

Living with the enemy:

German immigrants in Nottingham during the First World War

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Abstract

This article uses primary sources to examine German immigrants and their descendants in Nottingham during the First World War. This review is placed in a British context with the aid of secondary sources. It finds that a major provincial city with a relatively very small German population replicated what happened across Britain, but with fear for repercussions contributing to an almost total lack of local support and a failure of the migrants to speak out. It also establishes that the business boycott and exclusion that occurred all over Britain came much later in Nottingham, while anti-German violence was less severe and sustained than elsewhere. In Nottingham well-connected migrants in the lace industry continued to prosper. However, many working and lower middle class migrants were interned and deported or left the city, which resulted in a remarkable decline of the German population of Nottingham.

Introduction

That the First World War had a devastating effect on the German migrant populations of Great Britain has been well established.² In 1914 citizens of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires in Britain³ were classified as enemy aliens. They suffered verbal abuse and physical attacks, were arrested, registered, interned, deported and repatriated, and their property was confiscated. The vicissitudes of German communities in many British cities and towns have been described in detail – my own

contribution⁴ focussed on Glasgow, which deviated from the national pattern in that the Scottish city did not witness anti-German riots. However, the discourse on this subject usually consists of limited studies on either a very large city or small town. In that sense, this article breaks new ground as it examines a major provincial town that had recently acquired city status: Nottingham.

Reviewing the findings of the local examination in a British context, this article brings new evidence to light. The fate of German immigrants in Nottingham during the First World War has been somewhat overlooked. It has been largely ignored by academic research and disappeared from the collective public memory. While histories of Nottingham⁵ mention prominent Germans in the city, publications on Nottingham during the First World War barely note their presence.⁶ This article aims to correct this oversight. It builds on and adds to the existing knowledge to answer the question whether the events and developments in Nottingham followed a national pattern, and if not, what made the history of Germans immigrants in Nottingham during the First World War stand out.

Numbers and ethnic coherence

Perhaps this failure to notice the presence of Germans in Nottingham during the First World War has been due to their number. On the eve of the war Nottingham had some 260,000 inhabitants. It was smaller than London, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds and Sheffield, but almost on par with Hull and Bradford, and larger than Leicester and Derby in the East Midlands as well as Coventry and Stoke-on-Trent in the West Midlands.⁷ The 1911 Census – the last population count before the war – recorded in the Nottingham County Borough the presence of 291 persons born in Germany. Although it had grown from 249 in 1891 and 274 in 1901, this was a relatively small group. It constituted less than 0.11 per cent of the city's total population

(all foreign-born people together constituted just under 0.63 per cent of that populace). Most of the German-born persons in Nottingham did not have the British nationality: 145 males and 63 females; 44 were recorded as British subjects: 15 males and 29 females; and 39 as naturalised British subjects: 30 males and 9 males.⁸

If British-born descendants of German immigrants are taken into account, the German population of Nottingham was much larger, but the Census did not separately record the presence of these descendants, who had received the British nationality by birth. In 1911 Germans formed the third largest foreign group in Nottingham, smaller than the French and Russians (including Russian Poles), but larger than people born in the United States. There were slightly more females than males in the general population (the ratio was 106 to 100⁹), and while this phenomenon also appeared among the French-born, it was not repeated in the German group, where males outnumbered females. The relatively numerous female British subjects among the German-born noted above may have been wives of British males, who had acquired British nationality through marriage.

The Germans in Nottingham also represented a small group in comparison with Germans in some of the other British cities. Germans in Nottingham made up just over 0.44 per cent of all the 65,261 individuals born in Germany and recorded in England, Wales and Scotland by the Census in 1911 (0.14 per cent of the total British population). Germans could be found all over Britain, but some 27,000 lived in London, where they formed more than 0.60 per cent of the capital's population. A total of almost 10,000 Germans were recorded in the South East counties Middlesex, Essex, Kent, Surrey and Sussex. Meanwhile, Yorkshire had over 700 German residents. Sizeable German groups of over 1,000 persons lived in Liverpool (0.17 per cent of the city's population) and Manchester (0.18 per cent). Groups of over 500 Germans resided in

Glasgow (0.08 per cent of the city's population) and Hull (0.23 per cent). More Germans lived in Sheffield, Bradford and Leeds than in Nottingham (respectively 0.08, 0.13 and 0.06 per cent of the population of these cities). In terms of having the British nationality or a naturalised status, the Germans in Nottingham did not differ much from Germans in other cities. For example, just over 13 per cent of all the German-born persons in Nottingham was naturalised, while this amounted to just over 16 per cent in Glasgow.¹⁰

The German group in Nottingham lacked ethnic coherence. The German Empire, formed in 1871, covered a vast area of the European Continent, incorporating many formerly independent states. The Germans in Nottingham came from different parts of Germany, varying from Mecklenburg in the north to Bavaria in the south, moved to Nottingham for diverse reasons and had dissimilar urban or rural backgrounds. As will be discussed below, Germans in Nottingham also had divergent economic and social positions. They adhered to several faiths. Quite a few were Jews, as were most of the Russians and Poles in the city, but the Jewish group itself possibly lacked unity because of historical differences between German and Russian-Polish Jews. Furthermore, some Jews in Nottingham had converted to Christianity. Among the remaining Germans in the city were Catholics and Protestants, but before 1914 the Protestant number was too small or they lacked the enthusiasm to form a separate Lutheran congregation, unlike other cities such as Glasgow where immigrants could join two German evangelical congregations. The Association of German Lutheran Congregations in Great Britain was formed in 1904; one of its aims was to establish new congregations, but in Nottingham the Association apparently failed to reach this goal.¹¹

Finally, there is no evidence of cultural organisations set up specifically for Germans in Nottingham, while these societies flourished in other cities. Therefore, apart from nationality and language, at first sight Germans in Nottingham shared little with their compatriots in the city and elsewhere in Britain. However, a closer look at social participation reveals some remarkable inter-German ties and strong bonds with the native population.

Participation in the wider society

People from the geographic area that from 1871 to 1918 comprised Germany had lived and worked in Nottingham since medieval times. Nottingham was one of the English towns where Jews were allowed to reside and trade, and they did so with some success before their expulsion from the English kingdom in 1290. Some of these Jews had come from or via Germany. They created a Jew Lane on the southern edge of the town and opened a synagogue in Lister Gate. However, following their re-admission in the seventeenth century the Jewish population of Nottingham remained small, with possibly less than 200 households in 1914.¹²

Non-Jews from Germany had also come to Nottingham. In the fifteenth century a 'Merchant of Germany' was granted safe conduct to trade here, Germans were involved when the hosiery industry took off – as early as 1574 a local family paid for cloth being dyed by 'the [German] of Nottingham', and the fine Georgian town that begot the industrial city attracted newcomers. A German visitor in 1782 described Nottingham as 'of all the towns I have seen outside London the loveliest and neatest'.¹³ Half a century later more Germans arrived here and contributed to lace making and selling, which replaced hosiery, dominated Nottingham in 1914 and for many years led the city's exports.

Several aspects of the lace industry accommodated a relatively large number of Germans. Entry into this trade was straightforward and required little capital because of the industry's structure, which consisted mainly of small manufacturing units, converters, warehouse managers and merchants, even after factory machines had overtaken workshop looms as the most prominent production tools. Meanwhile, the incoming Germans brought industry knowledge and mercantile experience, which gave Nottingham an advantage over its competitors in Britain and abroad.

By 1907 the lace sector employed the largest segment of the Nottingham workforce: 41,850 people.¹⁴ Among the employers were dozens of firms with German owners, shareholders, directors, managers and leading members of staff. One of the largest firms in terms of capital value on the eve of the First World War was Simon May & Co., which was founded by Jacob Weinberg who came from Germany in 1849.¹⁵

Germans were also active in other sectors. In 1883 the German-born Albert Cahn arrived from Cardiff. He set up a furnishings company, which on the back of its popular hire-purchase deals grew to become one of Britain's largest multiple shop firms.¹⁶ Meanwhile, on different social and economic levels relatively many other Germans worked as pork butchers, hairdressers and music teachers.¹⁷

Nevertheless, lace making and selling formed the main economic activity of Germans in Nottingham. Similarly, Germans were involved in textiles in other cities, including cotton in Manchester, linen in Dundee and worsted in Bradford.¹⁸ As in most British cities, entry into Nottingham's trade and commerce in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was open to people from outside the city. An outstanding example was Anthony John Mundella, a son of an Italian immigrant, who moved from Leicester to Nottingham, founded the firm Hine & Mundella and became President of the

Nottingham Chamber of Commerce, Town Councillor and Sheriff of Nottingham before being elected as MP for Sheffield, which he represented until his death in 1897.

Mundella also helped to install the first foreign-born Mayor of Nottingham – Lewis Heymann, who came from Germany and settled in Nottingham in 1834 to establish the lace firm Heymann & Alexander. In 1851 his company won a gold medal at the Great Exhibition in Crystal Palace with a curtain design from a local artist that incorporated the national symbols rose, thistle and shamrock. Outside Nottingham the firm had factories and offices in Bradford, Calais and Hamburg. Like many other lace manufacturers and merchants he became a prominent local politician. In 1857, already an Alderman, Heymann was elected Mayor of the Borough, and thus became the town's first foreign-born mayor. In comparison, by 1857 other major British cities had not yet selected mayors who were born abroad. The motion in the Nottingham Guildhall to elect Heymann was seconded by Mundella.¹⁹

When Heymann died in 1869 control of Heymann & Alexander passed to a partnership of Lewis' sons Albert and William Henry, son-in-law Albert Bernard Alexander, two German-born merchants in Bradford named Lassen, and Henry Hirsch, possibly a relative of Lewis' wife Henrietta. Albert left the firm in 1880 and became director of the financial firm Fellows, Hart & Co and he later served on the board of the Nottingham Savings Bank.²⁰ In politics, Albert became a Nottinghamshire County Councillor, Deputy Lieutenant of the County and leader of the newly created West Bridgford Urban District Council in 1894. After Albert's departure, the Heymann family's interest in Heymann & Alexander waned and by 1914 the company was headed in Nottingham by George Cronheim.²¹

Edward Goldschmidt stepped in the political footsteps of Lewis Heymann. Goldschmidt arrived in Nottingham in 1851. He became a silk merchant. Goldschmidt

was also Chairman of the Nottingham Brewery. In business, for example via the lace firm F.J. Perry & Co., he was related to another well-connected German immigrant and lace merchant, Otto Homberger, and to John Tom McCraith, who came from a well-known local family.²² Goldschmidt was elected on the Town Council in 1870, chosen as Alderman in 1876 and elected as Mayor in 1880 and again in 1889. In addition, he served for twelve years as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Council. Goldschmidt died in 1903.²³

These Germans shared an interest with other local businessmen and politicians such as Mundella in improving education and widening its openings for participation, which would eventually result in the establishment of the Nottingham University College.²⁴ James Alfred Jacoby was also concerned about education. He was a member of the Nottingham Town Council from 1876, Sheriff of Nottingham in 1877 and MP from 1885 to his death in 1909. Jacoby, a Liberal, was a partner in the family's lace business, founded in 1847 by his German-born father Moritz. James also served as President of the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce, Chairman of the local Technical Schools Committee and Vice-chairman of the Nottingham Castle Museum Committee.²⁵

The Jacobys were Jewish, just like the English-born colliery owner and MP for Nottingham, Saul Isaac. In 1874 Isaac was the first professing Jew to be elected to the House of Commons as a Conservative candidate.

The broad involvement in Nottingham's economy and public life suggests that German males and their descendants were able to participate in the local general society without major obstacles. Their participation was appreciated too. The *Nottingham Trader* wrote about Weinberg: 'By his strict integrity, industry and zeal, and his business capacity he built up an organisation which has for many years held a world-

wide reputation', while the *Nottingham Guardian* called him 'the incarnation of benevolence and integrity. He showed to a marked degree that it is possible for a Jew to discharge in every respect his duties as a citizen while [remaining] loyal to his ancestral faith.'²⁶

Weinberg's daughter-in-law Caroline, Governor of the Nottingham High School, eventually became the first female magistrate in Nottingham. A newspaper later commented that her 'presence [...] proved [the] inestimable worth to the city of her wide philanthropic activities, both social, political and intellectual.'²⁷ This comment and the relatively high number of German names among female domestic servants, teachers, musicians and shopkeepers in Nottingham directories²⁸ suggest that German-born women and their offspring also did not meet insurmountable hurdles when it came to making a living.

Hostile attitudes in the native population

However, there was some resistance. The process of integration of Germans immigrants into Nottingham society can also be gauged by reviewing attitudes in the native population towards German newcomers and migrant reactions to the expression of these opinions. Traditionally, there was little open hostility towards foreigners who settled in Nottingham, but occasionally reservations were expressed.²⁹ For example, in February 1881 *Nottingham Society* published a Valentine poem about Goldschmidt, who favoured financing educational facilities despite opposition as funds were tight. The poem was meant to be funny, but it expressed the uneasiness about German migrants, containing the line 'We wish you had remained in your own Fatherland'.³⁰

Some Germans took steps that may be construed as reactions to these attitudes or that can be regarded as adaptations made to ease their integration into the Nottingham society. Weinberg, Cahn, Lewis Heymann, Goldschmidt and Moritz

Jacoby³¹ all successfully applied for naturalisation. Lewis Heymann and Goldschmidt, both Jews, also converted to Unitarianism³², while Albert Heymann joined the Church of England.

Weinberg, Cahn and their descendants played leading roles in the local Jewish congregation. Little is known about their religious practices. In other cities German Jews often promoted a faith more in line with the Christianity that surrounded them rather than Eastern-European Jewishness, but it remains unknown what Weinberg and Cahn favoured. However, the opening in 1890 of a newly built synagogue in Chaucer Street suggests they were striving for respectability in the eyes of the local middle-class, while accentuating their religious distinctiveness. A local newspaper judged it to be 'handsome and commodious' with a 'structure which, with its adjoining school-house, [...] is of Moorish design throughout, the details being all of an Eastern character.'³³

The atmosphere changed during the final years of the century, when the native feeling of unease about foreign migrants was sharpened as Nottingham papers started to report regularly on what had become 'aliens', a word interchangeable with Germans and Jews. These reports were mainly concerned with the debate that would result in the Aliens Act of 1905, often including perceived or real crimes and offences committed by people who were regarded as aliens.³⁴

An attention grabbing report covered the attempted murder of a Nottingham County Court magistrate by a German migrant. In November 1889 Wilhelm Hermann Arnemann was arrested after shooting Judge Bristowe. The German appears as an eccentric, who 'partook his meals on the bench in the shop, and had his bed placed on the roof overhead, where he slept practically in the open air' with snow on the bedroom floor in winter, a fraudster who presented himself as a dentist, and a man capable of murder. In fact, Arnemann made artificial teeth. When a dissatisfied customer refused to

pay – Arnemann had advertised 'FIT GUARANTEED'³⁵ – he took the client to court. Bristowe ruled in favour of the defendant as he had done in earlier cases brought by Arnemann. The German got excited, followed Bristowe to the train station, and as the judge boarded his carriage, Arnemann 'stepped quickly forward, raised both hands in front of his breast and fired a large revolver point blank at the judge's back.' After his arrest he maintained a 'cool demeanour', declaring 'I've had the judge's blood; I wish he was dead.'³⁶

Across Britain this perception of aliens, who not only swindled and murdered people, but also undercut wages and increased rents, turned into outright hostility during the First World War as a result of fears about spies, a hidden hand, Zeppelin raids and the rapid advance of the German army in October 1914 with the apparent threat of an imminent invasion as well as propaganda about alleged German war crimes, including the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 (see below). With the exception of the *Manchester Guardian*, most local and national newspapers peddled extreme Germanophobia, while the fanatical *John Bull* magazine wanted 'to exterminate every German-born man (God forgive the term!) in Britain.'³⁷

Newspapers played of course only a limited role in news circulation, opinion forming and voicing people's views. In addition, pamphlets were published to influence people, but like the papers they were not read universally. Newsreels and films in cinemas made contributions too. There were seven moving-picture houses in Nottingham in 1913, but they did not always charge admission prices that working class people could afford.³⁸ News and opinions also spread by word-of-mouth and through organised meetings.

Within the scope of this article it is impossible to review all the media that determined and expressed people's attitudes in Nottingham. However, two sources

provide a useful impression. The first source is the *Nottingham Evening Post*, at the time one of the main media read in the city.³⁹ On 13 August 1914 the *Post* reported in a special feature called 'War Items' that 'A German tradesman in Nottingham was indiscreet enough the other evening to declare that the English would now get what they deserved. His customer promptly flung the meat purchase at his head.' The same feature also stated that 'There was a German foreman in a works just outside Nottingham until the men, inspired with patriotic fervour, declined to work under him any longer. Then the German was reduced to the rank [of] an ordinary workman.' And 'A German living in Marple, Derbyshire, left his English wife and six children penniless and went to join the German army with money he had obtained by selling his household effects.'

Whether the *Post* meant to show the true nature of the German migrants is uncertain, but it did emphasise the existing unease about their presence. This was followed on 16 August with a first report about German cruelty in Belgium, and on 31 August the *Post* printed parts of a letter from a Nottingham lady in Paris who saw Belgian refugees arriving in the French capital – the result of that cruelty: 'In England you cannot realise the brutality [Germans] are using. You cannot, or else surely you would turn out all the Germans [...]' A few weeks later it was brought home that English people could suffer the same fate as the Belgians. An unnamed gentleman in Nottingham had received a letter from a connection in the lace trade, a 'Teutonic friend', who had written: 'I hope Germany will win, and especially kill all the English – the nation who are the cause of the whole war [...]'⁴⁰

A second source confirms this impression. It comes from meetings organised by the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations to whip up enthusiasm for the war. In these meetings lantern pictures were used to draw audiences, who heard that Germans officers had boasted that 'whatever [Germans] had done in Belgium would be

nothing to what they would achieve if they got within reach of the hated English homes.⁴¹ With this the tone had been set for an atmosphere of prejudice, anger, desire for revenge and fear in which national measures were implemented in Nottingham and anti-German violence erupted in the city.

Arrest, internment and deportation

National policies and measures affected Nottingham throughout the war. On 5 August 1914 the Aliens Restriction Act came into force to control the entry, departure, residence and travel of Germans, who were also compelled to register their presence, usually at police stations. This was followed by measures to arrange their arrest, internment and deportation. However, the round up proceeded awkwardly. In August 1914 local Chief Constables were instructed to arrest Germans who were suspected of being dangerous. Conversely, some of the arrested men had to be released, because they did not pose a danger or there was nowhere to keep them locked up. The instruction was renewed in October 1914, again followed by releases, until in May 1915 it was decreed that all German males of military age (17-55) were to be captured for internment.⁴² That last order was also issued out of concern for the personal safety of these Germans in the atmosphere of 'terror created by the riots'⁴³ (see below), and at this stage some Germans surrendered for internment.

As a result, the total number of civilian German prisoners in Britain rose from some 10,000 in September 1914 to about 20,000 in May 1915 and peaked at almost 30,000 in November 1917.⁴⁴ The wives and children of the internees became dependant on the British and German governments and charity. From the start of the war the policy was to repatriate these women and children as well as older men, but the deportation of the internees and their relatives did not start in earnest until October 1917. Nonetheless,

between 1914 and 1919 the number of Germans in the British population was reduced by 58 per cent.⁴⁵

The first reports about arrests that people read in Nottingham were on suspected secret agents. On 4 August 1914 the *Post* carried news about spies in Grimsby and Newcastle. The next day its readers learned about a pork butcher arrested in London. It was said that bombs and rifles were found in his shop. After that there were stories of secret agents in places like Sheerness, Barrow-in-Furness, Newark, Conway, South Shields – a real 'plague of spies'.⁴⁶ The epidemic reached Nottingham on 10 August with the arrest of Max Kühner, an employee of the lace firm Schmidt & Co. It was reported that this 44-year-old 'big, powerfully-built man' had served in the German army, obtained useful information for the enemy, collected maps and possessed 'a fully-loaded' Browning revolver, which had been discovered in his bedroom. Kühner explained that the maps came from booksellers and he represented his firm in South America, where everybody carried arms for self-protection. After a week in prison it became clear that there was no evidence to prosecute Kühner and he was released, like most spy suspects elsewhere in Britain. The police kept his revolver.⁴⁷

The first arrests of German reservists in Nottingham took place on 7 August 1914. About 40 German men who had come to the Guildhall for registration were detained, followed by several more who came the next day. Later that day all were released on parole. Similar arrests were made throughout Nottinghamshire. A detachment of the Sherwood Rangers Imperial Yeomanry apprehended 16 Germans at the new Harworth Colliery and brought them to Retford as 'prisoners of war'.⁴⁸

There were penalties for failing to register and for harbouring an unregistered enemy alien. In September 1914 people in Nottingham heard about Joseph Ling. He was a naturalised German, previously called Levi⁴⁹, a wealthy lace merchant and

resident of The Park. At home he employed a German cook, Matilda Hermann. Both were arrested and brought before the magistrates' bench. Ling told the court he had gone to the Guildhall in August and was told that females did not need to register, but on 1 September a friend had said this was wrong. So he reported again to the Guildhall, where he was arrested. Hermann was picked up from home. Ling and Hermann were convicted and ordered to pay £5 each. The fine could have been much heavier – £100 or six months imprisonment according to the *Post*. At the end of the month an Austrian fruiterer in Nottingham was sentenced to two months after failing to inform the authorities about his change of lodgings.⁵⁰

On 9 September 1914 some of the men who came to the Guildhall to register got a 'considerable surprise'. According to the *Post*: '[...] those enemies who have seen military service' were detained, arrested and handed over to the military authorities.⁵¹ This widely reported⁵² action predated the mass arrests across the whole country ordered by the Home Office and enforced in Nottingham on 22 October. Some 50 arrests were made in the city, compared to about 1,000 in London, 500 in Manchester, 100 in Newcastle and 100 in Sheffield.⁵³ Of the men from Nottingham 43 were interned in Lofthouse Park, near Wakefield in Yorkshire. They were part of one of the first large groups of prisoners to arrive in this camp.⁵⁴

The Nottingham internees in Lofthouse Park were mostly working class men. A sample of 13 includes 10 of whom the occupation can be found in Census records and local directories: two foremen, two hairdressers, two shop assistants, a porter, a barman, a lace maker and a lace exporter. One of the hairdressers was Ernest Kastenbauer, born in 1881. He was married to an English woman from Liverpool, and the couple had two young children. The other hairdresser was Bernard Hemmersbach, a young bachelor who worked for Voss Erdmann in Market Street.

The action was supported in the *Post* by 'Safeguard', who called it a relief and wrote: '[The Germans] cannot help being for their own country. I speak from experience. Nottingham has been my home for 36 years, still all my sympathies are with my native land. [...] Why not [intern them] all?'⁵⁵ Another letter writer shared this sentiment: '[...] no German can be wholly free from suspicion wherever he may reside in the United Kingdom'.⁵⁶ In May 1915 these correspondents almost got their way. The *Post* reported that there were 83 German male aliens in the city, with some 50 under the age of 45, as well as 88 female enemies, of whom three quarters were of British birth. The males were now to be interned permanently and the females had to be repatriated.⁵⁷

Everywhere in Britain the internment caused much hardship amongst the migrants and resulted in several suicides.⁵⁸ At least one of them occurred in Nottingham. On 19 November 1914 the police found the body of 52-year-old George Cronheim, principal of Heymann & Alexander, shot through the head at his house in Newcastle Terrace. He had lived in fear of being interned and left a suicide note, saying 'I am getting afraid of myself' and 'I have not got the courage to fight any longer.'⁵⁹

Business boycott, exclusion and loss

It is unknown whether Cronheim also worried about the continuation of his business; it was not until late 1915 that Britain confiscated German-owned companies.⁶⁰ This was preceded across the country by boycotts, dismissals and exclusions. In Nottingham boycott and exclusion happened slightly later (conclusive evidence on dismissals is lacking). In March 1916, on the proposal of Alderman Sir John McCraith, Chairman of the Watch Committee, the City Council issued a standing order forbidding the municipal authority to enter into contracts with German nationals, and with companies in which more than one-third of the subscribed capital was held or controlled by Germans.⁶¹

Later that year the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce asked all German-born members to resign, following the London Chamber that took a similar measure in May 1915.⁶² The Nottingham Chamber had about a dozen Germans among almost 400 members. In November 1916 its Advisory Committee passed a resolution calling for the resignation of members of 'enemy origin'. A letter sent to these members before the resolution was published resulted in five resignations, including Paul Meyer, Chairman and Managing Director of Simon May & Co. (his firm retained membership), the firm Schmidt & Co. (owned by August Schmidt) and Bernard Franz Stiebel, head of the lace company Stiebel & Co. (which was not a member).⁶³

The expelled members were prominent employers in Nottingham.⁶⁴ Stiebel also acted as spokesman of the German businessmen in Nottingham (see below). His firm had won prizes. He was well-connected, married into the city's Kohn family, which too was involved in the lace trade (George Benedikt Kohn was the German consul in Nottingham). Through his former business partner Arnold Kaufmann, Stiebel was related to Henry Hirsch of Heymann & Alexander. He lived in Upper College Street with his British-born wife and two daughters, a son stayed in Sherwood. Stiebel had been naturalised in 1875.⁶⁵ As a Council member he had reported to the Chamber on education in 1910 but was criticised when he extolled German methods.⁶⁶ Now the organisation cast him out.

It is possible that the desire to exclude German businessmen was a result of a pre-1914 issue, which resurfaced regularly after war broke out, namely that of perceived 'unfair' German competition at home and abroad.⁶⁷ Before the war competition in the lace industry had been fierce⁶⁸, and perhaps native-born businessmen had scores to settle. In April 1917 a city councillor asked McCraith whether it was 'fair' that an

'unnaturalised German' who was still in the city 'should be allowed to trade while other men, Englishmen, had been compelled to close down and sacrifice their business?'⁶⁹

Several Germans in Nottingham lost their business.⁷⁰ A striking case concerned Alexander Seelig. The 51-year-old lace merchant was consul of Chile and Venezuela in Nottingham. His company Seelig & Co. exported to South America. In July 1915 he was arrested on a charge of trading with the enemy after a Brazilian employee of his firm travelled to Germany and discussed business there. The suspicion against Seelig had been raised, according to his lawyers in a later statement, through accusations made by his estranged Chilean wife who 'suffered from delusional insanity and has for several years been a certified lunatic.' The lawyers argued that the employee who had discussed business in Germany had done so without Seelig's knowledge. They asserted Seelig had been found guilty solely because he was German.⁷¹ After serving his prison sentence he was interned. With confiscation of his property threatening, Seelig sold his share in the company to his manager and minor shareholder Robert Francis Brown for £43,500 (Seelig had founded the company in 1896 and its assets were valued in 1915 at £69,209). His Red Cross card shows he was repatriated to Germany in 1918.⁷²

Riots and disturbances

Anti-German riots and disturbances were widespread in Britain, and the police made thousands of arrests for public order and looting offences. The main unrest took place in August, September and October 1914, May 1915, June 1916 (London only) and July 1917. London saw most of the early rioting, but the unrest of the first three months also reached other cities, towns and villages. In Worksop, Nottinghamshire, a brick was thrown at a German pork butcher shop. A crowd of some 5,000 people in Keighley, Yorkshire, apparently involved in a local labour dispute, vented their anger on three German butchers. Another butcher in Birmingham was attacked. In Crewe, Cheshire, a

mob of 1,000 ran amok.⁷³

The most extensive riots ensued in 1915.⁷⁴ On Friday 7 May of that year German submarines sank several Allied ships, including the *Lusitania* off the Irish coast. The ship was en route from New York to Liverpool, her homeport (the Cunard Line ship was built by John Brown & Co in Clydebank near Glasgow). According to Nottingham newspapers she carried passengers, not troops or arms.⁷⁵ Over a thousand passengers and crew drowned. The rioting began on 8 May in Liverpool, where it lasted for several days, reached Manchester and Salford on 10 May, where it endured for a couple of days, and spread from there across the country. Essex and London witnessed extreme violence and looting. Birmingham, Hull and Leicester were affected too.

Yorkshire was seriously hit, particularly Sheffield, where rioters, including many women, appeared keen on clearing shops of their stock. A local paper reported:

[Police] were busy all through Friday night and Saturday in tracing the stolen property, and the results of their efforts [were] seen on Saturday morning when Attercliffe Police Station resembled an up-to-date pork butcher's shop. There were eight or nine hams, seven sides of bacon, boiled hams of tempting quality, pigs' faces and feet, half-a-dozen legs of pork, tubs and tins of lard, tins of pork fat, links of poloney [sic], black puddings galore, brass weights, plates, dishes, potted meats and brawn and a host of other things.⁷⁶

There was unrest in other Yorkshire towns, including Bradford, Rotherham and Doncaster – during a bizarre incident in Goldthorpe a shopkeeper who was wrongly regarded of being a German Jew allegedly fired shots. Five rioters were wounded (one of them fatally), and 17 men were sentenced from two to 15 months imprisonment. Mr Justice Rowlatt of the Leeds Assizes blamed local 'miners [-] a fine body, but often thoughtless and childish.'⁷⁷ All over Britain the last but most furious disturbances took

place on Saturday 15 May with the rioters attacking German shops. Glasgow remained unaffected, but Germans in nearby Greenock bore the brunt.⁷⁸

A Home Office abstract⁷⁹ records 1,374 claims made under the Riots (Damages) Act during the war in 24 police districts across England and Wales (but probably omitting the capital as there was only one entry on London City). They included 1,169 claims made by British subjects, 167 by alien enemies and 38 by others. Most claims came from Liverpool: 625; then came Manchester: 120, Salford: 66, Leeds: 61 and Hull: 50. More than 10 but less than 50 claims arose in Birkenhead, Gateshead, South Shields, Southend-on-Sea, Newcastle, West Riding, Rotherham and Sheffield. Leicester, Grantham and Warwick (Birmingham) each lodged one claim. The log contained an entry on Nottingham, where three claims were made by British subjects (for a total of £36 6s 9d) and five by alien enemies (£27 0s 3d). The eight claims therefore included a high number of enemy aliens. They came to £63, low compared to other entries with a similar number of claims, which suggest that the rioters caused less damage in Nottingham than elsewhere.

In modern history, Nottingham had the reputation of being 'the most riotous town in the kingdom'⁸⁰ with until the 1880s regular assaults on people and property as well as the ransacking of shops, stemming from grievances about the lack of food, employment or political representation. In 1857, for example, Mayor Heymann tried to alleviate distress by distributing bread and soup among more than 2,000 hungry people – paying for the food out of his own purse – but he was also forced to request the deployment of army reservists to suppress violence caused by the distress.⁸¹

Despite Nottingham's reputation, the wartime anti-German riots arrived late in the city. The first *Post* report Nottingham citizens read about violent attacks on Germans in Britain came from Peterborough, where on 7 August 1914 bricks, bottles

and stones were thrown from a crowd, striking the shop windows of a German pork butcher. The mob had to be dispersed by 110 men of the local Yeomanry.⁸² The paper also reported on the fighting that subsequently broke out in London.⁸³ On Monday 10 May 1915 stories about the anti-German riots in Liverpool arrived in Nottingham, and in the course of the next few days newspapers readers in the city could follow the spread of the violence across the country.⁸⁴

On Wednesday the large plate-glass shop window of Frederick Denner was broken. Denner had a pork butchery in Nottingham's Union Road and people had been spitting at the window for some time, but now violence struck.⁸⁵ This was the first reported attack in the city. The main aggression was still to come. The *Post* reported that shortly after nine o'clock in the evening of Saturday 15 May 'angry crowds assembled in various parts of the city and smashed the windows of a number of shops occupied by pork butchers and others bearing German names.' During the previous days special police guards had been on duty near some of the shops, but on 15 May they could not prevent the attacks from crowds that numbered up to 2,000 people. Hastily called police reinforcements stopped pillaging and gradually drove the mobs back, but they could not prevent missiles being thrown at the shops.

Apart from Denner, Nottingham victims included Frederick Hoffmann, John Miller (Müller), George and August Wagner, all pork butchers. Harry Dodman, a English newsagent taken to be German, and Berthold Dorer, a furniture dealer, were also attacked. Among suspected rioters were a 30-year-old female who worked as an embroiderer, an 18-year-old male potter and a 16-year-old boy. When put on trial, the Nottingham rioters were usually sentenced to fines of 5s. However, Joseph Brown, who after initial denial admitted to have smashed Miller's shop window because he feared

that his son had gone down with the *Lusitania*, was fined 7s 6d when the bench refused to believe his story.⁸⁶

The riot reports heightened fear. On Monday 17 May 1915 Isaac Bowmer, a butcher on Colwick Road, told his wife he was 'afraid that his windows would be broken.' Bowmer also complained that 'business had been dead lately' and 'somebody accused him of being an Austrian.' Four days later, on Friday morning, Bowmer stepped out of bed and said he would bring his wife a cup of tea. When he did not, the woman got up. 'On going into the yard she found him hanging from a hook in the wall. Life was extinct.' Bowmer was 52; he had been born in England, his wife was English, and he left three children. The eldest daughter made lace curtains, the son went to school and the second daughter was too young for either work or school. The coroner who dubbed the riots 'silly work' declared a verdict of 'suicide during temporary insanity'.⁸⁷

Support and reactions

Expressions of support for the migrants were hard to find in Britain, but several caring or calming voices were heard, for example in Glasgow where a former Lord Provost declared himself against internment.⁸⁸ Some Germans sought this support, for example by publicly confirming their loyalty to the country in which they had settled, writing letters to newspapers, making declarations and in May 1915 sending deputations to Mayors and Lord Mayors, as happened in Bradford, Hull, Manchester and London, or to the Lord Provost in Glasgow. However, while public leaders in general denounced the use of violence at home, few spoke publicly in favour of the migrants.⁸⁹

Like the coroner mentioned above, the Nottingham political establishment and social-economic elite most likely abhorred the public violence, but they rarely condemned it openly. On 17 May 1915 the Recorder of the City of Nottingham, Sir W.R.D. Adkins MP, declared at the Quarter Sessions:

I regret to notice quite recently a very slight outbreak of that temper, of indignation, which has shown itself in some parts of the country; but I am quite sure that it is only a passing exhibition, and that in the city of Nottingham that attitude of stern and resolute self-control, which is the only proper attitude in these times, will be carefully and rigorously preserved.

He called on the public to abstain from disorder.⁹⁰ However, this declaration was exceptional.

Public sympathy for the migrants was virtually non-existent in Nottingham. A rare compassionate expression came in 1916. While elsewhere in the country German teachers were dismissed, the Hucknall School Managers decided to appoint a daughter of naturalised Germans 'as they could not leave them to starve.'⁹¹ It could have been expected of McCraith to speak out on behalf of German business partners like Homberger, but the Chairman of the Watch Committee remained silent on this issue. Instead he proposed the already mentioned boycott of Germans and German-owned businesses, and just like elsewhere in Britain, he and his fellow city leaders decided in 1917 to change some street names to 'remove the taint' – Coburg Road became Corby Road and Hamburg Road turned into Hampstead Road.⁹²

Most of the Germans in Nottingham did not talk publicly about their fate. It was a rare occasion when, as part of the national movement mentioned above, on 12 May 1915 a deputation of naturalised Germans in the city waited upon the Mayor of Nottingham, and made a declaration of loyalty and alliance to King George. The event was not reported in the *Post*, but according to a Leeds paper, the Germans in Nottingham 'stated their sympathies were entirely with this country, for which some of their sons were fighting. They viewed with abhorrence and detestation the cruel and inhuman acts committed by order of the German authorities by land and sea, and devoutly prayed that British arms may prove successful.' Stiebel was their spokesman:

'It is a most serious calamity for us. Unfortunately, it is impossible to select one's place of birth, but we have lived here in peace and happiness.'⁹³

The issue of national loyalty could cause different problems, especially for British-born sons of migrants who were of military age. In 1916 Sydney Herman Hempel from Nottingham went before the local Appeals Tribunal Court, set up to hear applications for exemption from compulsory military service. His mother was English, his father German. Hempel said he 'would fight for England as long as it was not against Germany.' His appeal was dismissed.⁹⁴

Apart from Stiebel, there is no indication of leading Germans in Nottingham speaking out. The banker, politician and magistrate Albert Heymann could be seen to support the British cause – he served in the Yeomanry, donated a target range for the Volunteer Training Corps, three of his sons were in the army and his eldest daughter commanded the Nottinghamshire Cricket Club pavilion in West Bridgford, which had been converted into a Red Cross hospital for wounded soldiers from Flanders.⁹⁵ However, Albert remained quiet in public about the fate of the German migrants in Nottingham. Similarly, the Weinbergs, Cahns and other leaders of the Jewish population did not speak out. Albert Cahn's son for instance – the later Sir Julien Cahn – fulfilled by 1914 an important role in the quickly growing furnishings company and he had business and sports connections, but nothing was heard from him about the plight of the Germans in Nottingham, many of whom were Jews.⁹⁶

It is possible that influential men such as Heymann, prominent German migrants such as Homberger or Jewish leaders such as Cahn privately approached their business colleagues and local political leaders to ask for understanding, collaboration and protection. This happened in other cities, for example in Glasgow where a Jewish

organisation worked with the authorities on behalf of German Jews.⁹⁷ However, there is no evidence of this approach in Nottingham.

Numerical decline

The results of the hostile attitudes, official measures, trade problems and violently expressed feelings of anger and the desire for revenge among the native population were devastating for the Germans in Nottingham. There was a decline in numbers. In January 1919 McCraith reported that the number of German internees from Nottingham was 62, of whom only 15 had returned to the city.⁹⁸ By 1921, the German population of the city had decreased so sharply that the Census compiler stated: 'Foreigners born in Germany were 258 in 1911, and are now reduced to 65.'⁹⁹

A comparison of figures extracted from Census reports shows a more nuanced picture. As stated earlier, in 1911 Nottingham had a total of 291 persons born in Germany, this figure was 112 in 1921, when the first population count took place after the war. Of the 1911 total 44 were British subjects by birth and 39 by naturalisation, in 1921 this was 35 and 42. Of the 1911 total, 208 were classified as foreigner, but only 35 had a similar classification in 1921.¹⁰⁰ This shows that the declining presence of German-born persons who did not have the British nationality caused the total number of Germans in the city to fall so dramatically.

Agitation to repatriate Germans with their families continued after the war: 'Hopes are entertained in Nottingham that the Government will deport all interned Germans.'¹⁰¹ However, as noted above, there was some leniency. At least 15 internees were allowed to return to the city as a result of a British government policy to exempt some groups of German nationals from repatriation, for example because of their lengthy residency in Britain or because they had British-born families.¹⁰² The question is whether these returning internees decided to remain in Nottingham.

A comparison of Wright's directories from 1913 and 1920 suggests some did not stay. Before the war Nottingham had 92 pork butchers but it contained only 76 after the war; three German names from 1913 were missing in 1920. There were in 1920 also less German hairdressers and music teachers than in 1913. However, almost all of the dozens of German-named firms among the hundreds of lace companies in 1913 were still present in 1920, apart of course from Seelig & Co. Some smaller lace export agencies disappeared too, including firms such as Abe & Lowis Metzger, Oppenheim, Alder & Co. and Rappolt & Soehne.

After the war Germans in Nottingham still encountered a hostile climate. In 1919 manufacturers pledged for the next ten years not to trade with local lace firms that employed or reinstated enemy aliens who had been interned or left the country or tried to commence business in the city. One business leader said: 'We recognise we shall have to trade with Germany, but we think it safer to trade with Germans over there than to have them as spies in our factories here.'¹⁰³ Nevertheless, most large lace firms that had been founded by Germans such as Simon May & Co. and Heymann & Alexander survived successfully well into the twentieth century. Stibel & Co. lasted until the end of the 1980s when it was an expanding exporter, which became a subsidiary of a larger group.¹⁰⁴

Most of the internees, like the hairdressers Kastenbauer and Hemmersbach, had working and lower middle class backgrounds. Unlike more well-to-do migrants, they had had no inclination or money to get naturalised before the war, and they were driven away or left Nottingham. As a result relatively many working and lower middle class Germans disappeared from Nottingham, while the wealthier and better-connected upper middle class manufacturers and merchants and their families stayed in the city and often continued to prosper.

This caused a remarkable numerical decline in the German population of Nottingham. Whereas the German population of Britain was reduced as stated earlier by 58 per cent, the drop in Nottingham was more than 61 per cent. The fall was even greater among working and lower middle class migrants as they were overrepresented among the internees and deportees – the number of German-born persons in Nottingham who did not have the British nationality fell between 1911 and 1921 by more than 83 per cent.

Conclusion

This article set out to answer the question whether and how the history of German immigrants in Nottingham during the First World War stands out in a British context. It is clear that much work remains to be done, not only on Nottingham but also on many other places in Britain. Nevertheless, some provisional and limited conclusions can be drawn.

In terms of hostile attitudes, spy scare, implementation of national measures, business boycott and exclusion, Nottingham replicated what happened across Britain, although the boycott and exclusion occurred later in this city. Unlike a few other places, the Germans in Nottingham seem to have received almost no publicly expressed support, while apart from one occasion they did not speak in public on their own behalf. What makes Nottingham further stand out was that anti-German riots did probably not take place here before May 1915, not coming to the city until the final day of rioting in Britain in that month. After that, the riots look as if they did not return to Nottingham. It also appears from the evidence on damage and sentencing as if there was no sustained attack on German retailers in Nottingham and the violence that did occur seems to have been less extreme than in some other places.

What remains unclear is why in these respects Nottingham differed from other British towns and cities, for example what prevented the prejudice, anger and desire for revenge from Nottingham citizens to be expressed in continued intense violence. As Germans in major British cities like London, Liverpool and Manchester met extreme public aggression, it can be argued that the size of the local population was instrumental, but this argument is weakened by the fact that in Glasgow Germans escaped large-scale physical attacks, while they fell victim in smaller cities like Hull, Sheffield and Bradford and towns and villages such as Rotherham, Peterborough, Worksop and Goldthorpe.

Perhaps the size of the German population, as a percentage of the city's total population, had an effect. In London, Liverpool, Manchester and Hull the relative size of the local German population was larger than the British average. In these cities anti-German violence was vigorous. Nottingham and other Midlands centres such as Derby, Leicester and Coventry, which all had relatively small German settlements, seem to have witnessed less severe violence. This could imply that in some places that suffered from extreme violence Germans were more visible, notably when this conspicuousness was increased with a relatively high number or particularly dense concentration of German pork butcher shops and other retailers, who provided obvious targets for rioters and looters.

It can also be suggested that regional issues influenced events and developments, with rioting similar to Nottingham occurring in other East Midland cities and towns like Peterborough, Leicester and Grantham and in Warwick and Birmingham in the West Midlands, but unfortunately not enough is known about unrest in other Midlands urban clusters, including Lincoln and Stoke-on-Trent.

I have argued elsewhere in the case of Glasgow¹⁰⁵ that local circumstances prevented the outbreak of riots. This article has shown in cases like Keighley, Sheffield and Goldthorpe that local matters may have contributed to the occurrence and nature of the unrest. This could, for example, be related to people in these localities disrespecting the rule of law. Or, as in Glasgow, the willingness, readiness and ability of local authorities to maintain order which helped to prevent sustained extreme violence. However, we have no comprehensive information on what drove the rioters nor what motivated the police and city leaders in Nottingham to undertake the protective and crowd-dispersing actions that added to the limitation of violence. We can only speculate that the desire of the constabulary and municipal officials to maintain order was strengthened by their respect for the position of German immigrants and their descendants.

Finally, personal characteristics and individual circumstances came into play. Some German families in Nottingham were well connected in the lace industry and local politics; they had even supplied several outstanding municipal leaders, including a Mayor before other cities in Britain elected foreign-born Mayors or Provosts. However, the relatively small size of the German population and its disunity made Germans in Nottingham more vulnerable. That weakness mostly affected working and lower middle class Germans. Connections in local industry and politics gave some, but not all upper middle class migrants and their descendants a stronger position. Vulnerability often increases fear. Many of the anti-German measures and actions were born out of fear next to prejudice, anger and desire for revenge. They also caused fear, which resulted in two suicides among Germans in Nottingham – comparatively also a high number. And fear underwrote the almost total lack of support from within the city's general population and the near complete failure of these migrants to speak up.

In short, there are no clear-cut answers as to why Nottingham stood out, but this review of a major provincial city demonstrates that further study of individuals, their personal characters and local circumstances will add to our understanding of the history of the Germans in Britain during the First World War.

Nottingham, January 2017

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- ¹ The research for this article was conducted in collaboration with the Trent Academy Group
- ² Pioneer studies are D. Saunders, 'Aliens in Britain and the Empire During the First World War', in *Immigrants & Minorities*, 4 (1985), 5-27; and P. Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst. Germans in Britain during the First World War*, Oxford, 1991. This article uses *Enemy in Our Midst* and P. Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain. German civilian and combatant internees during the First World War* (Manchester, 2012) to provide the British context.
- ³ The country in 1914 was of course the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but this article concerns itself only with mainland Britain (England, Wales and Scotland).
- ⁴ B. Braber, 'Within our gates: A new perspective on Germans in Glasgow during the First World War', in *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, XXIX (2009), 87-105.
- ⁵ J. Armitage, *Nottingham. A History* (Stroud, 2015); J. Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Chichester, 2006); D. Gray, *Nottingham. Settlement to City* (Leeds, 1982); D. Wardle, *Education and Society in Nineteenth-Century Nottingham* (Cambridge, 1971).
- ⁶ They get brief mentions in C. L. Edwards, *Nottingham in the Great War* (Barnsley, 2015), 45-46; and J. O'Neill, 'Nottingham people during the First World War', in D. Marcombe (ed.), *Nottingham and the Great War* (Nottingham, 1984), 28-50, 39.
- ⁷ J. Beckett, G. Oldfield, 'Greater Nottingham and the City Charter', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 253-284, 260; J. Giggs, 'Housing, Population and Transport', in idem, 435-462, 436.
- ⁸ *Census of England and Wales 1911. County of Nottingham* (London, 1914), 1, 65; *Census of England and Wales. 1921. County of Nottingham* (London, 1923), 58. The County Borough consisted of the City of Nottingham. In addition, 98 Germans were recorded in the Administrative County, which excluded the City of Nottingham but included other towns in Nottinghamshire. Furthermore, the Census noted 30 Austrians and 5 Turks in the County Borough and 15 Austrians and 3 Turks in the Administrative County.

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- ⁹ S. A. Mason, *Nottingham Lace 1760s-1950s. The Machine-made Lace Industry in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire* (Stroud, 2010), 164-165 puts the ratio in the early twentieth century at 114.6 to 100 compared to a UK average of 106.7 to 100.
- ¹⁰ *Census of England and Wales 1911. IX. Birthplaces* (London, 1913), 114. These figures include German-born residents and visitors. The statistics on London are based on its Administrative County. See also *1911 Census of England and Wales, General Report with Appendices*, for example Table 108: Number of Foreigners of Various Nationalities and Proportion of Total Foreigners; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 19-20, and for a comprehensive overview of the German population P. Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the 19th Century, 1815-1914* (London, 1995).
- ¹¹ *Das evangelische Deutschland, 1913*, 1213-1214 (with thanks to the Evangelisches Zentralarchiv in Berlin; G.J.R. Cienciala, *From Many Nations. A History of Lutheranism in the United Kingdom* (London, 1975).
- ¹² T. Foulds, 'The Medieval Town', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 56-71, 65 W. Rubinstein, M.A. Jolles (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 2011) 136, 424; *Nottingham Guardian* (hereafter *NG*), 19 and 20 Apr. 1954; Nottinghamshire Archives (hereafter *NoA*), NC/JW, M24, 182-191.
- ¹³ Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 65, 75-6, 189. See also M. Schulte Beerbühl, 'Commercial Networks, Transfer and Innovation. The Migration of German merchants to England, 1660-1800', in S. Manz, M. Schulte Beerbühl, J. R. Davis (eds), *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660-1914* (Munich, 2007), 19-35, 29.
- ¹⁴ Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 159.
- ¹⁵ National Archives (hereafter *NaA*), HO 144/171/A43647, HO 334/71/301; S.D. Chapman, 'Economy, Industry and Employment', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 480-512, 481; Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 150.
- ¹⁶ *NaA*, HO 144/346/B13636, HO 334/20/7385; *Wright's Directory of Nottingham and Neighbourhood 1913-14* (London, 1913), 477; M. Rijks, *The Eccentric Entrepreneur. Sir Julien Cahn, Businessman, Philanthropist, Magician & Cricket-Lover* (Stroud, 2008), 2, 10.
- ¹⁷ See *Allen's Nottingham Red Book 1914* and *Wright's Directory 1913-14*, for example 510-511, 520.
- ¹⁸ P. Panayi, *Germans in Britain since 1500* (London, 1996) 83.
- ¹⁹ *NoA*, CA 3617, Council Book 1857-8, DD/1992/6. See also *NaA*, MAF 11/123/1698; G. Oldfield, *The Heymann Family of West Bridgford* (Nottingham, 1983); R. Mellors, *Men of Nottingham and Notts* (Nottingham, 1924), 221; G. Oldfield, 'Heymann, Lewis (1802-

1869)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Rubinstein, Jolles, Rubinstein, *The Palgrave Dictionary*, 424. There may have been some opposition, as according to a newspaper report quoted by Oldfield (*The Heymann family*, 90) one of the aldermen said Heymann might be objected because he was a foreigner. See also J. Beckett, K. Brand, 'Municipal Reform and Parliamentary Enclosure', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 220-252, p. 248; S.D. Chapman, 'Industry and Trade 1750-1900', in idem, 317-350, 335-338; R.A. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham, 1815-1900* (London, 2006), 77; J. Carleback, G. Hirschfeld, A. Newman, A. Paucker, P. Pulzer (ed.), *Second Chance. Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom* (Tübingen, 1991), notably 47, 367.

²⁰ *The London Gazette* (hereafter *TLG*), 12 Nov. 1880. The *TLG*, 13 Jan. 1885 recorded the retirement of other partners. E.S. and A.W. Lassen came from the same area in Germany as Lewis Heymann. See also *Nottingham Evening Post* (hereafter *NEP*), 24 Jul. 1915, 26 Jul. 1917.

²¹ NoA, DD1964/8/1-8; G. Oldfield, 'The Heymann family of West Bridgford', in D. Mellor, G. Oldfield, S. Leeds, P. Hammond (eds), *Aspects of West Bridgford's History*, II, 2007, 84-94.

²² NaA, HO 334/10/3421, HO 144/74/A1234, BT 51/78/241262; NoA, DD/BW/215/7, 8-11. See also *TLG*, 12 Jan. 1886; *NG*, 15 Jan. 1886; *NEP*, 8 Dec. 1919.

²³ NaA, BT 51/78/241262; *TLG*, 9 Dec. 1904; Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 246; J. Potter Briscoe, *Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire at the Opening of the Twentieth Century*, and W.T. Pike (ed.), *Contemporary Biographies* (Brighton, 1901), 182.

²⁴ Gray, *Nottingham*, p. 88; Wardle, *Education and Society*, 192, 195.

²⁵ Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 149-151; Pike, *Contemporary Biographies*, 274.

²⁶ Both quoted in *NG*, 20 Apr. 1954.

²⁷ Quoted in C.C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Nottingham', in *AJR Information*, 1955.

²⁸ See for example *Wright's Directory 1913-14*, 510-511. For Caroline Weinberg see *Who's Who in Nottinghamshire* (Worcester, 1935), 148. She was born in the USA, a daughter of a German immigrant.

²⁹ Foulds, 'The Medieval Town', p. 65; A. Henstock, S. Dunster, S. Wallwork, 'Decline and Regeneration: Social and Economic Life', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 132-164, 133, 138. The *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 Mar. 1974 writes about anti-Jewishness encountered by Saul Isaac.

³⁰ *Nottingham Society*, 19 Feb. 1881, quoted by Gray, *Nottingham*, 88. Compare *NG*, 19 Apr. 1954.

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- ³¹ Weinberg was naturalised in 1886 (NaA, HO 144/171/A43647, HO 334/71/301), Cahn in 1893 (NaA, HO 144/346/B13636, HO 334/20/7385), Heymann in 1836 (NaA, HL/PO/PB/1/1836/6& 7W4n78), Goldschmidt in 1875 (NaA, HO 334/71/252) and Jacoby in 1844 (NaA, HO 1/17/14).
- ³² J. Frankel, S.J. Zipperstein, *Assimilation and Community. The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 1992), 66-67.
- ³³ *NEP*, 30 Jul. 1890. See also *NG*, 24 Jan. 1899.
- ³⁴ See for example *NEP*, 30 Jan. 1904, 2 Jan. 1906, 12 Jan. 1909 and 29 May 1909.
- ³⁵ *NEP*, 1 Apr. 1887.
- ³⁶ *NEP*, 20 Nov. 1889. The case was remembered on the eve of the First World War, see *Grantham Journal*, 6 Dec. 1913, *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 13 Dec. 1913.
- ³⁷ Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, 50, 231-235; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 27-41, 153.
- ³⁸ J. Hill, 'Leisure', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 533-548, 537.
- ³⁹ Reliable circulation figures are unavailable (see A.P. Wadsworth, 'Newspaper Circulation, 1800-1954', in *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, 1954-1955*, Manchester, 1955).
- ⁴⁰ *NEP*, 18 Sept. 1914.
- ⁴¹ Quoted in J. Beckett, 'Patriotism in Nottinghamshire. Challenging the Unconvinced, 1914-1917', in *Midland History*, XXXIX, 2014, 185-201, 191.
- ⁴² Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 71-77.
- ⁴³ *Manchester Guardian*, 15 May 1915, quoted in Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, 51.
- ⁴⁴ Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, 44-54.
- ⁴⁵ Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, 45, 275, 279.
- ⁴⁶ *NEP*, 4, 5, 6 and 7 Aug. 1914.
- ⁴⁷ *NEP*, 10 and 15 Aug. The case was extensively and widely reported across Britain. Panayi (*Prisoners of Britain*, 47) mentions it, quoting from the *Londoner Anzeiger*, 15 Aug. 1914, which names him as Max Kulmer.
- ⁴⁸ *NEP*, 7 and 8 Aug. 1914.
- ⁴⁹ NaA, HO 334/47/18095, HO 144/905/176391.
- ⁵⁰ *NEP*, 8 and 17 Aug., 2, 4 and 28 Sept. 1914. Ling was probably associated with the firm Levi, Sondheimer & Co and a member of the Nottingham Chamber of Commerce. In August Ling had donated 20 shillings to the War Distress Fund, a local appeal on behalf of the National Fund.
- ⁵¹ *NEP*, 9 Sept. 1914.

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- ⁵² *Manchester Evening News, Dundee Evening Telegraph, Birmingham Daily Post, Aberdeen Journal, Derby Daily Telegraph*, 9 and 10 Sept. 1914.
- ⁵³ *NEP*, 22 Oct. 1914; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 73.
- ⁵⁴ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 23 Oct. 1914 (with thanks to David Stowe).
- ⁵⁵ *NEP*, 24 Oct. 1914.
- ⁵⁶ *NEP*, 28 Sept. 1914.
- ⁵⁷ *NEP*, 14 May 1915, see also 13 May 1915.
- ⁵⁸ Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, 53-54.
- ⁵⁹ *NEP* and *NG*, 20 Nov. 1914.
- ⁶⁰ Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, p. 264; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 138-149.
- ⁶¹ *NEP*, 6 Mar. 1916.
- ⁶² Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 200.
- ⁶³ Nottingham Chamber of Commerce, *Fifty-fifth Annual report of the Council and Statement of Accounts for the year 1914*; *NEP*, 8 Nov. 1916. See also NaA, HO 334/11/3973, HO 144/121/A30380, HO 334/15/5318; NoA, DD1715/5; *NEP*, 9 May 1928; *NG*, 22 Sept. 1933. The other resignations came from lace and yarn merchants Hugo Auerbach and the earlier mentioned Otto Homberger.
- ⁶⁴ Like Heymann & Alexander these firms regular advertised in the Chamber's *Year Book* (see Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 150).
- ⁶⁵ NaA, HO334; NoA, CY/1/7/62, National Probate Calendar, 1858-1966: B.F. Stiebel, M19687; Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 138-139, 149-150; *Nottingham Journal*, 18 Mar. 1929; *The Trade*, 19 Mar. 1910.
- ⁶⁶ *The Trader*, 18 Jun. 1910; *NEP*, 17 Oct. 1910.
- ⁶⁷ *NEP*, 18 May 1914, 21 and 27 Aug. 1914, 5 and 10 Sept. 1914, 1 Dec. 1914, 23 May 1917. See also Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, p. 150.
- ⁶⁸ Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 142-143.
- ⁶⁹ *NEP*, 4 Apr. 1917. A similar issue surfaced after the armistice when the Council debated the number of alien stallholders at the market – 44 out of 300, but this included no Germans and only one Austrian who had been in England for 50 years (*NEP*, 19 Jan. 1919).
- ⁷⁰ See for example *NEP*, 6 May 1915 for the tailor Rudolph Niese, who went bankrupt as 'The war practically stopped his trade.'
- ⁷¹ NoA, DD888/36/1.
- ⁷² NaA, J 77/1907/9648; NoA, DD/888; *NEP*, 15 Jul. 1915; Mason, *Nottingham Lace*, 131, 149.
- ⁷³ C. Pennell, *A Kingdom United. Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012), 109; R. Ilett, 'Beastly to the Germans: Germanophobia

in the Worksop Area during the Great War', in *The Nottinghamshire Historian*, XCVI, 21-25.

⁷⁴ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 257.

⁷⁵ *NEP* and *NG*, 8 May 1915.

⁷⁶ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 17 May 1915, quoted in M. Higginbottom, 'From the Archives: Sheffield and the Lusitania riots of 1915',
<http://shefflibraries.blogspot.co.uk/2015/06/from-archives-sheffield-and-lusitania.html>.

⁷⁷ *NEP*, 24 July 1915; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 249.

⁷⁸ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 224-257; *NEP*, 21 May and 24 Jul. 1915; *Leicester Mercury*, 17 Aug. 2011.

⁷⁹ NaA, HO 45/10944/257142.

⁸⁰ J. Beckett, 'Radical Nottingham', in Beckett, *A Centenary History*, 284-316, 284, 299.

⁸¹ Oldfield, *The Heymann Family of West Bridgford*, 87; NaA, HO 45/6469.

⁸² *NEP*, 8 Aug. 1914

⁸³ *NEP*, 24 Aug. and 19 Oct. 1914.

⁸⁴ *NEP*, 10, 11 and 12 May 1915.

⁸⁵ NaA, RAIL 1189/450, HO 334/153/13732; *NEP*, 13 May 1915.

⁸⁶ NaA, HO 334/15/5510, HO 144/292/B1310, HO 334/153/13557, HO 144/616/B35398, HO 334/31/11868; *NEP*, 17 and 26 May 1915; O'Neill, 'Nottingham people', p. 39. Miller was subsequently interned in Lofthouse Park. Hoffman later changed his name to Mason.

⁸⁷ *NEP*, 22 May 1915.

⁸⁸ Braber, 'Within our gates', 98; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 275.

⁸⁹ Braber, 'Within our gates', 97; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 196.

⁹⁰ *NEP*, 17 May 1915.

⁹¹ *NEP*, 29 Nov. 1916.

⁹² O'Neill, 'Nottingham people', 39-40.

⁹³ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 13 May 1915.

⁹⁴ Edwards, *Nottingham*, 72.

⁹⁵ See for example, *NEP*, 9 Dec. 1914, 5 May 1915, 23 Oct. 1916 and 17 Apr. 1915.

⁹⁶ Rijks, *The Eccentric Entrepreneur*, 1-10.

⁹⁷ Braber, 'Within our gates', 98-102.

⁹⁸ *NEP*, 19 Jan. 1919.

⁹⁹ *Census of England and Wales. 1921. County of Nottingham* (London, 1923), xxxv, 58.

¹⁰⁰ *Census of England and Wales 1911*, 65; *Census of England and Wales 1921*, 58.

¹⁰¹ *Dundee Courier*, 30 Aug. 1919.

¹⁰² *NEP*, 17 Jan. 1919.

¹⁰³ *Dundee Courier*, 30 Aug. 1919.

¹⁰⁴ *NEP*, 11 Nov. 1976 and 26 Apr. 1989.

¹⁰⁵ Braber, 'Within our gates'.