the end of the nineteenth century. Second, the rise of hostility towards Germans in Britain, culminating in their internment and repatriation during and after the First World War. The article originates from a series of projects examining the influence of immigrants on British eating patterns and the history of the German community in Britain. The research utilised a wide range of sources, including personal narratives, British and German official documents and a variety of catering and other newspapers.

## **The Role of Migrants in the Birth of the British Hotel and Restaurant**

Rebecca Spang has carried out one of the most fundamental deconstructions of the restaurant, pointing out that: “Centuries before a restaurant was a place to eat (and even decades after), a *restaurant* was a thing to eat, a restorative broth”, distinguished “from all other bouillons by its highly condensed nature, since, unlike the more plebeian sorts of consommés, *restaurants* were often prepared without the addition of any liquid”. Only during the last twenty years of the Old Regime did the concept of the restaurant “as a space for urban sociability emerge...One went to a restaurant...to drink restorative broths”. By the 1820s Parisian restaurants had emerged into the familiar patterns of today, spreading gradually beyond Paris to other French regions and other countries over the next hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

One of the few books on the history of British restaurants, by Gregory Houston Bowdon, concurs with Spang as his narrative essentially begins with the Edwardian period, claiming that, at the start of the twentieth century, “there were about a dozen restaurants in London which could most appropriately be called Grand Restaurants”.<sup>2</sup> Bowden is essentially referring to places where “the cream of London society settled down nightly to enjoy themselves”.<sup>3</sup>

The restaurant was and is a place for socialising, conviviality and pleasure. “In the restaurant eating is transformed into an entertainment experience: relieved of the chores of preparing a meal in a different environment where one chooses what to eat and is waited upon, diners are free to enjoy, converse and interact.”<sup>4</sup> Marc Jacobs and Peter Scholliers have stressed “a differentiation of catering businesses” along class lines, mirroring the rise and separation of elite and popular culture from the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> The rise of the restaurant in London in particular during the nineteenth century essentially provided the development of a space where members of the upper sections of metropolitan society could mix with people from the same class, waited upon in the same way as in their own homes.

We can further contextualize the growth of restaurants in Britain by analyzing the rise of gastronomy. John Burnett has looked at this development against the expansion of the middle classes in Britain during the nineteenth century. This not only led to an increase in the

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca L. SPANG, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (London, 2000), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory HOUSTON BOWDEN, *British Gastronomy: The Rise of the Great Restaurants* (London, 1975), p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> John BURNETT, *England Eats Out: A Social History of Eating Out in England from 1830 to the Present* (London, 2004), p. xii.

<sup>5</sup> Marc JACOBS, Peter SCHOLLIERS, “Vaut ou ne vaut pas le detour: Conviviality, Custom(er)s and Public Places of New Taste since the Late Eighteenth Century” in Marc JACOBS, Peter SCHOLLIERS (eds.), *Eating Out in Europe: Picnics, Gourmet Dining and Snacks Since the Late Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 2003), p. 4.

number of restaurants during the late Victorian years, but also hotels, where dining became an important activity. He links these changes with the diffusion of French cuisine, in which a series of French chefs played a large role.<sup>6</sup>

Migrants established two of the most famous dining houses in Britain before 1914. First, the Café Royal in Regent Street, originally opened by Daniel de Nicols, a French wine merchant, who moved to England in 1862.<sup>7</sup> Similarly César Ritz founded the hotel which bears his name in 1906. Ritz offers an example of the international nature of caterers before 1914. Born in Niederwald in 1850, the thirteenth son of a Swiss shepherd, he began his career as a waiter in Brieg in the 1860s, after which he moved to Paris where he took management positions in a number of hotels, subsequently working throughout the continent. By the 1880s he had opened his own hotel and restaurant. He moved to London in 1889 where he became manager of the recently established *Savoy* and imported a predominantly continental staff, above all Auguste Escoffier. He then brought together a *Ritz Hotel* syndicate in 1896 with international financial backing, which led to the opening of the *Paris Ritz* in 1898, followed by the London version in 1906.<sup>8</sup>

Quite a different type of establishment also came into existence as a result of immigration, this time as part of the Lyons group. This firm originated in the business dealings of Samuel and Henry Gluckstein, German Jews who moved to Britain in 1841 and established their name as a tobacco firm. Out of this emerged J. Lyons in 1894, with the name originating from another descendant of Jewish immigrants, Joseph Lyons, born in Southwark in 1847.<sup>9</sup> *Lyons* catered for a wide range of classes. At the top, the *Trocadero* restaurant opened in Piccadilly in 1896. Simultaneously, the firm also established teashops, which would develop into a national chain appealing “to ladies shopping, to clerks who would return home for a hot evening meal” having had a light lunch in a teashop, and “above all, at the turn of the century and after the First World War, to the growing army of London typists. Respectability, quality, cheapness, speed and cleanliness became the Lyons watchwords”. The year 1909 saw the opening of the first corner house,<sup>10</sup> a development which would become a mass phenomenon during the interwar years.<sup>11</sup> *Lyons* provides an example of second and third generation Jewish immigrant success in Britain. Clearly, *Lyons* played an important role in the spread of eating out from the end of the nineteenth century for both the working and lower middle classes as hundreds of teashops had opened by 1939, focused especially on London.<sup>12</sup>

The capital also served as the main magnet for the army of continental caterers who moved to Britain from the middle of the nineteenth century, involved at all levels of restaurant expansion. In addition to César Ritz, a series of chefs with continental origins developed a popular status before 1914, reflecting the importance of foreign cooks in British catering establishments at this time. Three in particular, who published some of the leading

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<sup>6</sup> BURNETT, *England Eats Out...*, pp. 66-98, 137-164.

<sup>7</sup> Guy DEGHI, Keith WATERHOUSE, *Café Royal: Ninety Years of Bohemia* (London, 1955); *Caterer*, 15 June, 15 February 1898.

<sup>8</sup> Hugh MONTGOMERY-MASSINGBERD, David WATKIN, *The London Ritz: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 1989), pp. 9-13, 16-18, 22, 64; Compton MACKENZIE, *The Savoy of London* (London, 1953), pp. 40, 55-58; Marie Louise RITZ, *César Ritz: Host to the World* (Toronto, 1938); Stanley JACKSON, *The Savoy: A Century of Taste* (London, 1989), pp. 24-31.

<sup>9</sup> *Caterer*, 15 October 1896.

<sup>10</sup> D. J. RICHARDSON, “J. Lyons & Co. Ltd.: Caterers & Food Manufacturers, 1894 to 1939” in D. J. ODDY, Derek S. MILLER (eds.), *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (London, 1976), pp. 164-169.

<sup>11</sup> *Caterer*, 15 June 1923; Peter BIRD, *The First Food Empire: A History of J. Lyons & Co.* (Chichester, 2000), pp. 41-42.

<sup>12</sup> D. J. RICHARDSON, ‘J. Lyons & Co. Ltd.: Caterers & Food Manufacturers, 1894 to 1939’, in D. J. Oddy and Derek S. Miller, eds, *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (London, 1976), pp. 164-9.

British cookbooks in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, stand out: Charles Elmé Francatelli, born in 1805 in London “of Italian extraction”,<sup>13</sup> Alexis Soyer, born in France in 1810;<sup>14</sup> and August Escoffier, described by his biographer as “the first great modern celebrity chef” who “changed the way we eat” and “in partnership with... César Ritz, the way we live”.<sup>15</sup>

Francatelli, Soyer and Escoffier form the celebrity tip of an iceberg of foreign chefs staffing establishments throughout Britain before 1945, originating especially in France, Switzerland, Germany and Italy. These would not appear obvious from the census, which in 1861 recorded only 251 foreign cooks in England and Wales, a figure which, however, had increased to 2,447 by 1901, making this one of the most important occupations for foreigners.<sup>16</sup>

Portraits provided by the catering press help to bring these figures to life. In 1911 Rudolph von Görög of the *New Gallery Restaurant* in Regent Street won the Grand Prix at the Culinary Exhibition in Paris. Born in Budapest in 1878, he initially worked in the *Grand Hotel* in his native city, before moving to Paris and then to the *Carlton* in London, where he worked under Escoffier.<sup>17</sup> Antoine Moisy, meanwhile, “chef de cuisine at the *Kensington Palace Mansions*” in 1904 was born in Alsace-Lorraine and had worked in Paris, before serving as a cook to an officers’ mess in the French army regiment he joined. Following a spell in Germany, he obtained a job in Birmingham, after which he took up appointments in Newcastle, Blackpool, Aldershot and Dover. He then returned to Germany before moving to his post in *Kensington Palace Mansions*.<sup>18</sup> Another Frenchman, Angel Cabrol, “in charge of the high-class “confiserie” of *Lyons Corner House* in Coventry Street” in London, had made his way to this position via a series of posts in France, Spain, Portugal and London.<sup>19</sup> While these three individuals did not obtain celebrity status, they provide examples of highly successful chefs who migrated in search of the best possible position.

A series of organizations emerged from the beginning of the twentieth century to represent the interests of the hidden army of continental cooks. A meeting in November 1900 founded the *Society of German Chefs*, which, by the following year, counted about 100 members. It acted as an employment agency but survived for just a few years.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, similar organizations for Italian and French chefs lasted longer. In April 1901 the *Italian Club of Culinary Art*, essentially a body for Italian caterers in Britain, held “a small but very interesting exhibition of artistic cookery”.<sup>21</sup> The *Société Culinnaire Francaise de Londres* appears to have existed in London from the end of the nineteenth century and survived beyond the Second World War, with similar functions to its Italian sister organization.<sup>22</sup>

The history of restaurants and hotels in Britain therefore has a close connection with the arrival of migrants, who played a large role in staffing these establishments from top to bottom as owners, managers, waiters and cooks. Germans formed an important component at all these levels, as will be shown in the remainder of this article.

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<sup>13</sup> Anne CURRAH, *Chef to Queen Victoria: The Recipes of Charles Elmé Francatelli* (London, 1973), pp. 19-20.

<sup>14</sup> Ruth BRANDON, *The People’s Chef: Alexis Soyer, A Life in Seven Courses* (Chichester, 2005); Helen MORRIS, *Portrait of a Chef: The Life of Alexis Soyer, Sometime Chef to the Reform Club* (Cambridge, 1938); Elizabeth RAY, *Alexis Soyer: Cook Extraordinary* (Lewes, 1991); Ruth COWEN, *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef* (London, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth JAMES, *Escoffier: King of Chefs* (London, 2002), p. xi.

<sup>16</sup> *Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, Population Tables*, vol. 2 (London, 1863), p. lxxx; *Census of England and Wales, 1901, Summary Tables, Area, Housing and Population* (London, 1903), p. 270.

<sup>17</sup> *Restaurant*, April 1911.

<sup>18</sup> *Caterer*, 15 April 1904.

<sup>19</sup> *Restaurant*, May 1912.

<sup>20</sup> *Fach-Zeitung des Bundes Deutscher Köche*, 1 September, 15 December 1902.

<sup>21</sup> *Caterer*, 15 May 1901.

<sup>22</sup> *Caterer*, 15 December 1892; *Hotel Review*, December 1928.

## The Role of Germans

During the Victorian and Edwardian periods vibrant German communities developed in Britain, located in some of the major northern cities such as Liverpool, Manchester, Bradford and Glasgow, although these remained relatively small in size.<sup>23</sup> The heartland of the German community in Britain lay in London, with a series of foci, above all the East and West End. Although the number of German migrants in Britain remained relatively small by American or post-War British standards, at a peak of less than sixty thousand just before 1914, this figure increases further to around 100,000 if it includes the descendants of migrants as well as those who were naturalised British subjects.

Whatever the size of the German communities, enough migrants lived in a variety of locations to allow the development of a rich ethnic life<sup>24</sup> and the emergence of German food communities, especially in the two most important areas where this group concentrated in the East End and West End of London. By 1913 the main thoroughfare of the German community of the West End of London, Charlotte Street, counted at least forty German names out of the 138 businesses listed including two butchers, four restaurants, one baker and three foreign provision dealers.<sup>25</sup>

London German newspapers also reveal German food businesses. If we examine *Hermann* for as early as the 1860s, for instance, we find several restaurants together with A. Klapper, of Whitechapel, describing itself as a *Konditorei* selling “German tarts, cakes and pastries” as well as coffee, tea and chocolate.<sup>26</sup> Delicatessens had also appeared in London during the nineteenth century. W. Bedbur, of Portland Street, described his business as a “German mustard factory, delicatessen and wine factory”.<sup>27</sup> Establishments describing themselves as German beer halls had developed in London by the end of the nineteenth century. These included *The Imperial* in Newgate Street, which claimed to sell “exquisite German food” and “German and English beers”.<sup>28</sup> By the beginning of the twentieth century the largest beer hall appears to have been *Ye Olde Gambrinus* with branches in both Regent Street and Glasshouse Street in Piccadilly. This firm gave itself various plaudits including “The Home of Lager Beer in England” and “the Largest Original Beer Hall in England”. Its drinks included genuine *Munich Pschorrbräu* and genuine *Kulmbacher Mönchshof* on tap.<sup>29</sup> Two giants emerged in the world of London German delicatessens by 1914. They mainly catered for a British clientele, as the locations lay outside the German West End.<sup>30</sup> The first was *Rühmann Brothers*, situated in Tottenham Court Road, but with a café connected to it in Leicester Square.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, *H. Appenrodt* described himself as the “most distinguished German delicatessen in London” and as the “largest importer of all types of German delicacies” and wines. The premises had a German pastry shop and “Viennese café restaurant” connected with it. The two branches of 1900, in Coventry Street and the Strand, had increased to nine by the outbreak of the First World War, with one in Coventry Street, one in Piccadilly, two in Regent Street, two in Oxford Street and three in the Strand.

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<sup>23</sup> But see Stefan MANZ, *Migranten und Internierte. Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864-1918* (Stuttgart, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>25</sup> *Post Office London Directory, 1913* (London, 1913), p. 258.

<sup>26</sup> *Hermann*, 4 August 1866.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Londoner Courier*, 18 June 1884.

<sup>29</sup> *Londoner General Anzeiger*, 6 January, 4 May 1904, 3 March 1909.

<sup>30</sup> *Londoner General Anzeiger*, 6 January 1900, 3 January 1914.

<sup>31</sup> *Londoner Zeitung*, 25 December 1909; *Londoner General Anzeiger*, 6 January 1912.

Appenrodt actually opened his first shop in about 1890, having migrated to London in 1886 from Nordhausen in the Harz mountains.<sup>32</sup>

The argument that these continental style coffee houses were geared towards a British clientele is supported by looking at the situation in Glasgow. The German community in Britain's 'Second City' numbered around 1000 individuals before 1914. This was too small to support an elaborate ethnic economy as in London. There were no discernible ethnic neighbourhoods and hardly any businesses, which exclusively catered for Germans.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, a number of fashionable establishments with a German background emerged. These reflect the rising popularity of Vienna-style coffee culture in Edwardian Britain. Appenrodt's equivalent north of the border was Assafrey's. Local historian C. A. Oakley has described this as one of two "necessary ladies' luncheon rooms". Its main branch was on Sauchiehall Street, which was considered "Glasgow's Piccadilly" around 1900. By 1914, confectioner and chocolatier A. T. Assafrey had opened four further branches in the West End and Central Glasgow, two in Edinburgh, as well as a chocolate factory.<sup>34</sup> In Central Glasgow alone there existed at least ten German-run establishments. These included 'P. Kunzle & Son, purveyors, cooks and confectioners' in Sauchiehall Street; Adolph and F. Sautermeister, "Vienna and foreign bakers and confectioners" in West Nile Street; and Walter Häberlin's confectionery with five further branches throughout Glasgow.<sup>35</sup> Although these establishments were not primarily geared towards an ethnic clientele, Germans certainly enjoyed frequenting them. Otto Carl Kiep for example, the son of honorary consul Johannes N. Kiep, fondly remembers in his memoirs "the Baiser-tarts of the German master bakers Sautermeister and Haberlein [sic] for the birthday celebrations of our parents".<sup>36</sup>

Germans in catering occupied niches in the labour market, which could not be filled in the short-term by the indigenous work force due to a skills shortage. The process of migration was often structured along networks and included several stages. For example, "Marb & Bechtle, confectioners" owned two establishments in Central Glasgow and were described by the trades journal as follows:

"They have certainly supplied a felt want in furnishing us with really *superior* confectionery. A visit to their premises is a pleasure and a revelation of what can be done in their line, and to what an extent *art* is now utilised in our social functions. In repeated and extended travels all over the Continent of Europe, the writer has never seen anything finer or more artistic than the goods produced by this firm. [...] As the title of the firm denotes, there are two partners, and as it further suggests, they are both foreigners, being native of countries where their art is more highly cultivated, and the sun shines brighter than in the land of their happy adoption, "Caledonia stern and wild". They are both thoroughly practically conversant with their business and have had a rigorous training and wide experience."<sup>37</sup>

Marb was born in Bavaria and first completed an apprenticeship as confectioner in Munich. He then moved on to work for several years in Venice, Paris and Torino, the Imperial court in Berlin, and Copenhagen. Julius Bechtle was born in Esslingen in Wurttemberg, apprenticed in Stuttgart and then went on to work in Apolda, Hamburg and Copenhagen. It was here that the two met and decided to set up their own business in Glasgow.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Restaurant*, August 1911; *Hotel Review*, June 1940.

<sup>33</sup> Stefan MANZ, *Migranten und Internierte...*

<sup>34</sup> C. A. OAKLEY, *The Second City. The Story of Glasgow* (Glasgow London, 1990), p. 234.

<sup>35</sup> *Post Office Glasgow Directory* 1908; Stefan MANZ, *Migranten und Internierte...*, pp. 149 - 150. All the individuals mentioned were members in German ethnic organisations such as the local German Club or the Protestant Congregation.

<sup>36</sup> Otto Carl KIEP, *Mein Lebensweg 1886-1944. Aufzeichnungen während der Haft* (Munich, 1982), p. 19. Translation S. M.

<sup>37</sup> *The Victualling Trades' Review, Hotel and Restaurateur's Journal*, 13 October 1890, p. 245.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

Germans became especially important as waiters after 1900.<sup>39</sup> In 1911 about ten per cent of waiters and waitresses in catering employment in London were German and also worked in cities throughout the country so that waiting had become the third most important occupation amongst Germans in Lancashire.<sup>40</sup> Their migration can be contextualised against similar networks, which sent people to Britain from c1880, including foreign correspondence clerks, butchers, bakers and barbers.<sup>41</sup> We will point to a series of underlying push factors, as well as ethnic networks in order to explain the migration of this occupational group.

German waiters had various advantages compared with native Britons. Before 1914 the former laboured up to fifteen hours per day. In contrast to Englishmen, who demanded a fixed wage, foreigners relied upon tips, from which they could make £2 per week. Germans had also had formal training, which accounted for their “neatness and civility”. Those who intended to return home would accept lower wages to obtain experience, although others remained and rose to become hotel and restaurant managers and went on to employ other foreigners in turn, thus helping the development of a migratory network.<sup>42</sup>

Spending time abroad formed part of a type of apprenticeship system, as revealed in an article in the *London Hotel and Restaurant Employees Gazette* of 1890, which claimed that the owners of hotels in Germany and Switzerland sent their sons “to foreign countries to pick up as many languages as possible and to learn their profession from the very lowest rungs of the social ladder”. The piece continued:

“The “roughing” may not be pleasant, but the experience gained is great...After spending a year or two in London and Paris, they return home to assist in their parents’ establishments. They have acquired a certain knowledge of both French and English...and they have also become acquainted with the wants of hotel visitors and the foibles of their fellow workers, which knowledge is valuable when they, in their turn, become hotel proprietors and responsible persons.”<sup>43</sup>

German waiters established a number of societies in Britain from the end of the nineteenth century. As early as 1869 a *German Waiters Club* existed in London,<sup>44</sup> while, three decades later, the *London and Provincial Hotel Employees Society*, based in Tottenham Court Road, acted as an employment agency and provided shelter to its members.<sup>45</sup> The largest body was *The Ganymede Friendly Society for Hotel and Restaurant Employees*, which had 2,000 members and 25 local branches throughout Britain in 1913. It was attached to the *Deutsche Kellner-Bund* (German Waiters’ Association) and aimed to support new arrivals in their search for work, as well as to provide a platform for conviviality. The substantial clubhouse in London had “rooms for offices and committees, a dining-hall, a concert hall holding 300 people, a billiard room with six tables, a skittle-alley, sports-hall, library and 55 bedrooms, bathrooms etc.” There were also clubhouses in Manchester and Liverpool.<sup>46</sup> Other Edwardian bodies included the *International Hotel Employees Society* and the *London Hotel and Restaurant Employees Society*.<sup>47</sup> These groups aimed primarily at Germans. Similarly, the *Caterers Employees Union* represented a branch of a larger organization based in Hamburg.

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<sup>39</sup> *Census of England and Wales, 1901, Summary Tables, Area, Housing and Population* (London, 1903), pp. 270, 280. The census does not actually list waiters as an occupational group. We have calculated these totals by combining two categories: ‘Domestic Indoor Service. In Hotels, Lodging and Eating Houses’; and ‘Others in Inn, Hotel, Eating House – Service’.

<sup>40</sup> *Census of England and Wales, 1911. Birthplaces* (London, 1915), pp. 220-228, 230-234.

<sup>41</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *German Immigrants...*, pp. 35-87.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>43</sup> *London Hotel and Restaurant Employees Gazette*, 6 September 1890.

<sup>44</sup> *Hermann*, 2 January 1869.

<sup>45</sup> *Londoner General Anzeiger*, 10 July 1901.

<sup>46</sup> Anglo-German Publishing Company (ed.), *Die Deutsche Kolonie in England* (London, 1913), p. 95.

<sup>47</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *German Immigrants...*, p. 193.

This body devoted considerable attention to the working conditions of those involved in the catering trade.<sup>48</sup> The London-based *Christlicher Verein für Gastwirtsgehilfen* (Christian Association for Hospitality Support Staff) was the centre of a worldwide network of activity, which, for example, edited the journal *Der Kellnerbote*. The clubhouse had 40 bedrooms with 62 beds and acted as an agency for 1200 positions per year.<sup>49</sup>

A closer look at Glasgow confirms and refines this picture of ethnically based professional organisation. The local branch of the *Ganymede Friendly Society* stood under the patronage of hotel-owner Albert M. Thiem. Two further support organisations included the *British Continental Hotel Workers* of Glasgow with a number of German and Austrian members; and a local branch of the Geneva-based *Verein der Hotel-Angestellten* (Association of Hotel Employees).<sup>50</sup> German waiters arriving in Britain did not come into a vacuum. They moved into, and within, pre-existing occupational and social networks, which eased the “migration shock” and helped them to establish themselves in the British labour market.

A prosopographical database allows for a detailed analysis of employment patterns in Glasgow.<sup>51</sup> It is mainly fed by local church, club and consular records, as well as trade journals such as the *Scottish Wine, Spirit, and Beer Trades Review* or the *Victualling Trades’ Review/Hotel and Restaurateurs’ Journal*. Thirty German waiters could be recorded in 1908, and this has to be seen as the minimum number. In most cases the employers could also be traced, allowing a comparison of the social data with contemporaneous assessments of the employment profile. German sources are often interwoven with nationalistic chauvinism and therefore have to be read with caution. Henning’s 1924-account of the pre-war situation, for example, notes: “The German waiter was far superior to his English colleague, better trained, and therefore present in most of the big hotels.”<sup>52</sup> The data show that there was, indeed, some substance to this assessment. The German waiters mostly worked in three of the biggest and most high-class hotels in Glasgow: in the sample year 1908 there were at least eight in the Central Station Hotel, seven in the Windsor Hotel, and five in the Grand Hotel. In the Grosvenor, which was the most exclusive restaurant in town, there were six.<sup>53</sup>

Why were German waiters popular with high-end employers? Hospitality training in Germany was more formalised and professionalised than in Britain. Although professional qualifications were not compulsory, many waiters had received some formal training, either within apprenticeships or at one of the German Hospitality Colleges (*Fachschulen für Gastwirtschaftswesen*), whose curriculum included subjects such as service, menu organisation, geography, English and French, and book-keeping.<sup>54</sup> The British labour market was attractive for German waiters as it offered higher wages and fewer working hours. It also enabled them to improve their English, which was a major professional asset in case of re-migration or movement to a third country. On a global scale, however, Britain was just one out of many destinations for a highly mobile professional group. A lengthy article in the Glasgow Herald entitled *The Kellner* was written slightly tongue-in-cheek and tends towards

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<sup>48</sup> *Revue*, 1 July 1907, 16 February 1907, 15 March 1909.

<sup>49</sup> *Der Kellnerfreund*, 16 March 1913; Georg EIBEN, *Geschichte des Gastwirtschaftswesens vom Altertum bis zur neuesten Zeit und Geschichte des Deutschen Kellner-Bundes Ganymede, seiner Bezirks-Vereine und Sectionen* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 69, 76, 205 – 206, 216.

<sup>50</sup> Georg EIBEN, *Geschichte...*, p. 480; *Glasgow Herald*, 3 August 1914.

<sup>51</sup> For details see Stefan MANZ, *Migranten und Internierte...*

<sup>52</sup> C. R. HENNINGS, *Deutsche in England* (Stuttgart, 1923), p. 124.

<sup>53</sup> For these establishments see *The Victualling Trades’ Review, Hotel and Restaurateurs’ Journal*, 12 December 1891; *The Victualling Trades’ Review*, 15 December 1898.

<sup>54</sup> Wolfgang BERNHAGEN, *Zur Geschichte des Kellnerberufes* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 6-17; Georg EIBEN, *Geschichte...*; Louis EBERT, Rudolf HOFFMEYER, *Das Trinkgeld und die wirtschaftliche Lage der Kellner und Berufsgenossen* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 8-10; *Der Kellnerfreund*, 6 April 1913.

stereotypisation, but nevertheless highlights the above mentioned patterns as regards training, mobility, multilingualism, familiarity with long working hours, and the wage- and skills-gap:

“The German waiter is the best in the world. He says so himself, and it is the truth...He is content with five hours sleep out of the twenty-four, and he always presents himself fresh and smiling...It is needless to say that in the majority of cases he is the superior in education and knowledge of the world of those whom he serves....With the German’s natural aptitude for languages he has managed to make himself more or less proficient in the tongues of the various countries he has visited. This knowledge is invaluable to him, and he has little difficulty in getting a place in a hotel, restaurant, or café... He moves from place to place and from country to country, following money as the swallow follows summer....As a rule, the kellner has a high regard for Britain, but...as head waiter he does not get on very well with his British colleagues.”<sup>55</sup>

The last sentence points to two features. First, the career ladder in the British hospitality sector stood open to employees of foreign extraction. Second, there were frictions with indigenous employees, not least triggered by the perceived competition on the labour market. These tensions reached their height after the outbreak of war and will be discussed later.

The focus will now remain on Scotland, but will move further up the career ladder to investigate Germans in hospitality management. Georg Eiben’s history of the hospitality industry, published in 1907, remarks with nationalistic undertones that “surpassing all other nationals, the German has managed to secure the leading position within the global hospitality sector...Wherever there are any signs of organised hospitality - even in the remotest corner of the earth -, it is primarily the German who pioneers the first beginnings and later takes up the leading position. The owners, landlords and especially the leading managers are, for the most part, Germans.” In terms of career patterns, Eiben brings forward that “they move out into the world as simple, pennyless young waiters and, through their hard-work, moral strength and thrift, gradually attain leading positions, or even become the owners of big hotels or restaurants.”<sup>56</sup> This general assessment will now be critically investigated in the light of some local biographies. These have to be read against the backdrop of an expanding tourism industry in nineteenth-century Scotland. In terms of labour market and income levels, its significance has been compared to the eighteenth-century textile industry or the twentieth-century oil industry in Scotland.<sup>57</sup> From late-Victorian Britain onwards, two developments are important. First, the emergence of exclusive luxury establishments and, second, of large railway hotels. More and more passengers travelled on the expanding rail network, and the railway companies exploited this potential by setting up large railway hotels, preferably in or near terminal stations. These, in turn, were often luxury hotels.<sup>58</sup>

The *St. Enoch’s Station Hotel* was one of these typical large railway hotels, being described in the press as a “mammoth establishment”.<sup>59</sup> We will take this as a starting point to introduce a number of individuals. Their biographies are fairly representative as they show career and mobility patterns, and also ways in which these connected different establishments. In the mid-1880, four of the *St. Enoch’s* staff included G. Brunfaut, Otto Bergner, P. C. Rupprecht, and Ernst Wilhelm Thiem.

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<sup>55</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 11 June 1907.

<sup>56</sup> Georg EIBEN, *Geschichte...*, p. 77; similarly C. R. HENNINGS, *Deutsche...*, p. 124; Anglo German Publishing Company, *Die Deutsche Kolonie...*, p. 96.

<sup>57</sup> Alastair J. DURIE, “Sources for the Study of Tourism in Nineteenth-Century Scotland”, *Scottish Archives*, vol. 2 (1996).

<sup>58</sup> J. Christopher HOLLOWAY, *The Business of Tourism* (Harlow, 1994), pp. 20-22; A. J. BURKART, S. MEDLIK, *Tourism. Past, Present and Future* (London, 1981), pp. 18-19.

<sup>59</sup> *The National Guardian*, 8 January 1897.

G. Brunfaut was born and apprenticed as a cook in Vienna. He first went to France and then joined the *Grand Hotel St. Petersburg* in Berlin as chef de cuisine, one of whose customers was the Imperial court. He then moved into leading positions in hotels in Nice and Menton, oversaw the building of the *Grand Hotel* in Albany/New York, and moved to Glasgow in the mid-1880s. He acted for four years as assistant-superintendent and secretary at *St. Enoch's Hotel* before acquiring the *Bank Restaurant* and, soon after, also the *Ranfurlly Hotel* just outside Glasgow, "a first-class residential hotel..., elegantly and luxuriously furnished... With the thorough knowledge of his business, energy, and tact, which Mr. Brunfaut brings to this enterprise, we have every confidence in predicting for it a prosperous career, and that it will prove a pleasant and convenient resting-place for the busy city man, and an agreeable residence for those in search of change, pleasure, recreation, or health."<sup>60</sup>

During Brunfaut's time at the *St. Enoch's*, its chef de cuisine was Otto Bergner. He was born in Berlin and came to Glasgow as a 17-year old, working in the wine trade for four years before starting as a chef in *St. Enoch's Hotel* and gradually working his way up. In 1887 he set up his own business, acquiring the *Victoria Restaurant* which was subsequently praised by the trades journal for its "excellent cookery..., prompt service...and well appointed dining-rooms".<sup>61</sup> One of Bergner's staff in the kitchen of the *St. Enoch's* had been P. C. Rupprecht, who then moved on to the *Alexandra Hotel* and the *Grand Hotel Grasse* in the South of France before setting up his own restaurant in the centre of Glasgow which "enjoys a reputation which no other first-class establishment in the city does." It provided space for 150 guests, an "unrivalled cuisine, choice wines, and [an] almost faultless service. [...] The smoking-room is the cosiest and best fitted-up that can be seen in the city." In terms of Rupprecht's qualifications, the trades journal continued that he "has graduated through every branch of the profession. [...] He is an accomplished linguist, and can talk fluently nearly all the modern languages. [...] He has in him the pluck and the indomitable perseverance which are characteristics of his countrymen, and will permit no obstacle to thwart him."<sup>62</sup>

At the time Brunfaut, Bergner and Rupprecht worked for the *St. Enoch's Station Hotel*, Ernst Wilhelm Thiem was its general manager. After an apprenticeship in his hometown of Rudolfstadt and stints in the United States and Paris, Thiem came to Britain in 1867, where his career included the general management of the *Charing Cross Hotel* in London, the *Balmoral and Waterloo Hotels* in Edinburgh, and the *St. Enoch's Station Hotel*.<sup>63</sup> His brother, Albert, was equally successful, first as general manager of the *Windsor Hotel* in Edinburgh where "Mr. Albert Thiem, assisted by his brother, who purveyed the largest banquet ever held in Edinburgh, [...] when the Unionists of Scotland made Mr. Arthur Balfour, M. P., their guest."<sup>64</sup> In 1890, Albert Thiem moved on to Glasgow and purchased the *Windsor Hotel* there: "Under the transforming hands and wise judgment of Mr. Albert Thiem, the hotel [...] has assumed an entirely new place among the great hotels of Scotland." It developed into the most exclusive hotel in Glasgow which "ranks in equipment in the first rank of British hotels"<sup>65</sup> - and which, as we have learned earlier, also employed at least seven German waiters.

The Thiem brothers can serve as an example to explain the maintenance, finance and workings of transnational ethnic support networks. Ernst Wilhelm Thiem was an honorary member of the *Deutsche Kellner-Bund* (German Waiters' Association) and connected with its London branch. Earlier in the article we described the substantial club and accommodation

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<sup>60</sup> *The Victualling Trades' Review, Hotel and Restaurateurs' Journal*, 12 March 1891, pp. 368f.

<sup>61</sup> *The Scottish Wine, Spirit, and Beer Trades Review*, 12 January 1888.

<sup>62</sup> *The Victualling Trades' Review, Hotel and Restaurateurs' Journal*, October 1893.

<sup>63</sup> *The National Guardian*, 8 January 1897, 15 January 1897, 1 October 1897.

<sup>64</sup> *The National Guardian*, 29 January 1897.

<sup>65</sup> *The Victualling Trades' Review, Hotel and Restaurateurs' Journal*, 12 December 1891.

facilities for waiters in London. These could not have been maintained with only the modest salaries and contributions from waiters themselves but were mainly financed by wealthy members such as E. W. Thiem. The purchase of the London clubhouse would not have been possible without his generous contribution. In his will, he bequeathed £500 to the *Charities and Children's Home* in his hometown Rudolstadt.<sup>66</sup> His brother Albert, in turn, was much involved with the German ethnic community in Glasgow. He made large contributions to the local German Protestant Congregation and was the deputy chairman of its parish council for several years. He also made his *Windsor Hotel* into an ethnic centre by opening its gates to the community without charge. The German Protestant Congregation celebrated its founding in 1898 with a family evening in the *Windsor*, and a number of visiting German pastors from other congregations in Britain were put up for free.<sup>67</sup> The annual ball dance of the German Club (*Deutscher Verein*), of which both Thiem brothers were members, took place there. Other festivities were receptions for the officers of German war-ships anchoring in Glasgow harbour,<sup>68</sup> or occasions such as the silver wedding jubilee of the German Imperial couple in 1906. Two hundred and fifty Germans celebrated in the ballroom and “extended an enthusiastic toast to the wellbeing of the Imperial family.”<sup>69</sup>

While the professional activities of Germans in hospitality management were firmly rooted in the economy of the host society, strong connections within the ethnic community were also maintained. These existed both horizontally and vertically, as waiters and others on the lower ranks of their career ladder received support from those who had worked their way up in the sector. The significance of German-owned establishments as ethnic meeting places has the potential to be investigated for a larger geographical framework. Evidence suggests that Glasgow was not a singular case. In Rome, for example, the *Hotel Germania* under the ownership of “Herr Lehmann” provided space for a German reading room as well as celebrations of the German ethnic community.<sup>70</sup>

## Hostility before and during World War I

The narrative so far as evidenced by contemporary sources has generally been a favourable one. The sources presented express a positive attitude towards the qualities of Germans in the catering and hospitality business. Alongside this appreciation, however, there were also undercurrents of resentment. These mirror the stance towards other German immigrant groups in Britain. Clerks, for example, with their advanced training and lower salary expectations when compared to their British counterparts, triggered a scare in the British public. The *London Telegraph* maintained that British clerks were “pushed from their stools by competitors from Germany”.<sup>71</sup> The presence of German musicians in British orchestras was deplored by the *Scottish Musical Monthly* in 1895: “It is a pity, when our schools of music are yearly turning out numbers of competent and enthusiastic young orchestral players,

<sup>66</sup> EIBEN, *Geschichte...*, p. 292; *The National Guardian*, 1 October 1897.

<sup>67</sup> Protestant Central Archives Berlin 5/1823/59, German Protestant Congregation Glasgow, Annual Report 1899.

<sup>68</sup> Glasgow University Archives DC 402/1/1, Deutscher Verein, minute books, entry 9 June 1898; *Glasgow Herald*, 16 May 1898; *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 13 May 1898.

<sup>69</sup> *Gemeindebote. Monatsblatt der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinden Großbritanniens* XII/8, April 1906.

<sup>70</sup> German Federal Military Archives, Freiburg, RM 3/9920-4, Marine Attaché to Staatssekretär des Reichs-Marine-Amtes, Rome, 5 December and 20 December 1899. Also see Stefan MANZ, “Nationalism Gone Global. The Hauptverband Deutscher Flottenvereine im Auslande 1898-1918” *German History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2012), p. 199.

<sup>71</sup> Quoted in Gregory ANDERSON, “German Clerks in England 1870-1914. Another Aspect of the Great Depression Debate” in Kenneth LUNN (ed.), *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities* (Folkestone, 1980), pp. 201-221.

that these are shoved on one side for the sake of foreigners.”<sup>72</sup> In a wider context, these utterances have to be seen as part of the Anglo-German economic and colonial tensions, which developed before 1914. Germans living in Britain presented a canvas onto which these tensions could be projected. With regard to the hospitality sector, the London edition of the *New York Herald*, for example, ran a number of articles with headlines such as “Good-bye English Waiters”, “Why German Servants are Preferred”, or “Big Hotels, Restaurants and Private Families in the Hand of Foreigners”.<sup>73</sup> Johannes Ackermann, a waiter who had moved to England in 1902 and was repatriated during the war, remembered that the English, “especially the less educated ones did not hide their antipathy. Whenever the opportunity arose they taunted against the ‘bloody Germans’. That was their favourite expression for us.”<sup>74</sup>

The hostility which existed towards German waiters was evidenced most clearly by the formation of the *Loyal British Waiters Society* in 1910, with 1,625 members at its inception, and its own newspaper, the *Restaurateur*. It aimed to provide “employment for British waiters who are reliable and loyal” and protect “the interests of British waiters as a class”. It asked “every Britisher” to “patronize and support” it for a series of xenophobic reasons including its “loyal and patriotic character” which aimed at “the displacement of the foreigner and re-instating the Britisher”. This would “greatly reduce the vast amount of foreign labour in this country, thereby strengthening our population and constitution”.<sup>75</sup>

The Germanophobia of the First World War meant that the wish of the *Loyal British Waiters Society* came true. From the start of the conflict Germans faced dismissal, so that by September 1914 even the Swiss based *Geneva Association* could declare that “Germans and Austrians are not wanted and for many years there will be no openings for them”.<sup>76</sup> In the same month the *Hotel Review* declared that: “It is safe to assert that for a long time ahead the German waiter will, on our sea-girt isle, find his occupation gone”. The *Glasgow Waiters’ Union* also tried to make the most of the Germanophobic atmosphere, submitting a protest to the city council that enemy alien waiters were allowed to carry on working while many of their British colleagues could not find employment.<sup>77</sup>

As British society became gripped with spy-fever, suggesting that all those living in Britain worked in the interests of the “Fatherland”, German waiting and other catering staff became visible not simply to the *Loyal British Waiters Society* and the catering press, but to most British newspapers and consequently those Britons who ate out in one of the countless restaurants which had employed Germans in some capacity before 1914. Waiters, who dealt most directly with diners, became the most visible German occupational category employed in catering. On 14 October 1914 the London *Evening News* carried the following story:

“The German waiter has often been better trained than his English competitor, but this time the reason for the German dominance in the hotel industry is quite different. It is the reason, which has enabled Germans to secure a hold in our commerce – cheapness. The German hotel employees will accept conditions of labour that Englishmen will not accept, and German managers will enforce conditions to which the average English hotel manager will not agree...

In a large hotel not far from St. James’s Park one learnt that English waiters had been offered this opportunity and refused it. Part of the opportunity refused here was a prospect of sharing a bedroom in which twelve other men – several of them Germans – were sleeping.”

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<sup>72</sup> Quoted in Henry George FARMER, *A History of Music in Scotland* (London, 1947), p. 478.

<sup>73</sup> Quoted in EIBEN, *Geschichte...*, p. 203.

<sup>74</sup> Johannes ACKERMANN, *England in Not. Erinnerungen eines Austauschgefangenen* (Leipzig, 1917).

<sup>75</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *German Immigrants...*, p. 227; *Restaurateur*, January 1914.

<sup>76</sup> *Hotel Review*, September 1914.

<sup>77</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 20 August 1914, 28 August 1914.

This particular story actually harks back to accusations made against Germans and other foreigners at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>78</sup> However, on the same day the *Daily Mail* printed an editorial entitled: “The Spy Danger and the New Order”, which complained about “the multitude of Germans employed in our British hotels, who also have singular opportunities of learning all that is happening”. It continued by asserting that many British hotels had staff and management composed of Germans or naturalised Germans who were usually “found at the centres where naval and political intelligence abounds”. On the same day the *Daily Mail* asserted that the public could “rid the country of a grave danger” by “resolutely avoiding those establishments where Germans and Austrians are employed”. On 17 October the same newspaper told its readers: “Refuse to be served by an Austrian or German waiter”. It stated that one of its representatives had visited various London hotels to ascertain whether they continued to employ Germans. Because of press attitudes numerous restaurants dismissed their German and Austrian staff. Therefore, over the next few days many newspapers carried notices declaring that they had undertaken such action. Provincial hotels did likewise.<sup>79</sup> At the same time an organization calling itself the *British Hotel, Restaurant and Club Employees Society*, in an attempt “to combat the German menace in British hotels”, issued posters which declared: “No Germans or Austrians employed here”.<sup>80</sup> In February 1915 the manager of the *Hotel Cecil* proudly boasted that “there is not a German, Austrian, Hungarian, or any other kind of enemy employed in any department of this hotel, from the secretary’s office to the scullery, naturalised or naturalised”.<sup>81</sup> The disappearance of the German waiter, either as a result of dismissal, internment,<sup>82</sup> or both, was viewed as “The British Waiter’s Chance”.<sup>83</sup>

Hostility continued at the end of the War and beyond when many establishments refused to employ Germans. In December 1918 the *Brighton Hotel Company* “decreed that for ten years after Peace is declared no person of German birth, whether naturalised or not, will be accepted as an employee or as a tenant of any property belonging to the company”. According to the *Hotel Review*: “This paragraph has gone the rounds of the Press, and it would seem that the policy both expressed and implied has received general approval”.<sup>84</sup> By January 1919:

“Innumerable individual hotel directors and restaurant proprietors have decided, off their own bat, not to employ German waiters. And now comes the news of the official decision of the Incorporated Association of Hotels and Restaurants, urging their members to refuse employment to the subjects of any country which was at war with Great Britain on January 1st 1918. The decision was unanimously arrived at, so that the solidity of official opinion is evidently as strong as outside general public opinion. The same views are held in Paris, and similar action is to be taken there. This means that thousands of Germans who were employed before the war in London and Paris hotels, and most of whom are still interned, will have to find fresh employment. They have themselves to blame; the treachery of their nation as a whole has barred them in the immediate future from the trust and confidence of civilised nations.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *German Immigrants...*, pp. 224-228.

<sup>79</sup> See, for instance, *Evening News*, 17, 19 October 1914.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 October 1914.

<sup>81</sup> *Hotel Review*, February 1915.

<sup>82</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 70-131.

<sup>83</sup> *Hotel Review*, May 1915. Exclusion could also extend to guests. The *Royal Restaurant* in Glasgow’s West Nile Street put a note in its window that Germans would not be served as British guests were not prepared to share a table with them. See *Glasgow Herald*, 13 May 1915.

<sup>84</sup> *Hotel Review*, December 1918

<sup>85</sup> *Hotel Review*, January 1919.

At the end of 1920 the *Hotel Review* expressed outrage at reports that German waiters had returned “not merely in “ones and twos” but by the dozen”. The article concluded that “we have no room for the Germans here”.<sup>86</sup> Such attitudes and actions reflect the intensity of Germanophobia at the end of the War in Britain<sup>87</sup> epitomised by the slogan, “Once a German, always a German”, popularised by the British Empire Union, initially established in 1915 as the Anti-German Union.<sup>88</sup>

The hostility towards the German waiter therefore formed just one aspect of the hatred of “the enemy in our midst” which gripped Britain throughout the Great War. The most virulent consisted of riots, which peaked in May 1915, following the sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania* by a German submarine, resulting in over 1,000 deaths.<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile, the British government introduced a policy of internment for German and Austrian males of military age at the start of the war. Despite changes of policy in the following few months, the riots following the sinking of the *Lusitania* led the Prime Minister Herbert Asquith to declare in the House of Commons on 13 May 1915 that “adult males” of military age (17-55) should “for their own safety, and that of the community, be segregated and interned”.<sup>90</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of the 13 May decision the press wrote of the surrender of Germans, especially in London. Those who lived in the West End, particularly around Soho, which housed many upmarket restaurants, included many single waiters, working in the capital to improve their English in the hope of subsequently securing a good post in a continental hotel or restaurant. Most had few family attachments in Britain and the decision to surrender appears partly motivated by this factor, as well as by “the terror created by the riots”.<sup>91</sup> Others had lost their employment, partly as a result of continuing anti-German boycotts, which had resulted in the further sacking of German employees.<sup>92</sup> Aliens therefore “simply went to the police-station, and announced that they were ready for internment”.<sup>93</sup>

Waiters, together with tens of thousands of other Germans and Austrians, could find themselves interned for up to five years, particularly upon the Isle of Man, which held the two most important camps in the form of Knockaloe and Douglas, the former of which contained over 20,000 people at its peak. The central Scottish camp, Stobs near Hawick, held 4,592 internees at its peak time in April 1916. These were roughly half and half civilian internees and military prisoners of war.<sup>94</sup> For many, this proved a grim experience, leading to the development of “barbed wire disease”.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, they managed to pass their time by establishing “prison camp societies”,<sup>96</sup> whose activities included formal educational activity. In one of the four sub-camps in Knockaloe, this included a hotel school aimed at the large numbers of Germans employed in hospitality before the War. It “provided Hotel Employees

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., November 1920.

<sup>87</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *Enemy...*, pp. 216-221.

<sup>88</sup> Panikos PANAYI, “The British Empire Union in World War I”, in Tony KUSHNER, Kenneth LUNN (eds.), *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain* (London, 1990), pp.113-128.

<sup>89</sup> Panikos PANAYI, “Anti-German Riots in Britain during the First World War” in Panikos PANAYI (ed.), *Racial Violence in Britain, 1840-1950* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 65-91; Nicoletta F. GULLACE, “Friends, Aliens and Enemies: Fictive Communities and the Lusitania Riots of 1915”, *Journal of Social History*, vol. 39 (2005), pp. 345-367.

<sup>90</sup> *Hansard* (Commons), fifth series, LXXI, 1842, 13 May 1915.

<sup>91</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 15 May 1915.

<sup>92</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *Enemy...*, pp. 197-200.

<sup>93</sup> *The Times*, 15 May 1915.

<sup>94</sup> Stefan MANZ, “Civilian Internment in Scotland during the First World War”, *Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies*, vol. 7 (2005), p. 87.

<sup>95</sup> A. L. VISCHER, *Barbed Wire Disease: A Psychological Study of the Prisoner of War* (London, 1919).

<sup>96</sup> See John Davidson KETCHUM, *Ruhleben: A Prison Camp Society* (Toronto, 1965).

with theoretical training as it was felt that something had to be done for the large proportion of waiters living in this Camp. The regular course held by 17 teachers was attended by 15 pupils, whilst the evening lectures drew large audiences”.<sup>97</sup>

The end of the war resulted in a wholesale deportation of Germans from Britain, continuing a policy that begun earlier in the War. Consequently, the number of Germans fell from 57,500 in 1914 to 22,254 in 1919. The number of males had actually declined from 37,500 to 8,476, indicating the thoroughness of the deportation process.<sup>98</sup> Those who faced deportation at the end of the First World War would find themselves returning to a defeated and depressed Germany where they faced the economic and political crises which followed. In 1920 the Quaker James Baily travelled to Germany, where he met some former Manx internees. Baily had previously assisted German internees in Knockaloe. He went to Germany with the help of an organisation called the *Bund der Auslandsdeutschen*, which developed an English sub-group in various parts of the country including Hanover. Baily addressed a meeting here consisting of 350 former internees, their wives and friends in February 1920. Although ostensibly on a humanitarian mission, Baily went out of his way to make contact with former Manx prisoners but also bumped into some unexpectedly. Those in the latter category totalled 19 people, including: 3 waiters working at a hotel in Stuttgart; the head waiter of the Hotel Rampal in Heilbronn; and five waiters at the *Wiener Cafe* in Constance. Baily also met Herr Rossler when he went to Baden-Baden, previously held in Douglas and “now assisting his father” in running a hotel “where the whole of their staff were ex Knockaloe Po.W.s”. Clearly, some returnees managed to resume the careers, which they had pursued before the War. Unmarried men appear to have had an easier path on their return than those with wives and children. The head waiter at the Rampal “asked advice on getting his fiancée over from England”, while another person Baily bumped into in Freiburg remained separated from his family in England. Baily commented: “One of the most repeated impressions forced upon me during my three months tour of Germany was the sad plight of the English born wives and children of repatriated Germans living in Germany. Strangers in a strange land”, they had little knowledge of the language and also had to face the same privations as the rest of the German population.<sup>99</sup>

## Conclusion

We can view the history of the German waiter in Britain through a number of prisms. In the first place, we need to identify the reasons, which sent German and other continental European catering staff to Britain from the end of the nineteenth century. We can see this movement as part of the spread of the concept of the restaurant from Paris to the rest of the European continent during the course of the nineteenth century. By the late Victorian period it had reached Great Britain. Together with these restaurants came the individuals who established and staffed them including chefs, managers, owners and waiters. The majority of hotel and restaurant staff in Britain by 1900 may have consisted of native-born Britons, but a significant minority came from France, Switzerland and Germany in particular. They had the advantage of having developed their own skills and also brought with them, in the case of chefs, their own recipes.

Some of the Germans would have worked for the numerous German eating establishments, which had opened in central London by the beginning of the twentieth

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<sup>97</sup> M[anx] N[ational] H[eritage], B115/43q, Camp IV, Knockaloe, I. O. M., ‘Final Report and Statistical Record on the Internal Administration of the Prisoners of War Camp No. IV. 1915-1919’.

<sup>98</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *Enemy...*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>99</sup> BAILY, *Craftsman...*, pp. 111-112; MNH/MS50417, J. T. BAILY, ‘Germany 1920, FEC&FWVRS’, pp. 1-2, 164, 195.

century. However, most would have found employment in hotels and restaurants not identified by their nationality. Germans were prepared to work longer hours, or even just for tips. For these waiters, a spell in England, where they could improve their English, would have enhanced their employment prospects in continental Europe. Further up the career ladder, we have identified a number of Germans in leading positions, often as managers or owners of large establishments. Ethnic professional and social networks connected Germans at all stage of the career ladder. They did not come to Britain as “uprooted” individuals (to use Oscar Handlin’s evocative but misleading metaphor of immigrants in the United States)<sup>100</sup>, but were firmly integrated into regional, national, and transnationally operating ethnic structures.

For much of the late Victorian and Edwardian period this continental staff remained largely invisible. However, with the rise of Germanophobia in Britain, they became increasingly noticeable. This process began in the years leading up the First World War, mirroring similar utterances against Germans in other sectors of the labour market. As anti-German hostility became part of the British belief system from 1914, German waiters in particular became a symbol of the enemy and faced sacking and internment. At the end of the conflict, many faced deportation. Ironically, some of those who had come to Britain to improve their English managed to do so even behind barbed wire where they took English classes. Consequently, their return to Germany did, after all, improve their employment prospects in the way they had hoped, as the observer J. T. Baily discovered.

Germanophobia in Britain continued into the 1920s but did not prevent the reappearance of the German waiter. Restaurant and hotel employees from other parts of Europe also became visible. These included Italians, who would suffer the same fate as their German counterparts in the First World War. Following Mussolini’s declaration of War upon Britain in June 1940, anti-Italian riots broke out and the British government implemented a policy of wholesale internment of enemy aliens.<sup>101</sup> The latter policy had a significant impact upon those Italians employed in catering, both waiters, as well as managers and owners of restaurants and hotels, some of whom would find themselves (and even perish) on the *Arandora Star*, sunk by a U-boat while transferring internees to camps in Canada.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, unlike the First World War, most internees regained their freedom within a year.

Migrants have played a central role in the staffing of catering establishments in Britain since the end of the nineteenth century, reflecting developments on a global scale. The *Kellner-Verein “Columbia”*, for example, was founded in New York in 1872. The Genf-based *Verein der Hotel-Angestellten* had branches in, amongst others, Montreux, Brussels and Nizza and “soon spread throughout Europe, Africa and America, mainly through its German members”. In the same vein, the *Union Ganymede* specifically coordinated the foreign branches of the *Deutsche Kellner-Bund*, and it claimed that it was present “in all cultured countries” (*Kulturstaaten*).<sup>103</sup> Britain was just one destination in a branch of the labour market, which was characterised by high mobility rates. After the Second World War, Europeans remained important in British hospitality, while the opening of overtly Italian, Indian and Chinese restaurants internationalised eating out even further. Despite the hostility

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<sup>100</sup> Oscar HANDLIN, *The Uprooted* (London, 1953).

<sup>101</sup> Lucio SPONZA, “The Anti-Italian Riots, June 1940”, in Panikos PANAYI (ed.), *Racial Violence in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1996), pp. 131-149; Wendy UGOLINI, *Experiencing the War as the ‘Enemy Other’: Italian Scottish Experiences in World War II* (Manchester, 2011).

<sup>102</sup> *Caterer*, 7, 14 June, 12, 26 July 1940; *Hotel Review*, July 1940.

<sup>103</sup> Georg EIBEN, *Geschichte...*, pp. 58, 64, 66, 69

against Germans during the First World War, their migration set a template followed by subsequent caterers from all over the world towards Britain.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Panikos PANAYI, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (London, 2010), pp. 151-180.