

**FRENCH AND GERMAN IMMIGRANTS TO BRIGHTON, 1860-
1914: A STUDY OF A TRILATERAL RELATIONSHIP**

Rosalind Eyben

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Abstract

Between 1860 and 1914, French and Germans were the principal immigrants to Brighton. The relations between them and with native residents were configured through the intersection of their ethnicity with other important identities. The absence of dense ethnic networks found elsewhere were influenced by the high proportion of women among the immigrants, attracted to work in Brighton's large services sector.

Two case studies consider local associations with mixed immigrant and native membership. The first case concentrates on the 1860s and 1870s and analyses the creation and subsequent chequered history of Brighton's French and German Protestant churches. The second concerns the early twentieth century unionisation of Brighton's hotel and restaurant workers.

The dissertation concludes that Brighton was possibly exceptional in its trilateral relationship between immigrants and natives. Brighton's proximity to London combined with its coastal location, made it highly attractive to upper class, high-spending visitors seeking a luxurious lifestyle that included goods and services only obtainable from continental Europe. French and German immigrants were not only tolerated but also welcomed by most native residents for their contribution to the town's cosmopolitan reputation, its economy and its cultural and intellectual life.

Personal Statement

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work and that I have not submitted it, or any part of it, for a degree at The Open University or at any other university or institution. Parts of this dissertation are built on work I submitted for assessment as part of A825.

Acknowledgements

I would to thank Suzanne Hinton of Brighton's Regency Square Association for her interest in my research into the French Protestant Church and for her providing me with extracts from its records. I also acknowledge with gratitude the copies of photographs, along with accompanying information, kindly provided by David Simkin of Sussex Photo.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation concerns the trilateral relations between English-speaking natives and immigrant French- and German-speakers in Brighton during the second half of the long nineteenth century, a period of growing nationalism. The interplay of ethnicity with other social categories of identity in shaping these relations is explored in the context of Brighton's cosmopolitan reputation among the city's visitors and residents who consumed the specialized goods and services the immigrants provided.

Chapter Two traces Brighton's urban history relating to trends in immigrant number and occupations and the manner and extent of their integration into local society. Chapters Three and Four are case studies of local associations with mixed immigrant and native membership, namely Brighton's French and German churches, and hotel workers' trade unions. The dissertation's local history approach facilitates a thematic argument that straddles intra-disciplinary silos.¹ The disadvantage of this approach relates to the dissertation's tight word limit: each case cannot be fully situated within its respective historiography. In Chapters Three and Four respectively the literature on evangelicism and trade unionism is briefly referenced while the present introduction discusses the historiography of French and German-

¹ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (Harlow: Pearson, Longman, Fourth Edition 2004) 139-140.

speaking immigrants' identities and relationships. This is followed by a review of the case study methodology and primary sources.

Ethnicity, identity and internationalism

Between 1860 and 1890, German and French speakers were the two largest foreign immigrant groups in Britain and remained important until 1914. The French have been under-researched with just a book chapter about their life in London and a monograph on anarchists.² As to Germans, Panakos Panayi's research provides a useful empirical overview; Stefan Manz's study of Germans in Glasgow and Robert Lee's in Liverpool provide more in-depth analysis but do not debate Panayi's conclusions.³ All three take an 'ethno-history' approach, that is uninterested in comparisons other than to throw light on their principal subjects.⁴

Contrastingly, this dissertation's equal treatment of two ethnicities and its interest in the relationships between them as well as with native residents, derives from its local history approach. Furthermore, it distances itself from ethno-history's assumption that ethnicity is primordial, instead treating

² Michel Rappaport, 'The London French from the Belle Epoque to the End of the Inter-War Period, 1880-1939', in (Eds.) Debra Kelly and Martyn Cornick, *A History of the French in London*, (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2013) 241-277; C. Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London 1880-1914* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

³ Panakos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Berg 1995); Stefan Manz, 'Negotiating Ethnicity, Class and Gender: German Associational Culture in Glasgow, 1864-1914', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 31, 2 (2013), 146-170; Robert Lee, 'Divided loyalties? In-migration, Ethnicity and Identity: The Integration of German Merchants in Nineteenth-century Liverpool', *Business History*, 54, 2 (2012), 117-153.

⁴ See discussion of 'ethno-history' in Jan and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (New York: P. Lang, 2005), 25.

ethnicity as just one of several categories, including gender and religion, that are identity markers in social life. An excellent example of how local history can challenge the categorical assumptions of ethno-history is Laura Tabili's meticulously researched monograph about foreign immigration in South Shields.⁵ She shows how for long periods ethnicity was far from being the most significant identity in shaping social relations between immigrants and natives. By looking also at immigrants' connections back home and across nation-state boundaries, her research is representative of contemporary migration studies' attention to 'transnationalism'.⁶ However, due to its more limited scope, *this* dissertation stays rooted in Brighton. Nevertheless, in examining relations between different ethnic populations in the same locality the dissertation appears to be still relatively innovative.⁷

Panayi, Manx and Lee treat ethnicity as synonymous with nationality, conforming to the census classification of foreigners from 1861 onwards, whereas this dissertation's evidence from Brighton coincides with F.C. Luebke's conclusion, in his history of German immigrants to America, that in the nineteenth century language and culture were more significant for ethnic consciousness than country of origin.⁸ Thus, in what follows 'French' and 'German' denote individuals from localities where German or French was the

⁵ Laura Tabili, *Global Migrants, Local Culture: Natives and Newcomers in Provincial England, 1841-1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁶ Steven Vertovec, 'Introduction', in (Ed.) Steven Vertovec, *Anthropology of Migration and Multiculturalism: New Directions*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 1-18 (1).

⁷ Vertovec, 5.

⁸ F.C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1999) xiii.

principal language and whose names indicate that one of these was their native tongue.

At the same time, ethnic identity as cultural belonging was increasingly influenced during the period by a nationalism that conflated ethnicity with membership of a territorially defined nation-state. 'Internationalism', which according to the Oxford English Dictionary first appeared in English print in 1851, was the ideological retort, a commitment to a common identity and cause that transcended ethnicity. Thus, in 1861, the chairman of the Brighton branch of the Evangelical Alliance spoke of 'one great cause that knew nothing of difference of country or race' (Chapter Three). By the end of the century internationalism was becoming commonly associated with socialism.⁹ 'Cosmopolitanism', on the other hand, was less of a cause and more a way of life that transcended national boundaries and as discussed in Chapter Three it was possible to be cosmopolitan and nationalist.

The methodology and its limitations

This dissertation combines quantitative analysis of census data with a case study methodology favoured by Italian and French micro-historians. What follows is an account of that methodology and its limitations; problems with the census data are reviewed within a broader discussion of primary sources in the next section.

⁹ Anne Summers, 'Gaps in the Record: Hidden Internationalisms', *History Workshop Journal*, 52 (2001), 217-227 (221).

In accordance with Kate Tiller's proposition that local history aims to understand the locality and its experience, bringing together evidence from buildings, landscape and documentation, the dissertation research started with an empirical question about the character of Brighton that attracted foreign immigrants.¹⁰ Thereafter, led by the textual primary sources, the enquiry moved towards a more theorized case-study approach, that according to Giovanni, is the hallmark of micro-history, revealing complexity and diversity, generating new insights to be explored in other contexts.¹¹

Micro-history's methodology is adapted from the Manchester school of social anthropology.¹² Well-known examples of micro-history have used extensive primary sources in seeking to model ethnographic participant observation.¹³ This method is weakened when, as in the present dissertation, such sources are relatively few. It is then difficult to achieve micro-history's aim of making visible the lives of hitherto unknown individuals, particularly women, for whom the evidence is 'fragmentary, allusive and unsatisfactory'.¹⁴ In sum, because of the fragmentary quality of the evidence, considerable caution has been taken in constructing a case study narrative. When inferences are drawn, supportive evidence from other sources is provided, wherever possible.

¹⁰ Kate Tiller, 'Local History at the Crossroads', *The Local Historian*, 37 (2007), 250-254 (250).

¹¹ Giovanni Levi, 'Microhistory and the Recovery of Complexity', in (Eds.) Susanna Fellman and Marjatta Rahikainen, *Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 121-132.

¹² Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Oxford: Polity, 2005), 40-42.

¹³ Levi.

¹⁴ A. Burton, 'Finding Women in the Archives', *Journal of Women's History*, 20, 1 (2008), 149-150.

Because press reports, on which this dissertation heavily relies, tend to favour dramatic events over every-day normality, Manchester's analysis of crises or flashpoints is used to expose the inner workings of the social system.¹⁵

Accordingly, Chapters Three and Four make full use of press reportage along with other sources to examine incidents that occurred over a relatively short time frame. These were the founding and subsequent fracturing of a combined French- and German-speaking Protestant service between 1860 and 1863, and the internationalist trade union strikes in Brighton's hotel sector in 1913 that challenged the sector's established German-speaking mutual societies.

Overall, despite the methodological limitations, Chapters Three and Four offer insights into a hitherto unexplored history of French and German immigrants in Brighton that the quantitative trend analyses in Chapter Two by themselves cannot provide.

Primary Sources

The principal primary sources on which this dissertation draws are the census enumerator schedules and newspapers. Additionally, Chapter Three uses records from Brighton's French and German Protestant churches and Chapter

¹⁵ Bruce Kapferer, 'Situations, crises and Anthropology of the Concrete', in (Eds.) T.S. Evens and Don Handelman, *The Manchester School, Practice and Ethnographic Praxis in Anthropology*, (Oxford: Berghahn Books 2006), 118-155.

Four those from the Brighton Trades Council. Limited use is made of local trades directories, letters to the Charitable Organisation Society, and ephemera including school prospectuses and trade union posters. Disappointingly, no biographical material relating to immigrants to Brighton was identified. Equally disappointing was the lack of sources in the Keep (which contains East Sussex Records along with Brighton's local history collection) relating to associations. However, valuable evidence was found in contemporary journals, as well as in rare books now digitalized and made available on line.

The national census and other reports to the House of Commons were accessed via Proquest. The digitalisation of census, probate and marriage records, accessed via Ancestry, made possible a comprehensive search of enumerator schedules for Brighton and Hove. In this dissertation Brighton is defined as the area within the current boundaries of Brighton and Hove, excluding Woodingdean, Ovingdean and Rottingdean, in 1911 still separated from Brighton by open country. The aim was to identify all adult French- and German-speakers enumerated in the census and born in France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the case of immigrants from multi-lingual countries, an individual's name, along with the province or town of birth (when indicated) was used to determine ethnicity. Naturalized immigrants were included, but not persons born in the United Kingdom. Children up to the age of eighteen were discounted unless already employed.

There are problems with both the original census reports and with the search engine used to access these. Under-enumeration may have been more frequent with immigrants than for the general population.¹⁶ Foreign names were often misspelt and the spelling changed from one census to the next, posing challenges to life-course histories. Ancestry's computer also sometimes misread names and birthplaces in the original manuscript.

Access to digitalised newspapers, primarily via the British Newspaper Archives, allowed key word searches. The Conservative *Brighton Gazette* is digitalized up to 1870, as is the *Brighton Herald* for 1873, 1877, 1881 and 1889. A digital version of the Liberal *Brighton Guardian* for 1860-69 available only a matter of weeks before completing this dissertation provided a valuable alternative perspective to the *Gazette*. For the latter part of the period, non-digitalised newspapers were read by dates known to be important to the research. Digitalisation broadens and deepens coverage of primary sources to an extent surely undreamt of by earlier generations of apprentice historians.

A final reflection

The initial choice (in 2015) of immigration as research topic exemplifies what we choose to study about the past is influenced by present concerns.¹⁷ During 2016, the author's growing anxiety about populist nationalism at home and

¹⁶ Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2004).

¹⁷ David Cannadine, 'The Present and the Past in the English Industrial Revolution 1880-1980', *Past and Present*, 103 (1984), 131-172 (132).

abroad cast a light on some primary sources she might otherwise have overlooked. Thus the study shifted from comparing German and French immigrants' experience in Brighton to exploring the tri-lateral relationships between native, French and German residents in Brighton, including the internationalist, cosmopolitan and nationalist sentiments that may have influenced these.

Chapter 2: Brighton's French and German immigrants, 1861-1914

The present chapter explores the changing profile of French and German immigrants within Brighton's urban history. It discusses local attitudes and relations with the immigrants, and considers their informal and formal associational life and the extent of their integration into local society.

'Watering place of the luxurious'

'Brighton is *par excellence*, the watering place of the luxurious,' observed the Daily Telegraph in 1870.¹ The *Observer* wrote of Brighton in 1865 as 'the Queen of watering places'.² Historians have echoed these descriptions in characterising Brighton as a resort or leisure town.³ The arrival of the railway in the 1840s improved connections with London, enhancing Brighton's popularity among the leisure class. The 'season' shifted from August-September to the late autumn and mid-winter. The opening of Victoria Station in 1860 further improved London's access to Brighton. In 1864 the Grand Hotel opened, and 1867 saw Brighton's first purpose-built concert hall, the Dome.⁴

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 16 April 1870.

² *Observer*, 10 September 1865.

³ Sue Farrant, 'London by the Sea: Resort Development on the South Coast of England 1880-1939', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 22, 1 (1987), 137-162; E.W. Gilbert, 'The Growth of Brighton', *The Geographical Journal*, 114, 1/3 (1949), 30-52; J.K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: a Social History, 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983).

⁴ *Brighton Gazette* (henceforth, *Gazette*), 30 May 1867.

Boarding schools increased in number because in Brighton, according to a school principal, 'there is every facility for giving a girl a good education, if you have the money.'⁵ This included learning French and German from foreign teachers. By 1860 Brighton was known as 'School Town'.⁶ Yet Brighton was more than either resort or school town. Based on the criterion of its dominant employer, Brighton would qualify as a 'railway town' where lived engine drivers, porters and signalmen but also the skilled workers and labourers employed in the railway company's workshops.⁷

Recent historiography has challenged the 'innate tendency among historians to categorize towns according to their apparent specialization'.⁸ Debates about a town's character become sterile when framed in terms of mutually exclusive labels and emphasising a single characteristic risks obscuring other aspects of a town's economy.⁹ Nevertheless, a label aids the analysis of a particular feature that is the selected focus of study and in the present case, Brighton can be usefully characterised as a city of consumption.¹⁰ Wealthy native visitors and

⁵ Royal Commission to inquire into Education in Schools in England and Wales, VII, (1867-68), 223.

⁶ Gilbert, 45.

⁷ Roy Bowden, 'The Problem of Boy Labour and Blind Alley Occupations Within the Context of Labour Markets of Brighton and Portsmouth, 1870-1839' (PhD thesis, University of Southampton, 1996), Chapter 3.

⁸ Matt Neale, 'Review of Peter Borsay and J.K. Walton, J. K. (Eds.) *Resorts and Ports: European Seaside Towns since 1700*, in *Urban History*, 39,4 (2012), 680-681(680).

⁹ Peter Borsay and J.K. Walton, J. K. (Eds.), *Resorts and Ports: European Seaside Towns since 1700* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2011).

¹⁰ Richard Rodger, 'Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History', *Urban History Review*, 32, 1 (2003), 54-63 (58).

residents as well as its Continental visitors were keen to enjoy in Brighton the luxuries to which they had become accustomed on the Continent.

The real truth about Brighton', commented the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* in 1883, 'is that a hundred thousand of its inhabitants live by ministering to the luxurious inclination of the other fifty thousand'.¹¹ Although most French and German immigrants were largely ministering to the 'luxurious inclination' of the minority, there were also upper class immigrants among the latter. In 1881 an Englishman declared the French had caused his compatriots 'acquiring a taste for luxuries [who acted] upon the English by their zeal as traders'.¹² Brighton's census, trade directories and newspaper advertisements show French men and women selling wine, silk, fancy goods, jewels, chocolates, fruit and millinery or providing personal services like chiropody. Germans sold watches and fancy cakes, and played in street bands. Both French and Germans contributed to the city's cultural life. Prominent among these was the pianist and impresario Wilhelm Kühe, who influenced the town council to convert Brighton Pavilion's riding stables into the Dome.¹³ Subsequently, responsible for its annual music festivals, Kühe headed a coterie of French and German performers that also taught music to the daughters of the wealthy.

¹¹ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 6 November 1883.

¹² Jennett Humphreys, 'The French Amongst Us.' *The St. James's Magazine* (June 1881), 458- 468 (459).

¹³ *Brighton Herald* (henceforth *Herald*), 20 October 1860.

Brighton flourished until the late 1870s, when there began intimations of decline, particularly in the post-Christmas season. 1882 saw the last of Kühe's annual music festivals.¹⁴ The nineteenth century Great Depression likely had a negative influence on consumption but Brighton was also facing competition from other South coast resorts, as well as from Normandy.¹⁵ Yet, Brighton 'was and always would be cosmopolitan', observed the Chairman of the Grand Hotel Company in 1890.¹⁶

Despite the national economy improving in the 1890s, 'while many persons of social position live there and more come as visitors', Brighton before 1914 was, 'no longer fashionable'.¹⁷ Seeking ideas for increasing Brighton's appeal, town councillors toured southern Germany in 1913. They concluded that German methods could not be adapted to Brighton, although they were enthused by Germany's technical education, and the *Times* supported Brighton council's proposal for a training school for cooks and waiters in a town where local young men were 'liable to drift into blind-alley occupations'.¹⁸

The 1891 Brighton census reported a higher percentage of people in professional, domestic and commercial employment than nationally. The absence of industry (apart from the railway workshop and the building trades)

¹⁴ Wilhelm Kühe, *My Musical Recollections* (London: Richard Bentley and Sons, 1896), 353.

¹⁵ *Herald*, 11 June 1881.

¹⁶ *Globe*, 13 February 1890.

¹⁷ L. Melville, *Brighton: its History, its Follies and its Fashions* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1909), x.

¹⁸ *Times*, 28 March 1913.

explains the problem of un-trained young men in dead-end jobs.¹⁹ The same census reported a higher percentage of women to men in Brighton than nationwide. The author's analysis of Brighton census data for the 1860-1910 period (Figure 2.1) shows that French women comprised about 70% of the French population throughout the period, while the percentage of women in the German population dropped from about 60% to under 20% (explainable by the growing demand for professionally-trained male waiters). These changes are discussed next.

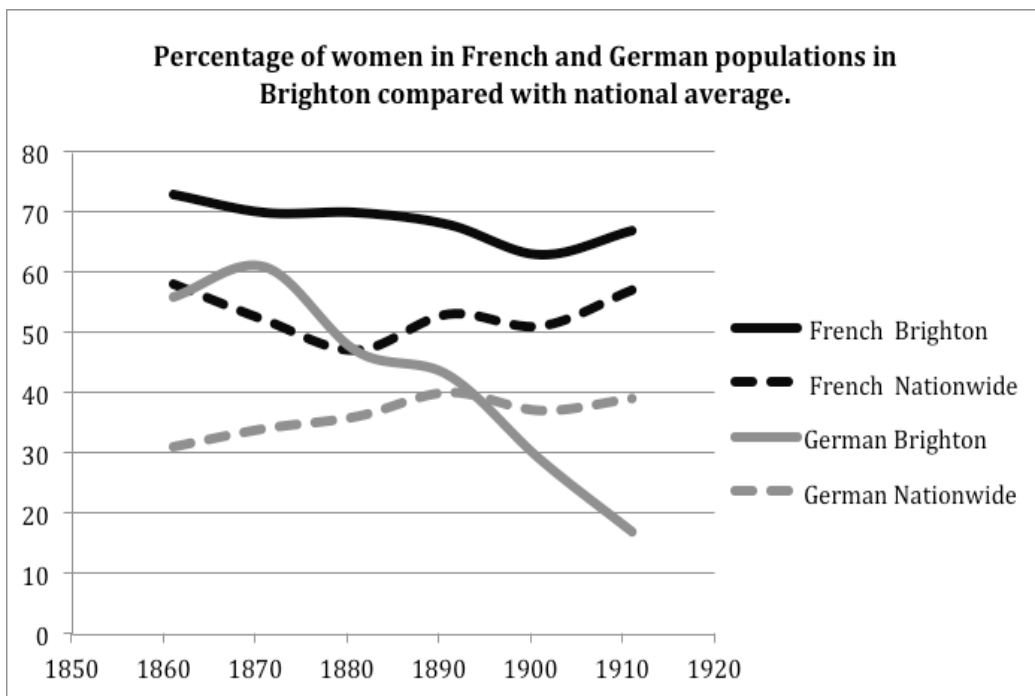


Figure 2.1 Proportions of women in French and German populations, compared with national average, 1861-1911

¹⁹ David Stainwright, 'The Development of and Access to Technical and Secondary Education in Brighton in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' (D. Phil. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1991), 73.

French and German immigrant occupations

Figure 2.2 is an analysis of the census data for French and Germans in Brighton between 1861 and 1911. The proportion of German to French increased from about 0.8/1 to about 1.6/1 while nationwide the Germans outnumbered the French about 3:1 throughout that period.²⁰ The industrial North offered opportunities for German businessmen, scientists and engineers.²¹

Contrastingly, Brighton's prevailing character as 'the watering place of the luxurious' attracted French immigrants with goods and services for upper-class consumption. The subsequent increasing proportion of Germans to French in Brighton is explainable by the decreasing demand in the latter years for French (primarily female) teachers and increasing demand for German (male) waiters.

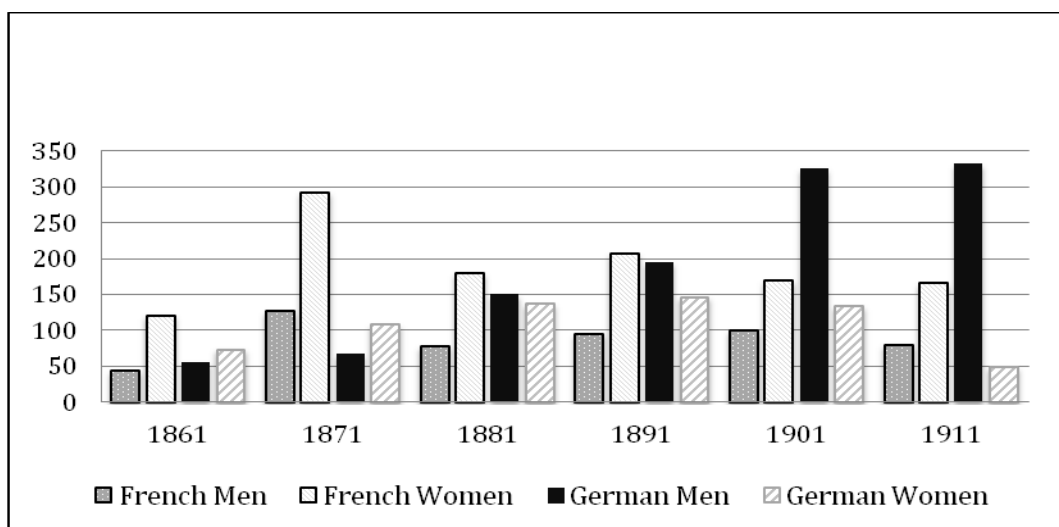


Figure 2.2 Numbers of French and Germans in Brighton, 1861-1911²²

²⁰ *Census of England and Wales, 1891*, II (1893-94), 8 and 18.

²¹ Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Berg 1995); Gerald Newton, 'Germans in Sheffield', *German Life and Letters*, 46, 1 (1993), 82-101.

²² The spike in the French in 1871 is likely explained by the presence of exiles from the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune.

The appendix to this dissertation tabulates in more detail the occupations of French and Germans in Brighton between 1861 and 1911 (page 82). Figure 2.3 provides a summary showing that teaching and domestic service remained important for the French and for German women, but by 1901 most German men worked in the hospitality sector.

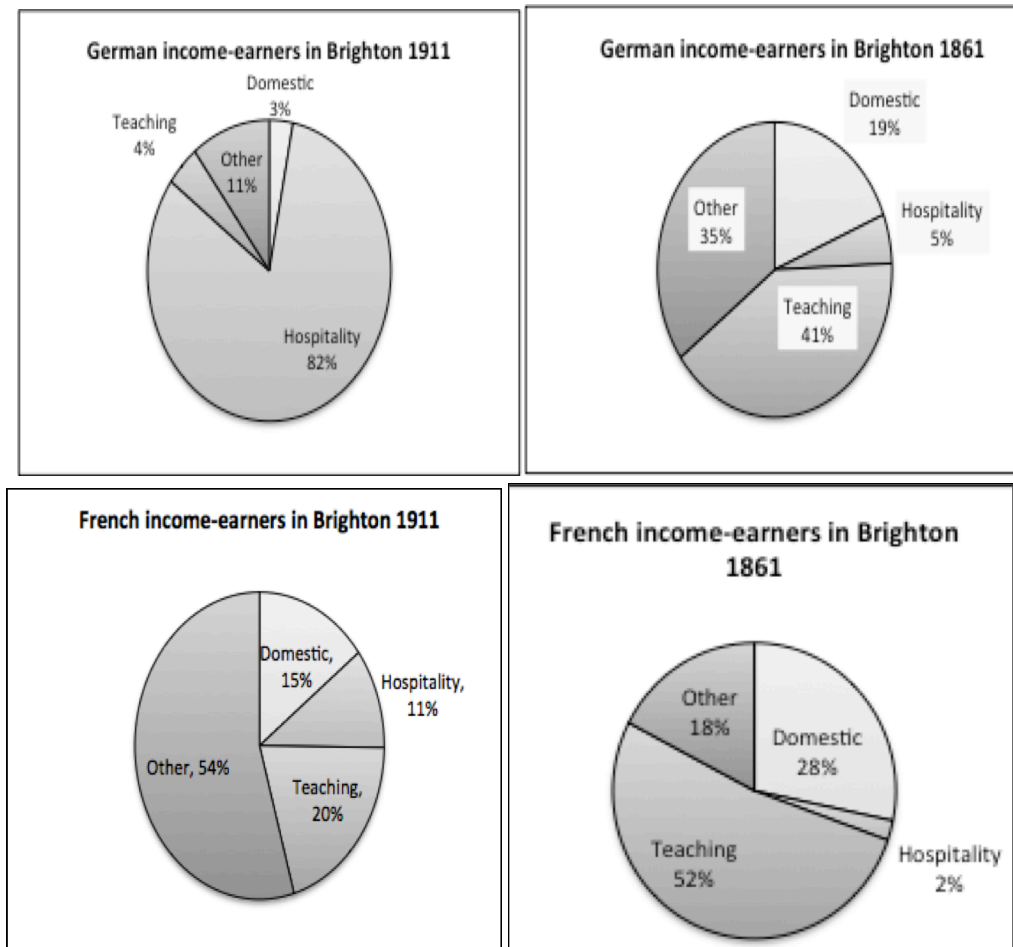


Figure 2.3 Principal Employment Sectors for French and German immigrants, 1861 and 1911

These three sectors are now examined.

Domestic service

According to David Cannadine, servants 'were an item of 'conspicuous consumption' and a 'necessary precondition for 'conspicuous leisure'.²³ Most French and German servants worked in upper-class homes, many as ladies' maids. Men, fewer in numbers, were valets, footmen or butlers. Figure 2.4 shows that from 1881 to 1901 German and French women servants steadily increased in number.²⁴ This was followed by a sharp decline from 1901 to 1911, steeper than the overall decrease in Britain's domestic service sector during that period.²⁵ Foreign servants may have become less fashionable and/or had increasing opportunities in continental Europe.²⁶

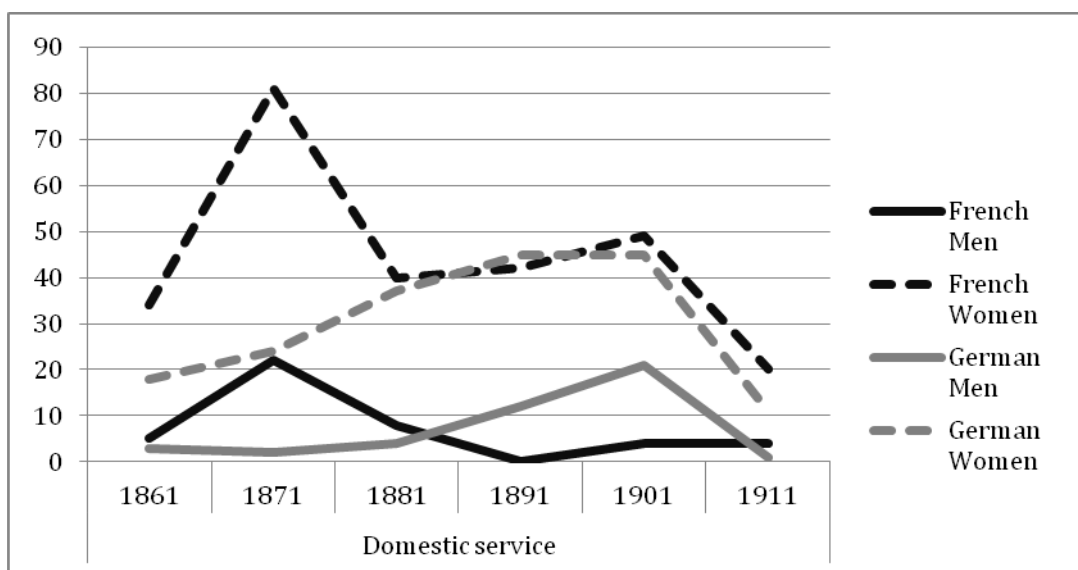


Figure 2.4 Trend-line of French and Germans employed as domestic servants in Brighton

²³ David Cannadine, 'The Theory and Practice of the English Leisure Classes', *The Historical Journal*, 21 (1978), 445-467 (449).

²⁴ The spike in numbers of French servants in 1871 represented those accompanying French families into exile.

²⁵ Cannadine, 450.

²⁶ Rafaella Sarti, 'The Globalisation of Domestic Service: a Historical Perspective', in (Ed.) Helma Lutz, *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 77-98 (84).

Hospitality

During the first half of the period, hospitality work usually involved employment in a boarding house, more rarely a hotel or, in the case of Germans, a beer house.

With the subsequent expansion in hotels and restaurants, the sector became an increasingly significant employer for German men, whose numbers shot up fourfold from 1891 to 1911 (Figure 2.5).

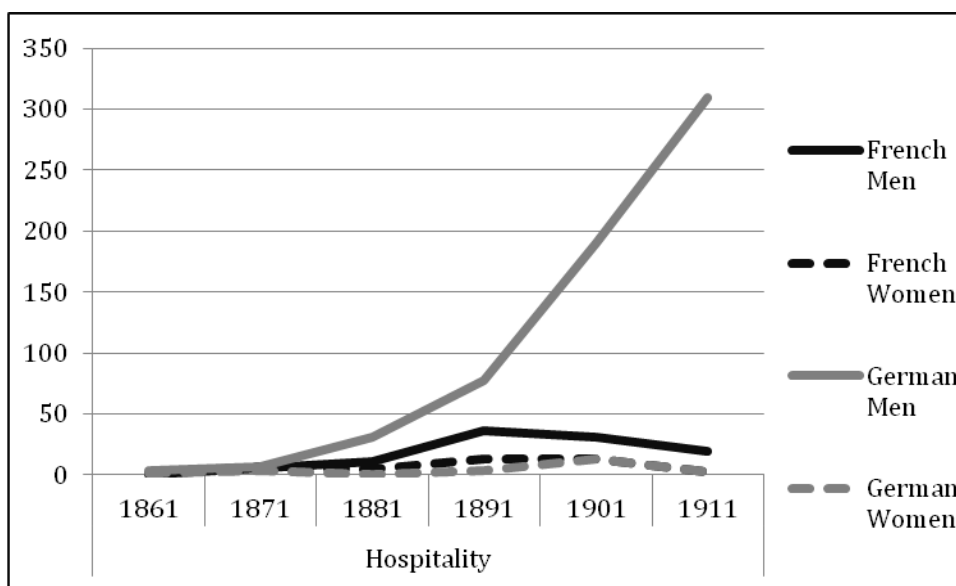


Figure 2.5 Trend-line of French and Germans employed in the hospitality sector

An English visitor to Brighton in 1863, accustomed to the culinary standards of Paris, lamented the lack of a good restaurant.²⁷ But by 1870 there were several, including the Grand Concert Hall Restaurant where K uhe entertained his friends during the Festivals.²⁸ As luxury restaurants became popular, so professionally trained hotel managers, cooks and waiters from the Continent were in high

²⁷ *Gazette*, 5 November 1863.

²⁸ 3 March 1870.

demand.²⁹ Young Germans worked in England as part of their career development; by the early 1900s over half of Brighton’s male waiters were German.

Teaching

The category ‘teacher’ includes the census terms ‘professors’ (receiving pupils in their own homes and/or visiting schools), ‘tutors’ and ‘masters’ (boys’ schools) and ‘governesses’. The latter worked in schools and private households or received pupils. Most foreign teachers taught their native language but there were also music, drawing and dancing teachers. Figure 2.6 shows teachers’ numbers shrinking after 1881 due to the declining popularity of small private girls’ schools.

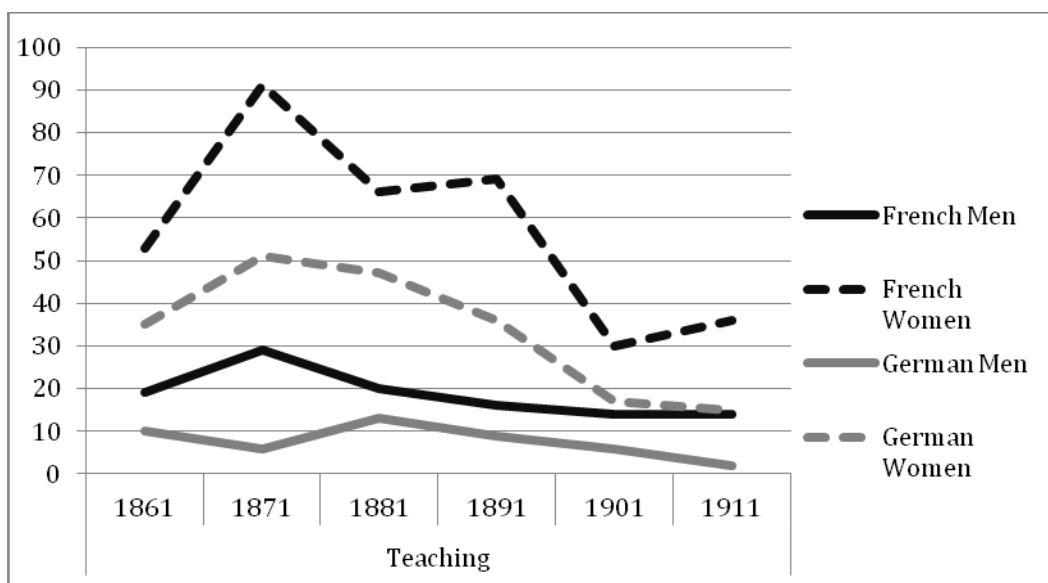


Figure 2.6 Trend-line of French and Germans employed in teaching.

²⁹ P. Panayi and S. Manx, ‘The Rise and Fall of Germans in the British Hospitality Industry, c. 1880-1920’, *Food and History*, 11, 2 (2014), 243-266.

Modern languages, along with music and drawing, were young ladies' accomplishments. However, some Brighton boys' schools also taught modern languages. According to Bayley and Ronish, French teachers in such schools often became figures of fun.³⁰ Such was the fate of Eugene Regnaud at Brighton's Varndean School -

As a Frenchman he suffered a good deal of ragging but his tiny figure and prolific beard, his twinkling eye, his personal reminiscence of the Siege of Paris, his unorthodox views on music and his knowledge of both French and English literature endeared him [to the boys].³¹

Foreigners were mocked yet were also found interesting because of their knowledge and fresh ideas. The anecdote highlights some of the complexities in the relationship between Brighton's locals and immigrants, now discussed.

Local -immigrant relations

The 1860s were a good moment for immigrating into Britain. Lord Ebury, Chair of the Society of Foreigners in Distress spoke of 'a time, happily long gone, by when nothing was held more detrimental than the advent to the country of the foreigner.....Now, on the contrary, the foreigner coming to the country was known to bring with him his skill and industry'.³²

³⁰ S.N.Bayley and D. Y. Ronish , 'Gender, Modern Languages and the Curriculum in Victorian England', *History of Education*, 21,4 (1992), 363-382 (366).

³¹ Tony Alt and Brian Robson, *Onwards and Upwards. York Place to Varndean 1884-1975* (Brighton: Old Varndeanians Association, 1975), 60.

³² *Times*, 14 June 1861.

David Cesarini's argument that foreigners, although not liked, were accepted into mid-nineteenth century Britain must be treated with caution. His evidential sources relate to minority ethnic populations, not to Britain's largest foreign populations - French and German.³³ These near-foreigners were likely easily absorbed into Brighton's population, where in 1861 only a third of its native British residents were local-born (increasing to nearly half by 1911). Moreover, Brighton census returns show the presence of middle- and working-class English residents familiar with other cultures, having lived in France and (less often) in Germany.³⁴ According to Clifford Musgrave Brighton's 'continental atmosphere' was part of its appeal.³⁵ In 1881 a visitor from Yorkshire partook a French breakfast instead of his usual mutton chop and enjoyed the 'utterly un-English character of Brighton.'³⁶ In 1865 the *Brighton Guardian* argued the economic importance of taking care of the city's foreign residents.³⁷ Brighton's appreciation of the contribution of foreigners was exemplified in 1893, when the Mayor presented Wilhelm Kühe with a cheque, 'a mark of the town's appreciation' on his seventieth birthday.³⁸ Kühe was one of several French and German residents featured in the *Brightonian's* weekly cartoon portraits of Brighton's leading citizens in the early 1880s (Figure 2.7).

³³ David Cesarini, 'An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society Before 1940', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 11,3 (1992), 24-52 (27-28).

³⁴ The 1861 census reported 26,000 British subjects domiciled in France and 7,000 in Germany, General Report (1863) 4. See also Fabrice Bensimon, 'British Workers in France, 1815-1848.' *Past & Present*, 213,1 (2011), 147-189.

³⁵ Clifford Musgrave, *Life in Brighton* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 224.

³⁶ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* 29 March 1880.

³⁷ *Brighton Guardian* (henceforth, *Guardian*), 27 September 1865.

³⁸ Wilhelm Kühe, *My Musical Recollections* (London: Richard Bentley and Sons, 1896), 382.



Figure 2.7 Wilhelm Kühe³⁹

The local press rarely reported the national origin of foreign residents, other than when like Charles Pfaff, a German watchmaker, they were criminally charged.⁴⁰ National origin was not reported for minor matters, such as when egg merchant Auguste Lemière blocked the street with his van.⁴¹ When judged favourably, foreign residents were for example described as ‘our townsman’, in the case of the singer, Herr Liebich (although the honorific denotes he was German);⁴² or, ‘Mr Boivin, an old and much respected tradesman of Brighton’.⁴³

³⁹ Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton and Hove.

⁴⁰ *Gazette*, 1 October 1857.

⁴¹ *Gazette*, 15 October 1863.

⁴² *Gazette*, 27 December 1866.

The qualifier 'French' or 'German' - or more often 'foreigner' - was applied to visitors or recent residents. The tragedies of people identified as foreign were reported with sympathy, for example the suicide of a young German hairdresser in 1913.⁴⁴

Despite the country's mood turning increasingly nationalist towards the end of the period, Brighton appears to have maintained a relative lack of concern about national identity. There also continued an interest in exchanges and learning from the Continent, such as in 1891, when there was inter-governmental tension with France, French firemen made an official visit to Brighton.⁴⁵ The councillor's visit to southern Germany in 1913, mentioned earlier, occurred also at a time of increasing tension between their two governments.

Not that learning from other nations was always viewed with favour. Brighton Trades Council objected to the Labour Party having sent a delegation to Germany in 1910 to learn about 'Life and Labour in Germany': 'the time and money would have been better spent on organising the workers in this country'.⁴⁶ It is possible that the cosmopolitan attitudes of the local press and its middle class readership had always been rarer in Brighton's back streets although incidents of hostility were very rarely reported, an exception that of

⁴³ *Brighton Argus*, 12 March 1910, cited in Angela Potts, 'The Travelling Bovins', *The Keep*, ACC/10488, 29.

⁴⁴ *Brighton and Hove Times*, 23 May 1913.

⁴⁵ *Sussex Express*, 7 July 1891.

⁴⁶ Brighton Trades Council Minutes, July 1909-June 1914 (August 1910), East Sussex Records Office (henceforth ESRO), AMS 6848/6/1/2.

Brighton Council's revocation in 1861 of the license of Jacob Behr's beer shop because of complaints by other licensed owners. The cosmopolitan perspective prevailed however with its reinstatement in 1865 after Behr's solicitor argued 'it would be a graceful compliment to a foreigner if the magistrate were to grant him a license'.⁴⁷

However, towards the end of the period, anti-German hostility was evident. Street musicians had long been unpopular with some of Brighton's population and in the 1890s, when nationwide attitudes to foreigners became less benevolent there was renewed agitation against these bands.⁴⁸ German waiters came under increasing suspicion from much of the press and from books like *The Enemy in Our Midst*.⁴⁹ In 1896 a visitor to the Metropole shot its German headwaiter in the foot for having allegedly spat at him.⁵⁰

After 1881 a small number of Jewish shopkeepers from Eastern Europe settled in Brighton, but open anti-Semitism was largely absent.⁵¹ The exception was a local campaign in 1905 against issuing trading licenses to Jewish and Italian seafront vendors, supported by the conservative *Gazette* that desired to 'keep our Front clear of aliens'.⁵² A more detailed study of local sources is required to reach firm conclusions but the evidence suggests that unfriendly, jingoistic

⁴⁷ *Gazette*, 24 August 1865.

⁴⁸ *Herald*, 8 July 1871; *Judy, the Conservative Comic*, December 1890, 274.

⁴⁹ *Daily News*, 28 July 1906.

⁵⁰ *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 30 October 1896.

⁵¹ David Spector, 'Brighton Jewry reconsidered', typescript held at the Keep, BP Box 20C (2).

⁵² Newspaper cutting in a box about Jewish History held at the Keep, BP 20 D.

sentiments came from Brighton's visitors rather than residents. There were no anti-German riots in Brighton during the 1914-18 War. With this in mind the relationships among French, Germans and natives are now briefly examined through considering Brighton's associational life, more fully discussed in the chapters that follow.

Associational Life

There is no evidence of immigrant 'colonies' in Brighton, unlike Germans or Italians in London.⁵³ Most single women – servants or governesses – lived in their employers' homes, and towards the end of the period half the German waiters were resident in the hotels and boarding houses that employed them. Otherwise, census analysis shows immigrants lived among the local population according to their status and income. Even wealthy shopkeepers like Leonie Mercier, a French court dressmaker with twelve employees in 1871, lived above her shop. Arnold and Agnes Rüge, middle-class exiles who settled in Brighton after the failure of the 1848 revolution, initially lived above Agnes' photo studio in Western Road.⁵⁴ They subsequently taught German, and when income improved moved in the 1860s to upper-middle-class Park Crescent, where Arnold became Chair of its Residents Association.⁵⁵ Less well-off families rented rooms or lived in boarding houses. A few very wealthy men like Leo Schuster

⁵³ See Panayi (1995) on Germans in the East End and for Italians in Holborn, Lucio Sponza *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988).

⁵⁴ Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 221.

⁵⁵ Ashton 140.

(1792-1871), 'one of London's...most successful German merchants', lived in style on the seafront of upper class Hove (Figure 2.8).⁵⁶ Nor is there evidence of formal associations based (at least partially) on ethnic identity other than the hospitality sector's friendly societies (Chapter Four) or the Protestant churches and the French literary society (Chapter Three).



Figure 2.8 Two, Adelaide Crescent, the home of Leo Schuster

These findings are similar to Tabili's from South Shields.⁵⁷ They contradict Manx's assertion that nineteenth-century German migrant communities had 'a dense network of religious and secular institutions in virtually all destination countries'.⁵⁸ The evidence from Brighton largely disagrees also with Panayi's

⁵⁶ *Herald*, 4 March 1871.

⁵⁷ Laura Tabili, *Global Migrants, Local Culture: Natives and Newcomers in Provincial England, 1841-1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

⁵⁸ Stefan Manx, 'Negotiating Ethnicity, Class and Gender: German Associational Culture in Glasgow, 1864-1914', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 31, 2 (2013), 146-170 (146).

comment about the 'search for ethnic solidarity' through associational life.⁵⁹ The dissimilarity of the South Shields and Brighton evidence on the one hand with that of the ethno-historians on the other is arguably a consequence of different conceptual approaches, discussed in Chapter One.

Another possible explanation for the Brighton case may be its proximity to London, which provided opportunities there for those wanting to associate on the basis of a shared ethnic identity. For example, Arnold Rüge travelled frequently to London where he founded a German political club;⁶⁰ and there were twenty-seven French associations in London towards the end of the period.⁶¹ Furthermore and importantly, the gender imbalance in Brighton's immigrant population would have worked against the creation of formal associations, which were predominantly men's domain; ethnic associations might in any case have been unattractive to women. Agnes Rüge preferred associating with the English, writing they gave greater liberty to women than did Germans to speak at public meetings.⁶²

Arguably, the more an immigrant population is integrated into the host society, the less likelihood of ethnic associations. In a study of German merchants in nineteenth-century Liverpool, Lee uses choice of wife as an indicator of

⁵⁹ Panayi, 1995, 145.

⁶⁰ Ashton, 146.

⁶¹ *Chronique de Londres*, 6 janvier 1906.

⁶² Ashton, 221.

integration and according to Tabili women were the gatekeepers to British society.⁶³ In Brighton more than three-quarters of the total number of German married men of all classes and occupations resident there between 1861 and 1911 had British wives (293 out of 384). With examples from Glasgow, Panayi and Manx argue that German hotel managers were embedded in the economy of the host society while maintaining strong connections within the immigrant German community and its network of associations.⁶⁴ As however they do not examine these managers' marital profile, it might be difficult to determine whether the relative strength of connections among German residents was associated with their choice of spouse.

Whereas German married men nationwide almost equalled the single between 1891 and 1911, analysis of the Brighton census in Figure 2.9 shows that the proportion of married German men declined from sixty-five per cent in 1861 to twenty-seven per cent in 1911. Thus the high proportion of young unmarried immigrants and the relative short duration of their residence also likely acted against creation of the dense networks of formal organisations based on ethnicity that Manx describes for Glasgow.⁶⁵

⁶³ Robert Lee, 'Divided loyalties? In-migration, Ethnicity and Identity: The integration of German Merchants in Nineteenth-century Liverpool', *Business History*, 54, 2 (2012), 117-153 (127); Tabili, 156.

⁶⁴ Panayi and Manx, 258.

⁶⁵ Manx, 2013.

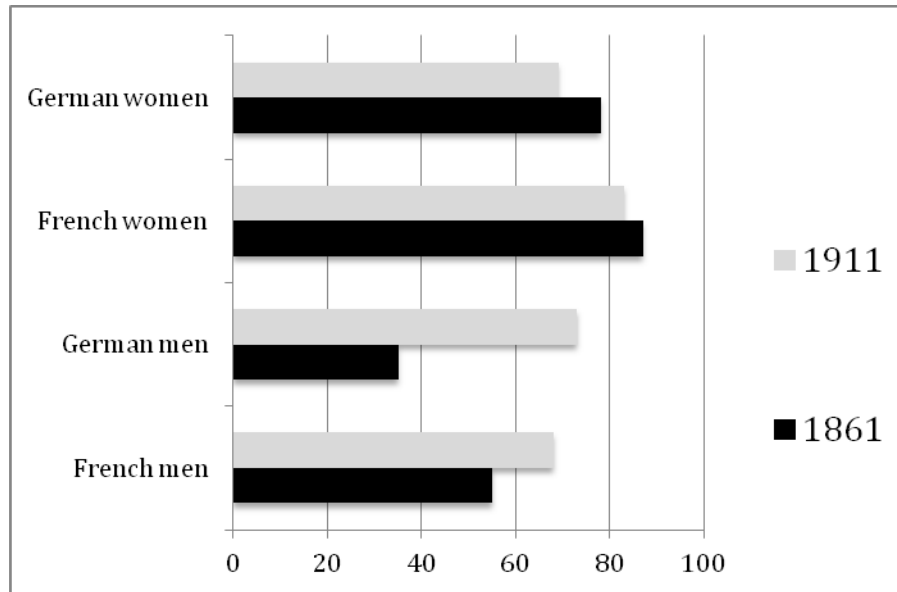


Figure 2.9 Percentage of single French and Germans in Brighton in 1861 and 1911 ⁶⁶

An absence of formal associations did not however preclude informal networking, which migration studies stress as important in enabling immigrants to find work and settle into the locality.⁶⁷ The Rüges moved to Brighton in the 1850s at the suggestion of a compatriot, Franz d'Alquen, already teaching music there.⁶⁸ In 1873, Karl Marx's daughter Eleanor found work as a governess in a Brighton school with the aid of the socialist French pastor César Pascal.⁶⁹ The help given Eleanor indicates how in Brighton immigrant support networks might be based on a common identity (in her case, political) other than ethnicity. The portrait of Agnes Rüge by Bernard de la Grave, a language teacher who took

⁶⁶ This includes the widowed.

⁶⁷ Jacqueline Maria Hagan, 'Social networks, gender, and immigrant incorporation: Resources and constraints', *American sociological review* (1998), 55-67.

⁶⁸ Ashton, 140.

⁶⁹ Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx, Family Life 1855-1883* (London: Virago, 1979), 147.

over the photography studio of compatriot Armand Boucher, nicely illustrates the possibility of intellectual friendship cutting across ethnicities (Figure 2.10)



Figure 2.10 Portrait of Agnes Rüge by Bernard de la Grave, 1878.⁷⁰

Brighton's relative paucity of ethnic associations may have also been due to the ease with which immigrant men joined associations established by the host community. Arnold Rüge was one of Brighton's French and German residents active in the 1860s in Brighton's leading scientific and literary society, the Albion.⁷¹ Others were Francois Barbier, the first French translator of *The Origin of the Species*, and artist George de Paris, honorary secretary of the Brighton Museum.⁷² De Paris was also active in establishing Brighton Library, and was

⁷⁰ Private collection of David Simkin. Boucher had died three years previously.

⁷¹ *Herald*, 8 January 1881.

⁷² http://data.bnf.fr/11890159/edmond_barbier/#other-pages-databnf. accessed 25/9/16; Henry Martin, *A History of Brighton and its Environs* (Brighton: John Beal, 1871), preface.

on the committees of the Mechanics Institute, the Hospital for Sick Children and the Local Examinations Board.⁷³ More informally, the coterie of French and German performers led by K uhe and Eduard de Paris, George's brother, also portrayed in the Brightonian (Figure 2.11) made a major contribution to Brighton's cultural life.



Figure 2.11 Eduard de Paris circa 1883 ⁷⁴

⁷³ *Herald*, 21 June 1873; *Gazette*, 10 July 1862; 23 December 1869; *Herald*, 9 March 1889.

⁷⁴ Royal Pavilion and Museums.

These were distinguished citizens. There is scarcer evidence about the associational life of the less eminent. One exception is a watchmaker, Joseph Boivin: in 1879 he became treasurer of a local philanthropic society for the district's poor and with his English wife and family (Figure 2.12) attended an Anglican church.⁷⁵



Figure 2.12 Joseph Boivin and daughters, 1881 ⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Potts, 25.

⁷⁶ *The Illustrated Penny*, 12 November 1881, reproduced in Potts, 26.

Conclusion

Brighton's character as a consumption city shaped the profile of its French and German immigrants, who brought to Brighton particular skills and products demanded by upper-class consumers. Comparison with national data and studies of German immigrants elsewhere in Britain (there are no comparable studies about the French) highlight Brighton's exceptionalism with respect to the gender imbalance between immigrant women and men and the large proportion of young singles who resided there only a few years. Those who stayed often took British spouses, raised their families locally and were integrated into local society. These factors, combined with the town's proximity to London and its generally favourable attitude towards immigrants, explain the absence of dense networks of formal immigrant associations in Brighton, although doubtlessly informal networks were important for many immigrants.

Chapter Three: Evangelical Internationalism and Church Relationships

This chapter examines the interplay of ethnicity with religious and gender identities in the trilateral relations between natives and French and German immigrants, taking as a case study the creation and subsequent chequered history of Brighton's French and German Protestant churches.

'Foreign Protestant governesses reside in this house'

In the 1851 religious census, the frequency of churchgoing in Brighton was only slightly above the national average.¹ Yet, commented the *Daily News* in 1868, 'in no other town of its size in England is there so much talking, writing and discussing about the clergy and services and sermons'. Church affairs had 'for a long time past engrossed an excessive share of... the public life of Brighton'.² During a time when anti-Roman Catholicism was pervasive in mid-century Britain, Brighton's evangelicals, led by the Reverend Clay, condemned ritualist practices as dangerous stepping-stones to Rome.³ According to Sandy Kennedy, the Catholic population in mid-century Brighton was not more than one per cent; yet anti-Catholic tensions 'reverberated in the town'.⁴ Illustrative of the

¹ K.S. Inglis, 'Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 11, 1 (1960), 74-86 (80).

² *Daily News*, 10 September 1868.

³ Charles Sandemann-Allen, 'How the Battle of Brighton Undermined the Evangelical Crusade against the Ritualists' (Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2007).

⁴ Sandy Kennedy, 'The Emergence of a Catholic Identity and the Need for Educational and Social Provision in Nineteenth-Century Brighton' (PhD Thesis, Institute of Education, 2013), 160.

tensions was a Protestant Defence Association meeting in 1863, where it was alleged that a potential Liberal Party parliamentary candidate with a French name (Dumas) was a Catholic agent of a foreign power; it afterwards transpired he was Scottish.⁵

The proportion of Catholics among Brighton's French and Germans is not known. Some mid-century Catholic immigrants likely converted to Protestantism, for example Magnus Volk, a Black Forest clockmaker, on marrying a borough official's daughter in 1850.⁶ In the 1880s, a Catholic priest worried that 'numerous' French Catholics were drifting away because of the Church's neglect.⁷ On the other hand, probate and census records indicate that Victorine Lecuire, a language teacher, already in Brighton by 1861, must have felt sufficiently supported by the Church to leave her savings to a Father Donnelly on her death in 1895.

Kennedy argues that Brighton's economic dependence upon a 'widely cosmopolitan population' meant 'it could not afford to indulge in overt anti-Catholicism'.⁸ Nevertheless, widespread Protestant anxieties in England about Catholics teaching their children meant that Catholic teachers in Brighton were at a disadvantage.⁹ Lecuire may have been discreet about her faith.

⁵ *Gazette*, 24 December 1863.

⁶ Conrad Volk, *Magnus Volk of Brighton* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1971), 13.

⁷ Kennedy, 245.

⁸ Kennedy, 12.

⁹ R. Kollar, 'Foreign and Catholic: A Plea to Protestant Parents on the Dangers of Convent Education in Victorian England', *History of Education*, 3, 1 (2002), 335-350.

In the 1860s and 70s immigrant teachers' classified advertisements in the Brighton press often mentioned their Protestant identity. This practice was most common among women. Believed to be more 'naturally' religious, their influence as teachers in a domestic space would have been seen as potentially more beneficial (or conversely, harmful) to a young person's beliefs than a man's.¹⁰ Between 1860 and 1870 forty-eight out of a total of sixty-five advertisements in the *Brighton Gazette* respecting French governesses mentioned Protestant identity. Girls' boarding school prospectuses from the 1870s included the statement, 'Foreign Protestant governesses reside in this house'.¹¹ Robert Mair's *The Educators' Guide* was reviewed at length in 1867 in the *Brighton Guardian*, respecting its thesis of there being insufficient numbers of Protestant ladies in France to fill all the available teaching posts in Britain; yet the insistence of British employers that French teachers should be Protestant obliged Catholics to lie about their religion in order to find positions.¹²

By the 1880s, anti-Catholicism had diminished in Brighton but so had the number of girls' boarding schools. These small schools, run like private homes, fell out of fashion with the growth of girls' collegiate and public schools.¹³ Table 3.1, compiled by triangulating trade directories with census returns, shows the

¹⁰ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Routledge, revised ed. 2002), 90.

¹¹ Miss Gilbertson's school, 1874, The Keep, BP 30b/16; Miss Dighton's, 30b/18 and Miss Langhorne's, BP30b/15. The last two undated but the schools are in the 1871 census.

¹² *Guardian*, 1 May 1867.

¹³ Dorothea Beale, 'Girls' Schools, Past and Present', *The Nineteenth Century* (April 1888), 541-554.

growth and eventual decline in the schools and their concomitant resident foreign governesses.¹⁴

Year	No. of Resident Teachers in Census		No. of Girls' Boarding Schools (from Census and Directory)	Name of Directory and Date of Publication
	French	German		
1861	72	45	86	<i>Folthorpes</i> 1861
1871	120	57	121	<i>Mathiesons</i> 1871
1881	85	47	80	<i>Pages</i> 1879
1891	69	36	76	<i>Pages</i> 1891
1901	44	17	35	<i>Towners</i> 1902

Table 3.1 Foreign Governesses in Brighton's Boarding Schools, 1861-1901

It had been the growth in numbers of these schools and their foreign governesses that in 1860 led to Brighton's evangelicals' concerns about the governesses' spiritual well-being.

Brighton's Evangelicals and their French and German Churches

An analysis of the relationship between Brighton's foreign Protestants and their English evangelical associates reveals a complex and sometimes conflictive history not revealed in the published, and sometimes incorrect accounts.¹⁵

These local quarrels and reconciliations, characterised more by disagreements about who made the decisions than by disputes over doctrine, were influenced

¹⁴ Brighton directories triangulated with census returns. Not all schools enumerated in the census were listed in the directory and some so listed had no pupils.

¹⁵ H. Migot, 'The French Protestant Church of Brighton and Hove' (Brighton 1928), The Keep, BH Box 7b/77; Hugh Boudin, 'Some Aspects of the History of French-Speaking Protestantism in the United Kingdom', in (Eds.) Alan Sell and Antony Cross *Protestant Nonconformity and Christian Missions* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2003), Ch. X1; Antony Dale, *Brighton's Churches* (London: Routledge, 1989), 181-184.

by an ideology of Protestant internationalism and by the involvement of local protagonists in pan- European evangelical networks, during a period when in an increasingly nationalistic Europe religious and national identity were often conflated.¹⁶

The first years: 1860-62

There were various individuals who laid claim to founding and therefore having some ownership over the French Protestant church: Mrs Hayes, a comfortably-off widow with evangelical connections; the Brighton Foreign Aid Society, run by Messrs Fox and Jardine; and Reverend Alphonse Gonin, a French Protestant minister. At the same time, Mrs Rickman Ross began organising German services in competition with those Gonin provided alongside his French services.

In April 1861 one of Brighton's leading evangelists, Douglas Fox, an anti-ritualist colleague of Clay and energetic promoter of a great variety of local secular causes, addressed the Brighton branch of the Ladies' Bible Society. He mentioned with pleasure the establishment in Brighton of a French religious service and similar plans afoot for a German service, the latter particularly necessary for Brighton's many poor musicians.¹⁷ The *Brighton Gazette* reported the names and speeches of the other gentlemen sharing the platform with Fox, but, as was the custom, it stayed silent about the ladies present, other than

¹⁶ Hugh McLeod, 'Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe', *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, 15,1 (2015), 7-22.

¹⁷ *Gazette*, 18 April 1861.

noting the Chairman's thanks to their auxiliary committee. All-male committees fronted evangelical causes but encouraged ladies' auxiliary committees, responsible for much of the day-to-day business and for fund-raising.¹⁸

Mixed committees were rare except when the clientele was female, for example the Female Servants Home established in 1851 for young women newcomers to Brighton, on whose committee sat Mrs Hayes along with John Smither, secretary of the Continental and Church Society. Mrs Smither was the principal of a girls' school with sixteen pupils and three resident governesses, including a young French and a German, both indubitably Protestant.¹⁹ Mrs Hayes' interest in the situation of single young female newcomers to Brighton may have explained her enthusiasm for the welfare of governesses.²⁰ In a history of the French Church written in 2002, and without sources, F.J. Orna-Ornstein wrote that Mrs Hayes formed a committee, known as the Mission to Foreigners, to work among French and German teachers and governesses.²¹

Mrs Hayes may have also been present at the 1861 annual meeting of the Brighton branch of the Evangelical Alliance where Douglas Fox, its Chairman, spoke of 'one great cause that knew nothing of difference of country or race'.²²

The Alliance was an international Protestant inter-denominational network

¹⁸ F.K. Prochaska, 'Charity Bazaars in England', *Journal of British Studies*, 16, 2 (1977), 62-84.

¹⁹ *Gazette*, 2 February 1860; 23 March 1865; 1861 census.

²⁰ *Gazette*, 26 November 1863.

²¹ F.J. Orna-Ornstein, 'Brief Notes on the History of the Church', unpublished ms. (2002), Regency Square Association.

²² *Gazette*, 14 November 1861.

founded in 1846 in London, where its meeting had a 'distinct European dimension' with participation from leading French and German Protestant theologians.²³ In Brighton, the Alliance consisted of ministers of religion and laymen, active in the Town Mission, zealous to relieve poverty in Brighton and protect the spiritual welfare of the vulnerable.²⁴ Alliance supporters were also active in Brighton's Foreign Aid Society that collaborated with other European Protestants to spread Protestantism across the Continent. Fox was its Chairman and a lawyer, John Jardine, its secretary.²⁵ They held the same offices in Mrs Hayes' Mission to Foreigners. Both were Europhiles. Jardine had studied at the Sorbonne and Fox, as Chair of Brighton College Governors, impressed on the students the importance of French and German, with a literature 'almost as elevating as ancient Greek'.²⁶

Fox and Jardine were in contact with Pastor Marzials from the French Reformed Church in London and arranged for him to inaugurate in February 1861 a French service in North Street Chapel. On that occasion the *Gazette* was informed that Reverend Samuel Bost would shortly be appointed the resident French minister.²⁷ However, no more was heard of Bost; by November 1861 the 'French pastor' was reportedly Alphonse Gonin.²⁸

²³ Ian Randall 'Evangelicals and European Integration,' *European Journal of Theology*, 14, 1 (2005), 17-26 (17).

²⁴ *Gazette*, 7 November 1861; 6 December 1866; 2 November 1862; 27 November 1862.

²⁵ 6 March 1862; 28 February 1861.

²⁶ *Gazette*, 28 February 1861; *Guardian*, 26 December 1877.

²⁷ *Gazette*, 7 March 1861.

²⁸ 21 November 1861.

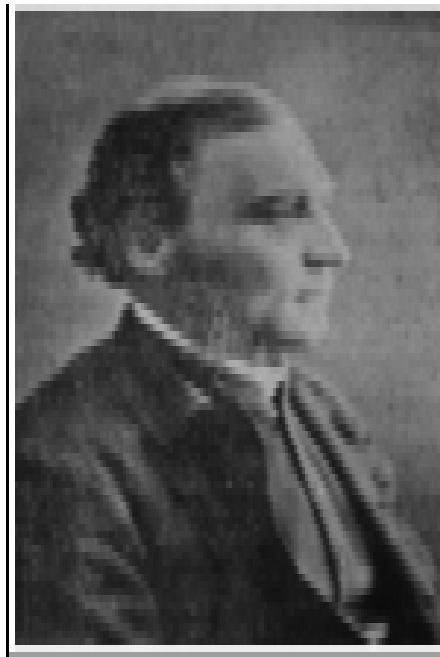


Figure 3.1 Alphonse Gonin, 1835-1883 ²⁹

Gonin, born in Lyons of a French mother (whose name he took) and of a father with a German name (Mannberger), studied at Montauban's Protestant Faculty of Theology. By early 1861 he was teaching in Brighton's Camden House School, whose headmaster was fervently evangelical.³⁰ Gonin appears to have been bilingual. In 1861, when external examiner for modern languages at Raglan House boys' school, he signed as 'Pasteur francais et allemand'.³¹ According to Migot, the 'Mission to Foreigners' called on Gonin to minister to the French-speaking residents and visitors'.³² Orna-Ornstein adds that within a year Gonin had a congregation of over one hundred. Likely faced with a fait accompli, Jardine, Fox and Marzials abandoned any attempts to recruit another minister and accepted Gonin as pastor. In February 1862 Jardine, as Secretary to the

²⁹ Frontispiece to Migot.

³⁰ 1861 census; *Gazette*, 27 September 1866.

³¹ *Gazette*, 26 December 1861.

³² Migot, 7.

Mission to Foreigners, advertised that Gonin would be regularly conducting French services in North Street Chapel.³³ Two weeks later the same advertisement was published with additional information about a Sunday-evening German service. However, below it was another advertisement (published for the first time) concerning another German service. Its phrasing clearly challenged the Mission to Foreigner's service, offering instead one 'precisely after the manner of the Protestant Churches in Germany' (Figure 3.2).

M ISSION TO FOREIGNERS IN BRIGHTON
 THE FRENCH AND GERMAN SERVICES are regularly held EVERY SUNDAY. The former in NORTH STREET CHAPEL, at Three p.m.; the latter in ST. MARGERET'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, Regency Square, at Seven in the evening.
 Portland House, JOHN JARDINE, LL.D.,
 Portland Place. Hon. Secretary.
 Subscriptions and Donations will be thankfully received and any information given.
 This Mission has no connection whatever with any other Service to Foreigners in Brighton.

D EUTSCHER GOTTESDIENST
 CONTRIBUTIONS are earnestly solicited to defray the expense of the Service of the GERMAN CHURCH, which was opened in TEMPERANCE HALL, WINDSOR STREET, NORTH STREET BRIGHTON,
 at Eleven o'clock on Sunday morning, February 16th, 1862.
 The SERVICE, which will be held every Sunday at the same hour, is conducted precisely after the manner of the PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN GERMANY.
 Contributions will be thankfully received by
 Mr J. C. DOLLMAN, Hove Library, Western Road,
 Mr W. SIMPSON, 31, King's Road, and
 Mr MOLYNEUX, 207, Western Road.

Figure 3.2 Adjacent announcements of competing German services, 1862

³³ Gazette, 27 February 1862

1863: The French church splits and the German church established

In November 1862, the Mission to Foreigners was still advertising Gonin's services in German as well as French.³⁴ But in the New Year of 1863, without mentioning the German services, it advertised that Pastor Marzials from London would conduct the French service.³⁵ Gonin had been dismissed without the consent of the congregation: one hundred persons from both the French and German services signed a call for him to continue as their pastor (Figure 3.3).

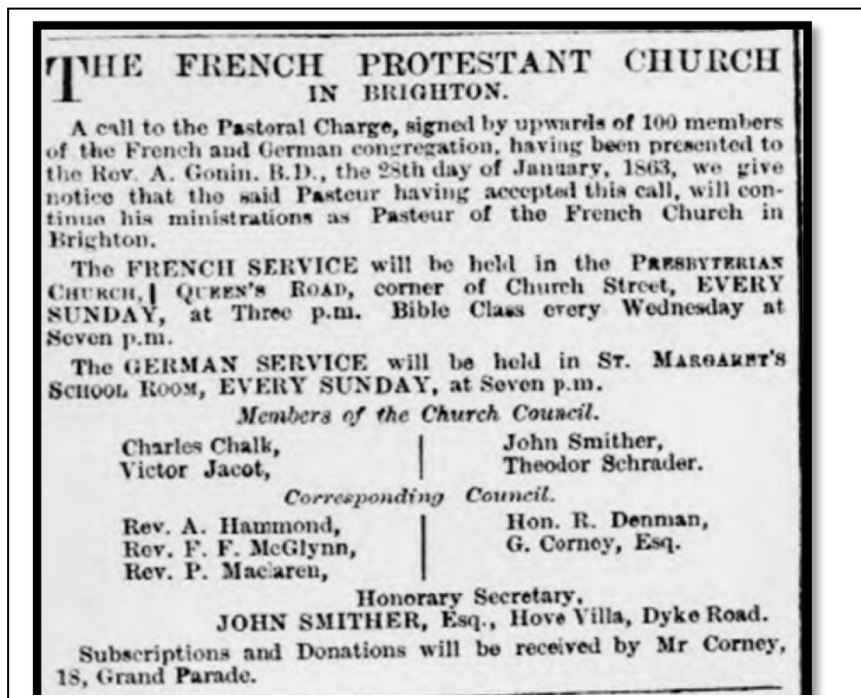


Figure 3.3 The committee for the Franco-German services³⁶

Gonin's congregation established their own French service in the Presbyterian church of the Reverend McClaren, one of several among Brighton's leading evangelical ministers who supported Gonin, including Reverend Clay, the

³⁴ *Gazette*, 6 November 1862.

³⁵ *Gazette*, 8 January 1863.

³⁶ *Gazette*, 5 February 1863.

incumbent of St Margaret's Chapel, who allowed the continuation of Gonin's German services on his premises. John Smither, Mrs Hayes' colleague at the Female Servants' Home, became secretary of a newly formed committee with two immigrant members. Theodor Schrader lived in Brighton in 1862-63 and then returned to Germany to become a pastor.³⁷ Victor Jacot was Swiss, a French language teacher, and a member of the (rather disreputable) Protestant Defence Association that encouraged rioting against the Ritualists.³⁸

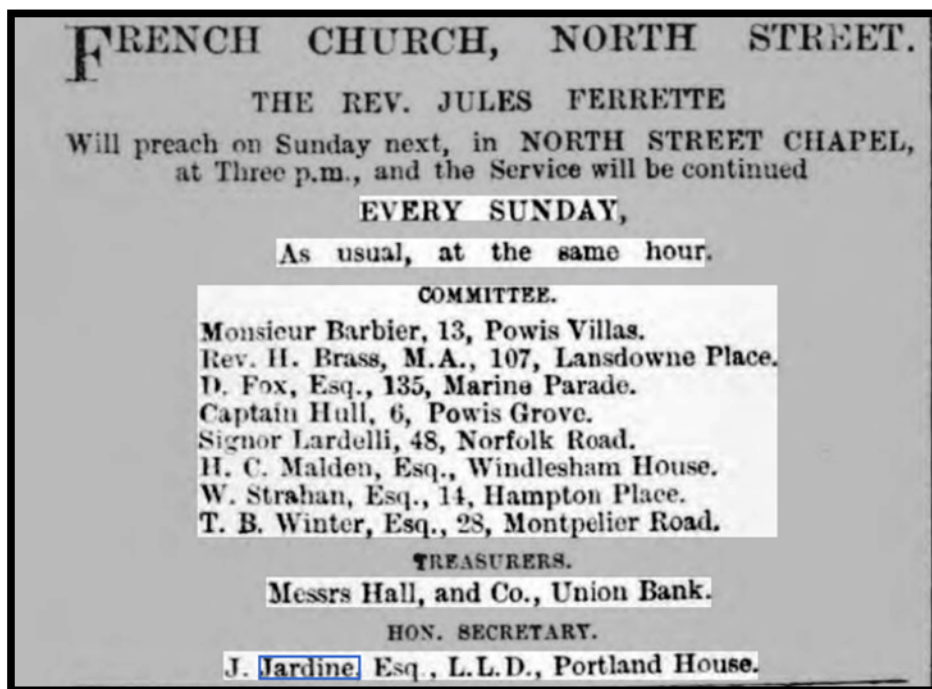


Figure 3.4: *The committee of the North Street Chapel French Service*³⁹

The Mission to Foreigners service responded by making public its own committee (Figure 3.4), likewise with two foreigners – Barbier, the scientific translator (Chapter Two), and Lardelli, an Italian singer. Lardelli and his

³⁷Annual Report of Brighton' German Evangelical Church (1886) London Metropolitan Archives, (LMA) 4288/G/01/060.

³⁸ 1861 census; *Gazette*, 8 March 1866.

³⁹ *Gazette*, 26 February 1863.

Brighton-born wife, also a singer, formed part of the musical coterie led by Kühe and de Paris discussed in Chapter Two. The list of the committee's English lay members, including Fox and Jardine, was more impressive than that which Gonin could muster. Moreover, the committee secured the patronage of the Bishop of Chichester, additional to the continued support of London's French Pastor Marzials.⁴⁰ It was the church of Brighton's establishment.

The committee recruited from France César Pascal as its new minister. Pascal arrived in March 1863 and was formally installed by Marzials in June.⁴¹ Pascal had graduated from Montauban the year after Gonin and from his later writings appears to have considered himself a political exile from Second Empire France.⁴²

The dispute rumbled on during summer 1863. In May, likely in response to Pascal's already evident intellectual standing, Gonin sought to establish his own academic credentials by giving two public lectures – on the Reformation – the only occasion that he appears to have done so in the twenty years he was in Brighton.⁴³ In September he re-named his church 'The French and German Protestant Church'.⁴⁴ In October Smither wrote to the *Gazette*, explaining that Gonin had formed the French and German congregations in Brighton in early

⁴⁰ 14 April 1863.

⁴¹ *Gazette*, 26 March 1863; *Evening Standard*, 10 June 1863.

⁴² Cesar Pascal, 'Introduction', in Victor Hugo, Louis Blanc, Cesar Pascal, Henri Testard, *Revenants: Pages Supprimées Par L'Empire* (Bruxelles: Ch. Sacré Dusquene, 1873).

⁴³ *Guardian*, 13 May 1863.

⁴⁴ *Gazette*, 3 September 1863.

1861; that services had regularly continued since then, along with one thousand visits to French people and more than five hundred to poor German families.⁴⁵ Fox in response challenged Smither's version of events as 'incorrect and calculated to misinform'.⁴⁶ According to Fox, it was the Mission to Foreigners with Reverend Marzials that had formed the congregation; it was the Mission's committee 'of English and foreign gentlemen' which had recruited and then dismissed Gonin. He added it was correct that the committee had authorised Gonin to conduct German services, but since then 'a regular service has been organised under the especial patronage of HRH the Duchess of Cambridge and under the direct superintendence of the Protestant German clergy of London'.

The quarrel, now fully in the public domain, had to be settled. On November 19th, Gonin's committee informed the public that as clergymen from London were now meeting the spiritual needs of Brighton's Germans, 'it was happy to relieve itself from the responsibility of the German service, hitherto conducted by Pasteur Gonin'.⁴⁷ Evidence of such needs being met was the visit to Brighton eleven days earlier of the minister from the German Evangelical Church in Islington, who baptised the infants of two street musicians.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Gazette*, 21 October 1863.

⁴⁶ 29 October 1863.

⁴⁷ 9 November 1863.

⁴⁸ Record of Baptisms of the German Evangelical Church in Brighton, LMA/4288/G/01/58.

The timing of Gonin's resignation was likely influenced by the elaborate advance publicity relating to the other German church's bazaar organised by Mrs Rickman Ross including a concert by Brighton's distinguished German performers (Figure 3.5).

ROYAL PAVILION, BRIGHTON.

A FANCY BAZAAR
will be held on
THURSDAY, FRIDAY, and SATURDAY,
19th, 20th, and 21st NOVEMBER,
Under the Distinguished Patronage of
H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF CAMBRIDGE, and
H.R.H. THE PRINCESS MARY ADELAIDE OF CAMBRIDGE,
FOR THE

BENEFIT OF THE PROTESTANT GERMAN SERVICE
conducted in the **newly** Rooms. There will be
A MORNING CONCERT
on each day, at which
FRAULEIN MEHLHORN, FRAULEIN SCHULZ,
HERR KUHE,
HERR DERFEL, HERR LIEBICH,
and other Artists have kindly promised their valuable assistance.

ADMISSION..... **HALF-A-CROWN.**

Doors to be open at Two o'clock p.m. on the First Day, and Ten o'clock a.m. on the Second Day.

There will also be an
EVENING MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT,
Admission on each day at Five o'clock, **ONE SHILLING.**

THE 1ST SUSSEX VOLUNTEER RIFLE BAND
will be in attendance each Evening.

Tickets to be obtained of R. Potts and Co. (late F. Wright), 167, North Street, and 106, King's Road, and at all the principal Music Sellers.

Contributions for the Bazaar will be gratefully received by Mrs RICKMAN ROSS, 32, Palmeira Square, Hove; by Mrs FREDERIC F. HALLETT, Manor House, Kemp Town; and by Mrs BENJAMIN BROWN, 31, Montpellier Crescent, Brighton.

There will be a
STALL FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE FRENCH SERVICE
held in North Street Chapel,—Pastor, M. PASCAL.
Contributions for the same will be gratefully received by Mrs JOHN HAYES, 20, Montpellier Villas; and by Mrs DOUGLAS FOX, 135, Marine Parade, Brighton.

Figure 3.5 Mrs Ross' Bazaar for the German Church, 1863⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Gazette, 12 November 1863.

Brighton's German Evangelical Church had been the brainwave of Mrs Rickman Ross whose other philanthropic activities were secular rather than evangelical.⁵⁰ Married to a wealthy manufacturer who died in 1864 leaving £40,000, Mrs Ross was known for her 'liberality and kindness'.⁵¹ This included providing new uniforms to Brighton's Town Band of largely German musicians and thereafter arranging for them to play at the bazaars she organised.⁵²

In his address to the Ladies Bible Society in 1861 Fox had mentioned plans for a German service. As Mrs Ross' plans gradually developed, Jardine and Fox likely instructed Gonin to cease his German services, dismissing him when he refused to do so. The quarrel and the role of the leading individuals involved provide insight into the trilateral relations, identities and views among Brighton's evangelicals and its Franco-German immigrants. An analysis follows.

Brighton's local evangelicals, led by Fox, as chair of the Alliance, were committed to spreading and strengthening international Protestantism that knew no boundaries of race or nationality. Thus in theory, they would have liked Gonin's missionizing that brought French and Germans together into a single community. On the other hand, they disliked his grassroots charismatic approach, on which they sought to impose the bureaucratic management structure of a Mission to Foreigners. From the start they had problems with

⁵⁰ *Gazette*, 20 March 1862; *Gazette*, 2 June 1864.

⁵¹ National Probate Calendar, ancestry.co.uk; *Gazette*, 12 March 1863.

⁵² *Gazette*, 1 August 1861.

Gonin's independence and only reluctantly agreed to appoint him after Marzials' efforts to recruit another had come to naught.

As pastors, Marzials and Gonin were likely on different sides in the doctrinal and institutional disputes – the two axes of contention raging throughout the 1860s within the wider French Reformed Church.⁵³ Their institutional quarrel about may have mirrored one between Marzials and his co-pastor Daugaars.⁵⁴ Gonin evidently believed the congregation rather a centralised authority, in this case Marzials and the Bishop of Chichester, should choose their pastor.⁵⁵ There may have been also doctrinal arguments within Gonin's congregation, indicated by the French translator of the *Origin of the Species* serving as a committee member in the Marzials-approved church.

Mrs Ross' plans for a German church with a German pastor brought these issues to a head and the French church split. Probably the majority of the original congregation of governesses and women servants remained with Gonin while over time the German street musicians, despite Gonin's pastoral visits, were wooed away by Mrs Ross. Mrs Ross also secured support from other quarters, including royalty and the press. In its detailed article on the German church on the occasion of the first bazaar, the *Guardian* approved her initiative. It

⁵³ André Encrevé, *Protestants Français au Milieu du XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Labor et Fides, 1986; *Evangelical Christendom* (February 1864), 70.

⁵⁴ *Spectator*, 28 January 1860.

⁵⁵ For this distinction, see Sebastien Fath, 'Evangelical Protestantism in France: An Example of Denominational Recomposition?' *Sociology of Religion*, 66, 4 (2005), 399-418.

commented that when Mrs Ross first came to Brighton, she found about five hundred Germans who had to depend for religious instruction on a French pastor rather than on a minister of their own nationality.⁵⁶ The article continued by noting that an Ambassador of a foreign court [Prussian?] on holiday in Brighton had expressed his satisfaction in attending the service [implying he would not have attended a service in German given by a Frenchman]. Despite the evangelical internationalist creed, it appeared that nationality *did* matter, causing Brighton's German residents to lose the religious services and visits of a resident pastor.

Finally, there were Mrs Hayes and Mrs Ross. Bazaars were an important means for upper-middle-class women to employ their managing and organisational skills and to become known in the public sphere. In referring to the amount raised at her first bazaar for the German church, the *Guardian* wrote that it gave entire credit to Mrs Ross, not only for the bazaar but also for establishing this German service in Brighton.⁵⁸ This appears to have actually been the case. Jardine and Fox were not involved and only later was a church committee established. It was a different story from the more complex origins of the French church, despite Mrs Hayes' claims to be its originator when she spoke to the *Gazette* at the German bazaar where Mrs Ross had consented to the presence of a stall for Pascal's church (Figure 3.5).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *Guardian*, 25 November 1863.

⁵⁷ *Gazette*, 26 November 1863.

Mrs Hayes may not have wanted Gonin as pastor if, as seems likely, he was among those ministers of religion who objected to raising money through 'fancy fairs', opting instead to marry a local heiress.⁵⁸ Mrs Hayes would have been happier with Pascal, who had no objection to bazaars. As for Mrs Ross, an independent German church provided her with own cause, including a free rein to run bazaars.

The Years of Separation, 1864-1877

Bazaars, observed the Gazette, 'are becoming quite the rage and emulation among the ladies to contribute to these acts of charity is very great.'⁵⁹ They required planning and organizational skills and cultivating social networks for upper-class patronage, and for middle-class ladies to run stalls. Insofar as royal patronage was concerned, Mrs Ross had the advantage over Mrs Hayes.

However, at her 1863, 1864 and 1865 bazaars she did allow Mrs Hayes to set up a stall for Pascal's French service.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Mrs Hayes succeeded in persuading the aristocratic UK Beneficent Association to let her include a stall for the French service at its 1867 Brighton Grand Fancy Fair and Bazaar.⁶¹

Thanks to Mrs Hayes, Pascal's French services may have secured more support from Brighton's upper-middle-class establishment than did Gonin's. Yet, Pascal himself appears to have been slow in fund-raising or indeed in evangelizing

⁵⁸ *Guardian*, 26 April 1865.

⁵⁹ *Gazette*, 21 November 1861.

⁶⁰ 14 April 1864; 28 September 1865.

⁶¹ 31 October 1867.

among his compatriots. In 1865 he left his flock for a four-month voyage to the United States, and his published account was followed by many other publications, including a historical novel.⁶² On the other hand, Pascal initiated for Brighton's teachers 'La Societé de la Literature Francaise', which in 1868 held its first public annual meeting.⁶³ The London *Graphic* was supportive of its aim 'to promote a literary and social fraternization' between Brighton's local and continental residents'.⁶⁴ The *Guardian*, equally congratulatory, considered the society made a significant contribution to Brighton's 'cosmopolitan character'.⁶⁵ For 1869 Pascal chose as theme for the Society's work 'the role of women in society', and this theme was discussed in December 1869 in a meeting room filled not only with French residents but also 'English ladies and gentlemen'.⁶⁶

While Pascal was concerned with Brighton's governesses' intellectual welfare, Gonin busied himself with their practical problems. In 1865 he filled 'a long-felt need' by establishing a home for foreign governesses, where they could stay in school vacations and between positions.⁶⁷ Here, Gonin pursued his commitment to working across ethnic and national boundaries. Supported by Reverend Clay, Dr Bienneman (a German physician) and John Smither, Gonin leased a house in Sillwood Place. Fraulein Steffen (who taught German, French, Italian and piano)

⁶² Césair Pascal, *A Travers l'Atlantique et dans le Nouveau-Monde* (Paris: Librairie E. Dentu, 1870); Obituary, *Bulletin de l'Histoire Protestante Française*, 61, 1 (1912), 96.

⁶³ *Guardian*, 16 December 1868.

⁶⁴ *Graphic*, 9 July 1870.

⁶⁵ *Guardian*, 8 December 1869.

⁶⁶ 16 December 1868; 8 December 1869.

⁶⁷ *Gazette*, 21 December 1865.

organised sales of work for the Home.⁶⁸ An expanding group of aristocratic English and German ladies were advertised as its patrons, and Brighton's leading singers and instrumentalists, including Kùhe and de Paris, raised money for the Home.⁶⁹

Soon after his marriage to a wealthy heiress Gonin purchased the Newburgh Assembly Rooms in Cannon Place, consecrating them as a church in 1868.⁷⁰ He allowed the German Church to continue there its monthly service that was at that time experiencing a frequent turnover of visiting pastors from London.

Both Gonin and Pascal served on the local organising committee for the annual conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in Brighton in 1873.⁷¹ The difference between the two pastors was evidenced at an international Protestant convention in Brighton in 1875: Pascal and Marzials organised a service for visiting French-speaking pastors whereas Gonin held a service of reconciliation for French and German pastors, with the collection dedicated to the Home for Foreign Governesses.⁷²

⁶⁸ 17 October 1867; 5 December 1867; 25 August 1859.

⁶⁹ *Sussex Advertiser*, 7 December 1878.

⁷⁰ *Gazette*, 28 December 1865; 13 September 1868.

⁷¹ *Herald*, 26 April 1873.

⁷² *The Brighton Convention for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness* (London: SW Partridge, 1875), 390.,

In 1877 Pascal announced his resignation and he left Brighton to become a lecturer in Paris at the Association Philotechnique.⁷³ His congregation, possibly never large, asked to merge with Gonin's in Cannon Place.⁷⁴ The French split was over.

The Latter Years: 1878-1914

After becoming pastor of a united congregation, Gonin lived for only a few years, dying in 1883 at the age of forty-eight.⁷⁵ The governesses' home closed within two years.⁷⁶ A new church council was established, with eight gentlemen 'representing most sections of the English community' plus three French residents.⁷⁷ Members of an auxiliary ladies' committee were mainly French.⁷⁸ In 1886, when the trust managing Gonin's estate raised the rent for the Newburgh Rooms, the council decided to build a new church. There are conflicting accounts as to how this was achieved and whether it was the English or French, women or men who had made the most effort. According to Migot, 'the then pastor proceeded to France ... and the gifts he brought back made possible the purchase of a piece of ground' while Mrs Hayes, her brother and her friends Mesdemoiselles Abrassart and Pettitory, (French language teachers)⁷⁹ raised the

⁷³ *Herald*, 20 October 1877; 29 December 1877; César Pascal, *De Glacier en Glacier, en Suisse et en Savoie* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1881) 8.

⁷⁴ Orna-Ornstein.

⁷⁵ *Mid-Sussex Times*, 19 June 1883.

⁷⁶ The last entry in *Pages Directory* is 1884; the Home had a stall at a London bazaar in 1885 (*Morning Post*, 22 April 1885).

⁷⁷ Pamphlet on the French Reformed Church, 1887, ESRO/AMS 6930/15/3.

⁷⁸ Migot, 7.

⁷⁹ 1881 and 1891 census.

construction funds.⁸⁰ Alternatively, according to the pamphlet printed in 1887, it was the church council – ‘a committee of English reverend and military gentlemen, along with the pastor of the French church in London’ who raised the funds.⁸¹



*Figure 3.6 The French Reformed Church in Queensbury Mews*⁸²

There followed a turbulent period of quarrels.⁸³ In a seeming mirroring of events thirty years before, the church council dismissed their pastor against the wishes of some of the congregation, including the Abrassart sisters.⁸⁴ English and French members of the congregation were on both sides of the dispute. A General Newmarsh, who scuffled with the doorkeeper, was summoned for

⁸⁰ Migot,10.

⁸¹ ESRO/AMS 6930/15/3.

⁸² Author's photograph.

⁸³ Minutes of the Council of the Église Réformée Française, 1894.

⁸⁴ Minutes.

assault.⁸⁵ Eventually Koene, a Belgian Pastor, was appointed. In November 1912, the Church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with the participation of the Mayor of Brighton.⁸⁶

The French church's institutional integration into Brighton's middle-class society was in the context of increasing local enthusiasm in Brighton for everything French. This included Brighton hosting in 1881 a music festival involving two thousand singers from France, organised by Bernard de la Grave (Figure 3.7) who was a language teacher, photographer and friend of Pascal.⁸⁷



Figure 3.7: Portrait of Bernard de la Grave 1882⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 February 1894.

⁸⁶ Orna-Ornstein.

⁸⁷ *Gazette*, 29 July 1869; *Herald*, 20 August 1881

⁸⁸ From original in possession of David Simkin.

Meanwhile, Brighton's German church appears to have become increasingly marginalised. After the 1860s there was no further mention of royal patronage, and its patron, Mrs Ross, died in 1887. However, according to the church's annual reports of 1886 and 1889, the assumption of responsibility for the monthly service by Pastor Wagner from Sydenham (and advised by Gonin) created a new energy.⁸⁹ Wagner organised a gender-mixed church committee, this in contrast with the larger German church in Glasgow and general practice in Germany where women had no decision-making rights.⁹⁰ On the other hand, unlike its French counterpart, the church had no English members, although English ladies were involved in its work. The German services became fortnightly, a library was established, a poor fund was created and Miss Williams ran a bible class. There were cordial relations between the French and German churches and an English lady, Mrs Martindale, held an 'at home' for French and German governesses. Gonin participated in the German church's festivities and his successor Pastor Massis, speaking at the church's annual general meeting in 1885, stressed the two churches had a common creed and ... 'no difference in their relations to each other.'⁹¹ The Germans rented the newly built French church for their services, while Mademoiselle Abrassart and Mrs Gonin both made regular donations to the German church.⁹²

⁸⁹ LMA/4288/9/01/060.

⁹⁰ Manx, 153-154.

⁹¹ 1886 Report.

⁹² 1889 Report.

When Wagner retired in 1889, pastors from south London took it in turns to go to Brighton and from 1894 services once again became monthly; from 1901, baptisms took place in London.⁹³ Only one other annual report has survived, that of 1913, printed only in German, this likely, a condition of the funding now received from the German State, interested in preserving the German character of German churches.⁹⁴ The report struck an optimistic tone but the end-of-year balance was only £37 compared with £79 in 1886, mirroring a similar decline at the German churches in Liverpool and Glasgow.⁹⁵ In Brighton's case the decline was probably a consequence of most long-term residents having local spouses and attending English churches, as did Joseph Boivin (Chapter Two), while the majority of recent arrivals were young unmarried men – unlikely churchgoers.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the inter-twined relationships of English, German and French residents of Brighton respecting their involvement in the French and German churches established at least in part to preserve the Protestantism of the increasing numbers of foreign governesses in Brighton's girls schools. The detailed case study of these churches' foundation and the resultant quarrels reveals the complexity in these trilateral relations configured not only by ethnicity by efforts by middle-class women to secure a position in the public space. Furthermore evangelical internationalist convictions were challenged by

⁹³ Baptism Records of the German Evangelical Church in Brighton, LMA/4288/G/01/058.

⁹⁴ For the interest of the State in preserving 'German-ness', see Manx, 155.

⁹⁵ Manx, 154; Lee, 139.

a local liberal cosmopolitanism that welcomed foreign immigrants but framed their participation in Brighton society through a nationalist lens. Finally, the chapter shows how the French church became integrated into Brighton's middle class society (surviving until 2008) while the German, despite maintaining cordial relations with its French and English co-religionists, eventually became more isolated and succumbed to the same decline as sister churches in other British towns with a German immigrant population.

Chapter Four: Internationalist Trades Unionism in Brighton's Hotel Sector

The preceding chapter considered the intersection of evangelical-religious with ethnic identity, particularly in the 1860s and 1870s when many immigrants were young women teachers obliged to be Protestant in order to find work. The present chapter concerns the early twentieth century, when evangelicism had lost much of its energy and the Protestant international was being eroded by the decline in its domestic support base.¹ Meanwhile, Brighton had experienced a new influx of young, male immigrants from the Continent. This chapter provides another case study of internationalism – workers' solidarity, as expressed in the partial unionisation of Brighton's hotel workers, led by a German waiter and a British insurance agent, challenging the sector's ethnically-based mutual societies.

Trade unionism in its current form started in Brighton in 1890 when railway workers joined forces with construction workers in establishing Brighton Trades Council (BTC).² By 1912 the BTC's twelve affiliates included the Prudential agents association whose delegate, George Deighton, was the son of a

¹ Clark, C. and M. Ledger-Lomas, 'The Protestant International,' in (Eds.) A. Green and V. Viaene, *Religious Internationals in the Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 23-52 (24).

² Andy Durr, 'A History of Brighton Trades Council' (1974), ESRO AMS 6848/6/5/46.

laundry woman and a former Baptist minister.³ In 1912, when Deighton became BTC's President, he welcomed to BTC's September meeting Otto Gerspach, a waiter at the Bedford, Brighton's 'leading hotel for the accommodation of royalty, the fashionable and the famous'.⁴ Gerspach requested help in organising a local branch of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.⁵ That help was promptly provided. As advertised in handbills in German and English, Deighton and the BTC Secretary participated in the Union's first meeting in Brighton on the 18 September.⁶ Two months later, the Union joined the BTC.⁷

Immigrant employment in Brighton's hotel and restaurant sector

The 1911 census occurred two weeks before Easter, when numbers of workers in the hospitality sector were relatively low prior to the arrival of seasonal employees; this should be borne in mind with respect to the data summarised in Table 4.1, showing employment segmented according to gender and place of origin. Chambermaids and pageboys were British and often local. Bartenders, men and women, were also British but not necessarily local, as were waitresses working in tearooms. Cooks and waiters were almost all men. Fully fifty four per cent of all waiters were German, highlighting the key role of German waiters in unionisation.

³ 1881 and 1901 censuses; Brighton Trades Council Annual Report, 1912, ESRO AMS 6848/6/4/2.

⁴ Rose Collis, *The New Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Brighton and Hove Libraries: Brighton, 2010), 23.

⁵ BTC Minute Book (September 1912), ESRO AMS 6848/6/1/2.

⁶ ESRO AMS 6848/54/4.

⁷ Minutes, November 1912.

Category	British		German-speaking		French-	Italian	Other	Total
	No.	%	No.	%				
Waiters	184	37%	270	54%	15	24	10	503
Cooks	145	81%	14	8%	14	9	-	179
Total	358	52%	284	42%	19	31	12	682

Table 4.1: Male waiters and cooks in Brighton, census night 1911

Unlike their British counterparts, German waiters were formally trained and therefore in demand to serve the fine food and wines provided by hotels like the Old Ship, whose manager was foreign (Figure 4.1).⁸



Figure 4.1: Advertisement for the Old Ship Hotel, 1894⁹

According to a 1910 study by Barbara Drake, foreign waiters in Britain worked in hotels and restaurants, whereas less professional British waiters worked in

⁸ Panakos Panayi and Stefan Manx, 'The Rise and Fall of Germans in the British Hospitality Industry, c. 1890-1920', *Food & History*, 11, 2 (2013), 243-266 (254).

⁹ Raymond Flower, *The Old Ship, A Prospect of Brighton* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 128.

clubs, family hotels and railway stations.¹⁰ Despite attempts by the Loyal British Waiters Society to train and place British youth, along with preferential hiring by some hotel companies, British young men showed little inclination to become waiters, the job demanding long hours and being of a subservient character.¹¹ Table 4.2 summarises the census data for French and German males in Brighton's hotels and restaurants between 1891-1911.

	1891		1901		1911	
	French	German	French	German	French	German
Kitchen staff	24	2	14	13	14	16
Waiters	5	68	6	118	7	270
Porters/liftmen	2	5	3	17	0	9
Total	31	75	23	148	21	295

Table 4.2 French and German males working in Brighton's hotels and restaurants, 1891-1911

With no Ancestry search-by-occupation facility for censuses prior to 1911, the increase in immigrant workers in hotels cannot be compared with the overall rate of increase in Brighton. Notwithstanding, the doubling of German waiters by 1901 and quadrupling by 1911 is striking. Most travelled to England without family.¹² On arriving in Brighton, they possibly stayed at the YMCA or at the

¹⁰ Barbara Drake, 'The Waiter', in *Seasonal Trades*, Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman (Eds) (London: Constable), 92-106 (97).

¹¹ Drake, 99.

¹² Panakos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Berg 1995), 108.

Hotel Employees Club in Clarence Square, as did Ernest Schmidt who then found work at the Royal Crescent Hotel.¹³ The living-in system of hotels like the Crescent was unpopular with waiters, because they were always at management's beck and call. However, living together likely favoured union organising. In 1911, forty per cent of Brighton's waiters lived in, young and more often foreign than native. Another thirty seven per cent were married in their own accommodations. The remainder were either young British men living with their parents or foreigners boarding in the homes of compatriot waiters or in lodgings like those of Mary King, an elderly widow whose lodgers, according to the 1911 census, were a 'bath chair' man from Devon, a German cook employed at the Grand, a French waiter at the Kings Hotel and an English porter at the Oriental, a not-uncommon case of people of different nationalities living in the same house.

Complementing informal networks based on living arrangements and socialising, were formal international mutual societies/employment agencies, patronised by hotel managers, some of whom had themselves started their career as waiters.¹⁴ Indeed, complacently observed the employers' trade journal, 'it is because nearly all managers have at one time been workers and all waiters have an opportunity to become managers that such a good spirit of camaraderie exists throughout the whole hotel world'.¹⁵

¹³ *Brighton and Hove Times* (henceforth *BHT*), 9 May 1913; 31 January 1913; 1911 census.

¹⁴ Panayi and Manx.

¹⁵ *Restaurant and Hotel Review* (henceforth *RHR*), January 1913, 32.

The Geneva Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees was the largest German-speaking mutual society in the sector, with branches across Europe.¹⁶ Fred Schwegmann, President of its Brighton branch in 1913, started as an eighteen-year old waiter in London and by 1911, he and his Irish wife owned Brighton's Haselmere Hotel.¹⁷ Fred Wesche, a hotel porter at the Metropole and member of Brighton's German Church (Chapter Three), was branch secretary.¹⁸ Also present in Brighton was another pan-European mutual society, the Ganymede with its head office in Germany. Drake describes these mutuals as non-militant and moderate, not true trade unions.¹⁹ The *Brighton and Hove Times*, when reporting on the Ganymede's 1913 annual ball, wrote of the 'greatest friendliness' between the Ganymede and the Geneva.²⁰

During the 1890s a short-lived trade union – the Amalgamated Waiters Society – existed in London, aiming to unite different nationalities against the common foe, the manager.²¹ A few years later another 'red' union appeared, the Caterers' Employees' Union, which according to Drake was powerful in Germany but had few members in Britain.²² Thus it is very likely that Gerspach's initiative in 1912 was the first attempt to unionise Brighton's hospitality sector.

¹⁶ Drake, 94.

¹⁷ *BHT*, 10 January 1913; 1881 and 1911 census.

¹⁸ 1911 census; LMA /4288/G/01/059; *BHT*, 10 January 1913.

¹⁹ Drake, 95.

²⁰ *BHT*, 14 February 1913; *RHR*, February 1913, 90.

²¹ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 1 November 1896.

²² Drake, 95.

The unionisation of Brighton's hospitality sector

The historical context for the new union was the two successive phases of rapid expansion of British trades unions, in 1888-1892 and 1910-13, which resulted in cycles of strike activity occurring at approximately similar times in France and Germany. These expansions shared some common characteristics, including both the participation of workers from previously un-organised sectors and a growing socialist ideology.²³ According to Bantman, recent transnational labour historiography is interested in how individual and collective mobility contributed to a shift from abstract internationalism to more practical ideas and organisational collaboration.²⁴ This was particularly the case for syndicalist movements, influenced by French trades unionists' theory of change that working-class victory would be achieved through shop-floor action rather than by working-class parliamentary parties, as was believed by most German and British trade unionists, but not (as we shall see) the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union, which relied on syndicalist lightning strikes.

An initial search indicates the absence from this historiography of any evidence of inter-cultural exchange of ideas and practices among front-line union organisers in sectors employing workers from a variety of nationalities.

²³ Friedheim Boll, 'International Strike Waves: a Critical Assessment', in (Eds.) Wolfgang Mommsen and Hans-Gerhard Husung, *The Development of Trade Unionism in Great Britain and Germany, 1880-1914*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), 78-99.

²⁴ C. Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London 1880-1914, Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); see also the historiographical review in Lewis Mates, *The Great Labour Unrest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-41.

Nevertheless, such dialogues – and subsequent quarrels – appear to have occurred during the unionisation of hotel and restaurant workers in Britain in 1912-1914. This lack of historiography may be due to insufficient research of labour relations in sectors such as hospitality that employed immigrant labour.²⁵ Furthermore, except in relation to Jewish immigration, little has been published about the impact of immigrants on British trades unions. According to a recent thesis, ‘As for other migrants, their unions, whether integrated or separate, have become almost invisible’.²⁶

The lightning strikes

In early 1912 a new union was founded in London, based on common workplace identity rather than job-type or ethnicity. The sympathetic *Daily News* reported that ‘all classes and nationalities of club and hotel employees will be eligible’.²⁷ It soon acquired a name – the Amalgamated Union of Hotel, Club and Restaurant Workers – a British general secretary, Percy Young, and a German treasurer, Otto Beck. Its membership increased from 350 in 1913 to 550 in 1914.²⁸

²⁵ J.K. Walton, ‘The Tourism Labour Conundrum Extended: Historical Perspectives on Hospitality Workers’, *Hospitality and Society* 2,1 (2012), 49-75 (58).

²⁶ Thomas Mungovan, ‘“Amongst Our First and Best Members” or “The Despair of the Trade Union Official”? Immigrant Involvement in the British Trade Union Movement, 1865-1901’, MA Dissertation, University of Leiden 2013, 5.

²⁷ *Daily News*, 19 January 1912.

²⁸ Annual reports of the General Federation of Trade Unions for 1912 (31) and 1913 (7). <http://internetserver.bishopsgate.org.uk/files/GFTU%20Digital/GFTU-1-13/14>. Accessed 13 November 2016.

In late 1912, the union amalgamated with an already-established French-speaking cooks' union, led by syndicalist Fernand Garnier.²⁹ Together they published the monthly *Catering Trade Worker* with articles in French, German, Italian and English. The first issue criticised the 'mutual admiration societies' that sought to advance co-jointly the interests of employers and workers.³⁰ The second, in February 1913, explained how the amalgamation aimed 'to arouse in our members ... a national and international sense of their common interest as workers'.

It was an opportune moment to strike. The proprietors' *Restaurant and Hotel Review*, dismissing claims that the working conditions established in the 1912 Shops Act Amendment Bill applied to hotel and restaurant staff, simultaneously commented with satisfaction that the economy was doing well and hotels and restaurants were 'evidently having a share in the resulting prosperity'.³¹ By mid-March lightning strikes occurred in London's hotels and restaurants, preceded by a list of demands for improved conditions as set out in the legislation. When management rejected these, 'the waiters, kitchen staff, etc. were immediately withdrawn. In the great majority of cases, the stoppage of work did not exceed one hour'.³² Strikes spread to Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Manchester. Brighton delayed until Easter, when the hotels were busier. A union handbill in English and French, printed in Brighton, announced

²⁹ *Catering Trade Worker* (henceforth *CTW*), November 1913.

³⁰ *CTW*, January 1913.

³¹ *RHR*, January 1913, 1.

³² 'Report on Strikes and Lock-Outs for 1913', Board of Trade (1914), p. xvi.

that London's strike leaders would be in Brighton on Good Friday.³³ That same evening the leaders toured Brighton's hotels threatening an imminent strike should management reject their demands. Agreements were rapidly reached with several hotels including at the Grand, where the cooks 'were a fine body of men', and at the Bedford where 'one or two cabinet ministers were staying', as well as in Brighton's principal upper-class restaurants.³⁴

The Restaurant and Hotel Review criticised 'the methods of this international union ... as fatuous as they are brutal', hastening to add, 'none of the old-established societies, such as the Geneva and Ganymede, have lent themselves to such discreditable tactics'.³⁵ Nevertheless, these same societies, organised into a 'Kartel', took advantage of the threat of such tactics to open negotiations in April with the employers and won gains for their London membership, thus pulling the rug from under the Amalgamated Union, whose subsequent series of London strikes largely failed.³⁵ The Chair of the London branch of the Geneva Association came down to address a large gathering of its Brighton membership concerning the provisional agreement reached between the Kartel and London employers. Councillor Tindall, representing Brighton's employers, resisted the Kartel's proposals, pointing out 'that in the majority of hotels in Brighton there

³³ ESRO AMS/6848/54/1.

³⁴ *CTW*, April 1913.

³⁵ *RHR*, April 1913, 184.

was not a large profit to be had' and that Brighton hoteliers could not agree with what was being negotiated in London.³⁶

'Brighton to the fore'

Meanwhile the *Catering Trade Worker* was celebrating May Day, declaring –

'We are seeking to overthrow capitalism with its exploitation of the workers for private profit. We unite to demonstrate our solidarity at a time when Europe is suffering from jingoism'.³⁷

Simultaneously, BTC decided it was time 'to stir up sleepy Brighton'.³⁸ Its affiliated unions had more than doubled in a year and in response to 'the wave of enthusiasm that has spread its influence amongst the workers', BTC organised a May Day demonstration with platforms representing the railwaymen, the builders, the Independent Labour Party and the hotel workers, this last most likely due to the energy of George Deighton, who had printed handbills in English and German announcing the union's national leadership as principal speakers (Figure 4.3).

³⁶ *RHR*, May 1913, 259; *BHT*, 18 April 1913.

³⁷ *CTW*, May 1913.

³⁸ BTC Annual Report, 1913.

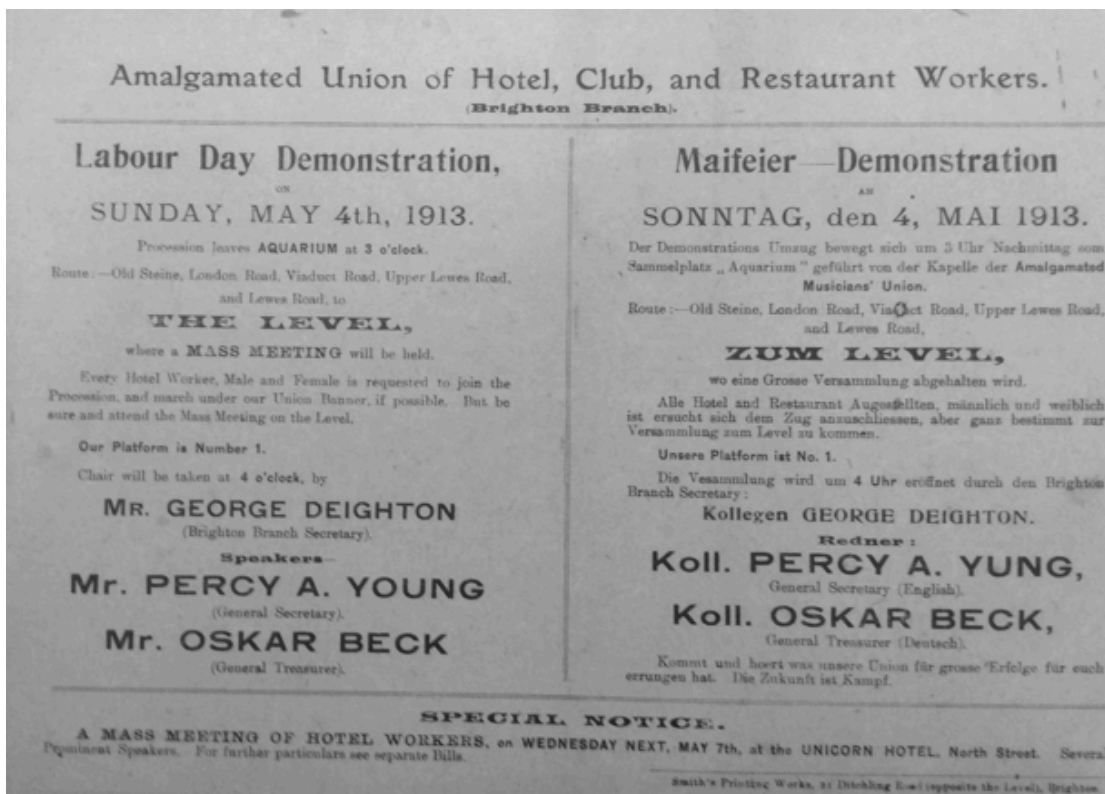


Figure 4.3 Union handbill in English and German announcing May Day demonstration, 1913³⁹

In 1912, the Prudential had sacked Deighton because of his activism and he had become the hotel workers' union branch secretary.⁴⁰ Gerspach, however, remained the union's BTC delegate until the outbreak of war.⁴¹ The two men likely worked together in a joint Anglo-German leadership, with Deighton the more prominent, becoming a leading Brighton trade unionist in the expansionary period prior to World War One. In 1913 he was elected Labour councillor for Hanover Ward. Handbills show him a frequent public speaker,

³⁹ ESRO AMS 6848/54/7.

⁴⁰ BTC Minutes November, 1912

⁴¹ Minute Book, November 1913; BTC Annual Report 1913; Delegates to Brighton Trades Council, AMS 6848/6/3/1.

including at union meetings of butchers, taxi-drivers, tramway employees, women munitions workers, shop assistants and tailors.⁴²

In summer and autumn 1913, the strikes in Brighton were energetic and successful. 'Brighton to the Fore' was the headline in July's *Catering Trade Worker*. Social activities sustained comradeship. Branch members met every Thursday night at the Grand Kinema Restaurant in West Street, and a handbill advertising a 'free and easy smoking concert' invited 'EVERY hotel worker'.⁴³ This included English chambermaids, who had struck at the Royal Albion over Easter.⁴⁴ Kitchen staff at Brighton's large hotels led more strikes in August, including when the comrades gave 'une jolie leçon' to management: Deighton's arrival at the Grand was enough to make managers give way.⁴⁵ In its annual report to shareholders, the Grand referred to the demands of labour as necessitating 'a considerable increase in expenditure'.⁴⁶ In response to these strikes the Geneva and Ganymede formed themselves into a Brighton 'Kartel' and in October opened negotiations with Tindall.⁴⁷

Thus the new union had indirectly forced the hand of the sector's existing mutual associations to act more like unions in representing the interests of their

⁴² The Keep, BH 002495.

⁴³ ESRO AMS 6848/54/4.

⁴⁴ *CTW*, April 1913.

⁴⁵ *CTW*, September 1913.

⁴⁶ Annual Report of the Grand Hotel, 1912, ESRO ACC 1077/1.

⁴⁷ *BHT*, 24 October 1913, *RHR*, November 1913, 575.

membership, while in return their members promised not to strike.⁴⁸ By then, the *Restaurant and Hotel Review* was taking a more conciliatory tone, urging its readers not to talk about 'smashing trade unionism'.⁴⁹

Struggling to stay together

In April 1913, a *Catering Trade Worker* article in English wrote of lightning strikes as a tactic new to England, introduced by French comrades. This was the sudden and direct action of syndicalists.⁵⁰ It worked well for Brighton's seasonal workers on short-term contracts, who needed to settle their workplace grievances rapidly. For example, when the Metropole hired fifteen temporary waiters to work over Whitsun weekend in 1913 at three shillings and sixpence per day, on Sunday the waiters, led by a German, asked for an increase to five shillings to work that day. Sacked on the spot without their back pay, with Deighton's support they took their case to court and won what was owed them.⁵¹

On the other hand, in the same April issue of the *Catering Trade Worker* that discussed syndicalist direct action, an article in French complained of the [German] waiters at Brighton's Grand Hotel 'sulking in the recent demonstrations'. Whereas, the kitchen staff, 'largely from the Latin race' had a fighting spirit, the 'Saxon' waiters were difficult to stir up. It was a challenge,

⁴⁸ *CTW*, June 1913.

⁴⁹ *RHR*, September 1913, 91.

⁵⁰ Wayne Thorpe, 'The European Syndicalists and War, 1914-1918', *Contemporary European History*, 10, 1 (2001), 1-24 (3).

⁵¹ *RHR*, July 1913, 350; *CTW*, July 1913.

reflected the anonymous author (likely Garnier), to bring together into a single organisation such different temperaments. The challenge, however, was more than national stereotypes; it was also political. In September 1913 Garnier represented the cooks' union at the First International Syndicalist Congress held in London, where participants firmly committed themselves to internationalist revolutionary action.⁵² In writing about the Congress in the *Catering Trade Worker*, doubtless aware that the suggestion of revolutionary action might scare off the Saxon waiters, Garnier chose to focus on supporting the Congress' challenge to the prevailing chauvinism and militaristic folly.⁵³ Nevertheless, in January 1914 the two unions split, as evidenced by the publication from that date forward of two newspapers, the *Catering Trade Worker* (Cooks) and the *Catering Worker* (Hotel Workers). While the former had articles in English, French and Italian, but not German, the latter's articles were in German, English and Italian but not French. Union activities stagnated. In April 2014 the *Catering Worker* complained about the lack of news from local branches, including, 'We have not had a whiff of fresh air from Brighton'. Brighton promptly responded with news of its commemorative supper to celebrate the previous Easter's strikes, involving representatives from the BTC and Brighton Labour Party.⁵⁴

⁵² W. Westergard-Thorpe, 'Towards a Syndicalist International: The 1913 London Congress', *International Review of Social History*, 23, 1 (1978), 33-78 (54), (77-78).

⁵³ *CTW*, November 1913.

⁵⁴ *Catering Worker*, May 1914.

In May, Percy Young of the Hotel Workers Union resigned and Brighton's George Deighton replaced him as General Secretary and worked hard to re-activate union membership.⁵⁵ The union had a platform at Brighton's May Day demonstration in 1914, and Deighton urged London members to join the Hyde Park demonstration.⁵⁶

When war broke out, the dream of international workers' solidarity did not immediately disappear. The newspapers of both unions urged its members to join the anti-war demonstration in Trafalgar Square on 3 August 1914. In September, Deighton wrote about the shameful behaviour of the hoteliers, 'casting their alien workers out, homeless and destitute'. He offered help with British naturalisation papers and set up a soup kitchen for *all* [sic] unemployed members. That proved to be the final issue of the *Catering Worker*. In November, a waiter from the Grand Hotel, making his last and fatal protest at an internment camp for enemy aliens on the Isle of Man, was shot by camp guards during a protest about living conditions.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Strike action by Brighton's hotel and restaurant workers was a fleeting expression of international solidarity before the outbreak of war. The local trades union organiser's effective leadership enabled successful strikes over

⁵⁵ *Daily Herald*, 7 May 1914; *Catering Worker*, May 1914.

⁵⁶ *Daily Herald*, 8 May 1914.

⁵⁷ *Times*, 23 November 1914.

summer 1913. The (largely German) Geneva and Ganymede mutual societies resisted the strike activities while profiting from the strikes by the radical Amalgamated Union to win concessions. Their resistance was likely due more to the strikes perturbing their comfortable relations with management and to their concern, as long term Brighton residents, not to damage the city's cosmopolitan reputation, than to any concern about the new union's internationalism in going out of its way to organise English and French as well as German workers.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the inter-twined relationships of English, German and French residents of Brighton through the lens of associational life, using case studies of evangelical churches (Chapter Three) and a hotel workers' trade union (Chapter Four). This framing differs from the usual approach to studies of foreign immigrants in nineteenth-century Britain that, other than in Tabili's study of South Shields (Chapter One), have until now focused on a single ethnic category and largely ignored the intersection of ethnicity with gender, religion and class in the configuration of relationships. The case studies contribute to the period's micro-histories of religion and trades unionism with insights about relations between natives and newcomers deserving investigation in other localities.

There is no evidence in Brighton of dense ethnic networks found among German immigrants elsewhere in Britain, this possibly due to the high proportion of women among the immigrants in the first half of the period. Nor were there any residential colonies. Many servants and teachers lived in the homes of their employers and others lived among the local population in accordance with what they could afford to rent. Many long-term immigrant residents in Brighton had British spouses.

Brighton's leading local newspapers were generally sympathetic to immigrants, but more detailed investigation of Brighton's press would be required to confirm the impression that most immigrants during the fifty-year period were not only tolerated but also welcomed. Sandy Kennedy (Chapter Three) argues that Brighton needed a diverse population to sustain its economy. French, German and English residents of Brighton collaborated closely in the city's cultural and intellectual activities. They were 'our townsmen'. Other than the noisy street musicians, the two instances cited in Chapter Two concerning dislike of foreigners relate to when immigrants competed with local traders.

A Google search shows that Brighton's 'cosmopolitan' character in 2016 attracts both visitors and residents, as it did one hundred and fifty years ago. That almost seventy per cent of Brighton residents voting in this year's referendum wanted to remain in the European Union appears to indicate a linkage between cosmopolitan character and internationalist sentiments. However, the case studies in this dissertation show that historically this was not necessarily so.

Internationalist beliefs in cosmopolitan Brighton although present, were difficult to sustain in practice. Chapter Three shows how evangelical Protestant internationalists in the 1860s struggled and eventually failed to maintain a Franco-German church in a context of rising nationalism that obliged cosmopolitan Brighton to have a German church for German people. Nevertheless, there was sufficient strength in the trilateral relationship to

maintain for nearly twenty years a home for foreign governesses and until 1914 German church services were held in the French church.

By the early twentieth century internationalism was increasingly associated with working-class solidarity and Chapter Four looks at the emergence in the city's large hotel and restaurant sector of an internationalist trade union that practised solidarity among the sector's English, French and German employees, challenging Brighton's well-established German-dominated mutual societies that collaborated with English, as well as German managers. An eventual split at the national level between the union's French and German membership was based more on political than ethnic distinctions and meanwhile the local leader was sufficiently successful in Brighton to assume for a few months in 1914 nationwide leadership of an Anglo-German hotel workers' union until its dissolution shortly after the outbreak of war.

Bearing in mind that Tabili's research in South Shields indicates Brighton was not unique, further local history research is required to know how exceptional are the dissertation's findings about the associational affiliation among English, French and Germans. Such comparative research would help answer why, when and how did Brighton's character shape the trilateral relationship between English, French and Germans.

Chapter Two argues that Brighton was exceptional as a leisure town because of its proximity to London combined with its coastal location, making it highly attractive to upper-class, high-spending visitors seeking a luxurious lifestyle that included goods and services only obtainable from continental Europe. Its cosmopolitan character was also influenced by its proximity to London. Many of Brighton's residents went up to London on a daily basis for their business. For Henri Testard, language teacher and secretary of the French Literary Society, Brighton was 'nothing more than an elegant suburb of London', distinguished by its thriving intellectual environment derived from the presence of so many educationalists.¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, Brighton's character as a school town had diminished, as had its reputation as the 'queen of resorts'. Brighton's distinction of having 'so much talking, writing and discussing about the clergy and services and sermons' (Chapter Three) dissipated with the decline in evangelical fervour; already by the 1880s foreign governesses no longer were required to be Protestant. Brighton was becoming more tolerant of diversity, while losing some of its distinctiveness.

Yet Brighton's cosmopolitan character, and its interest in how things were done on the Continent, continued. And its residents still included internationalists like George Deighton, who in his particular sphere showed that where Brighton led, other towns could follow.

¹ *Brighton Guardian*, 8 December 1869.

Appendix: Occupations of French and Germans in Brighton 1861-1911

French																			
No.	Occupation	1861			1871			1881			1891			1901			1911		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	Domestic service	5	34	39	22	81	103	8	40	48	0	42	42	4	49	53	4	32	36
2	Hospitality sector	1	2	3	6	7	13	11	5	16	36	13	49	31	13	44	21	5	26
3	Teaching	19	53	72	29	91	120	20	66	86	16	69	85	14	30	44	14	36	50
4	Retail & crafts *	8	7	15	17	14	31	16	12	28	10	13	23	15	10	25	6	8	14
5	Musicians	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
6	Other occupations**	5	4	9	26	6	32	17	11	28	14	12	26	20	12	32	12	35	47
7	Private means	3	3	6	11	13	24	1	10	11	8	11	19	4	9	13	0	5	5
8	No occupation***	3	18	21	16	81	97	4	34	38	12	47	59	9	47	56	23	45	68
	Total	44	121	165	127	293	420	78	180	258	96	207	303	100	170	270	80	166	246

Germans																			
No.	Occupation	1861			1871			1881			1891			1901			1911		
		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1	Domestic service	3	18	21	2	24	26	4	37	41	12	45	57	21	45	66	1	11	12
2	Hospitality sector	4	2	6	7	4	11	31	0	31	78	4	82	190	13	203	310	3	313
3	Teaching	10	35	45	7	52	59	13	47	60	9	36	45	6	17	23	2	15	17
4	Retail & crafts	24	0	24	18	3	21	25	2	27	28	10	38	42	6	48	9	2	11
5	Musicians	7	0	7	25	0	25	43	0	43	25	2	27	16	0	16	3	0	3
6	Other occupations	7	1	8	9	1	10	25	4	29	37	8	45	32	3	35	5	1	6
7	Private means	0	0	0	2	1	3	2	8	10	2	1	3	5	8	13	1	4	5
8	No occupation	2	18	20	1	25	25	8	39	47	5	41	46	15	42	57	2	15	17
	Total	57	74	131	71	110	180	151	137	288	196	147	343	327	134	461	333	51	384

* e.g. tailors, dressmakers, milliners, watchmakers and jewellers, confectioners/bakers, wine merchants, drapers - including shop keepers and their assistants.

** e.g. hairdressers, chiropodists, coachmen, nuns, photographers, engineers, artists, clerks, matrons/nurses, pawnbrokers, bankers, commercial travellers.

*** This includes wives, adult daughters and sisters for whom no occupation was provided, workhouse inmates and those retired from an occupation.

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