

## Research Article

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# Leisurely consumption, the legacy of European cafes

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**Abstract:** Eating out for many is regarded as a leisure activity, embracing the consumption of food, drink and place. In contrast to the ubiquitous and homogenous branded coffee shops and cafes found in most cities are examples from earlier eras, which offer consumers a degree of differentiation. They represent a culinary legacy and heritage by association with time and place. Cafes are utilised in the two case study examples, Deller's Café, Exeter, United Kingdom, and Café Kranzler, Berlin, Germany, as social spaces, and in the context of tourism, attractions. The appeal of social spaces with an historical legacy is presented as the basis for further social research opportunities. These, it is proposed present a way of looking at the past to learn about the present.

**Keywords:** Archival research, tourism, hospitality, heritage

## Introduction

Historical research and archival resources provide a wealth of data for investigators of social and cultural history. This paper looks at the city cafe, its history and role in the shared experience of tourists and resident communities. As social spaces they offered the opportunity for patrons to meet, socialise, and partake in the social and cultural life of a city. For some they provided an affordable escape into another world, something out of the ordinary, a milieu, special, yet attainable. For many they were everyday social spaces noted for more than tea, coffee and cakes. Whether a capital or provincial café, for their clientele, they often left an enduring impression, fondly remembered, and today, evoking a sense of the past for those who did not

know them in their original form. This paper examines the role of historical research in this context, and questions why for some of these institutions their legacy endures, and is fondly recalled by former patrons and is sought in nostalgic re-creations.

## The café

Cafes in Europe have a long history as meeting places and for providing refreshments. They are part of the cultural history of Europe, and since the eighteenth century, its social and food history. City locations are the focus of this paper. They had developed an important function for residents, and tourists from the nineteenth century as the public became more accustomed to travel for business and pleasure. Early guidebooks, for example Murray's *Hand book for Northern Germany*, (1868) and the *Handbook for Devon and Cornwall (UK)* (1859) informed readers and tourists where they might find suitable accommodation and refreshment. These identify, and recommend outlets, for example, inns, hotels, and cafes. The accompanying phrase book for travellers advised them how to cope with European travel, and how order refreshments. Murray's 1847 *Hand-book of travel talk* (pp. 192 - 194) which, in a series of dialogues (English, French, German and Italian) includes the inn and café, for example, 'bring me coffee, tea, and, what papers do you take in? Bring me the *Hamburgh (Hamburg) Gazette*'. These too are indications of travellers' evolving interests in food and hospitality, and the leisurely café consumption suggested by Riley Fitch (2007). Although regarded by many visitors as an attraction, and place to visit, the central European coffee house is more than a place advises Mikes (1980), it is perhaps a way of life, a way of looking at the world.

Some cafes have been well known to generations of tourists, for example, *Caffé Florian* on St Marks Square in Venice, which opened in 1720, described as a lively scene of social and artistic ferment and a place for mediation and tranquillity (anon, 1990). Spang (2000) illustrates the cafes of the eighteenth century as informal places where patrons read newspapers, and thought about the

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world around them, while restaurant customers read the menu. Other cafes were new and situated in busy city centres, but were influenced by earlier models in the provision of hospitality and public spaces. Montanari (1994: 124) asserts that tea and coffee (and to a lesser extent, chocolate) consumption had spread rapidly throughout Europe from the seventeenth century. It seems a natural progression that these beverages should be popular, both in the cafés, and the drawing-rooms of the upper-bourgeoisie, and perhaps affirming the café as a social space, for conversation, and stimulation. As the nineteenth century progressed they were to become accessible to a wider middle class, one accustomed to travel, for work, and leisure. *Cafe* is used as a generic term for a hospitality outlet for all classes in society, not a formal restaurant, and not a coffee house. The café represents a stage in the evolution of eating away from home, and as a social activity (Burnett, 2004, Mennell, 1985, Spang, 2000). Riley Fitch (2006: 9, 17) suggests that for many patrons the European café was home to leisurely consumption, smoking and conversation, central to urban cultural and artistic life, and that a café offered an appealing environment for many groups and classes in society; politicians, philosophers, students, writers, and the middle classes.

## Eating out the in public domain

The trend in eating out grew throughout the nineteenth century, and it became fashionable to be seen at particular outlets, for example cafes and restaurants. Eating for many was a form of recreational activity and a pleasant addition to the boulevard, and park. Many cafes attracted a clientele, for example, literary and political cafes. Those close to tourist attractions, and city centre locations near to shops, museums and other cultural sights, (theatres, galleries, opera and concert houses) benefitted from urban complementarity. Clayton (2003: 134 – 135) indicates that in the twentieth century, in spite of the success of commercial catering chains, for example, the Aerated Bread Company's, ABC teashops, Shaw et al (2006), and Lyons Corner Houses, these and the restaurant cafes which flourished in London were important to the culture of eating out in London. They were indeed to prove so in the provinces where they were soon to be established. Food became to be regarded as a source of pleasure and entertainment, a form of conspicuous consumption, being seen, and to see others at fashionable establishments. Lashley (2000) identifies the commercial domain of hospitality as important in the provision of food and service.

## Case study of two cafes, compared and contrasted

Two cafes, Kranzler's in Berlin, Germany, and Deller's, in Exeter, United Kingdom, were identified as having a history, and as memorable city locations and social centres, each with a nostalgic appeal. The cafes emerged during research into twentieth century tourism, and consumers relationships with food and tourism. A methodology based on archival research resulted in the discovery of numerous historical records and potential sources of data, for example, menus, postcards, advertisements, newsprint, and references in contemporary guidebooks. Collectively, these gave an insight into the social life of the cafes, prompting further research as a case study.

Yin (2009) advises that a case study affords the opportunity to examine a topic in detail, in this example two cafes, each of which were fondly recalled by former patrons. Both were significant public, shared spaces and landmarks for visitors and residents. The case study aims to show how the names of the respective cafés endure, and how they became important features of the social and cultural life of a city. The cities, Berlin, capital of Germany, emerged as a nineteenth century cultural capital, Gay (2002: 11), and Exeter, a small, historic city in the South West of England, both attracted many tourists.

Kranzler's Hof-Conditorei, café, was opened by Austrian Johann George Kranzler, Prussian Court Confectioner. It brought a sophisticated Viennese style of confectioners and cafe to the city, and its Unter den Linden premises are shown in figure 1.

Deller's Café in Exeter, was the creation of architect Henry Hyams, (of Hyams and Hobgen, an architectural practice in Paignton, South Devon). He had created an imposing seaside café for Deller's Supply Stores, a flourishing high quality grocery firm at Paignton, on the South Devon Coast, seen in figure 8. Clunn (1929) described this as one of the finest cafes on the south coast, praising its service, and noting its popularity. The Exeter café was of a more ambitious design, situated in the heart of the city, close to the Cathedral, and its busy provincial High Street. The eclectic façade with an imposing entrance shown in figure 2, led to a galleried art nouveau interior with brightly coloured plaster friezes, and oak panelling seen in figure 3. The Express and Echo of December 5<sup>th</sup> 1916 reported that the café had been hastily finished for its opening as a temporary arrangement to meet increased demand. Historian W.G Hoskins (1960: 128) states that 'there was nothing else quite like it anywhere, wherever one sat on any floor, its plan enabled one to see all who entered and left', see figure 4. It

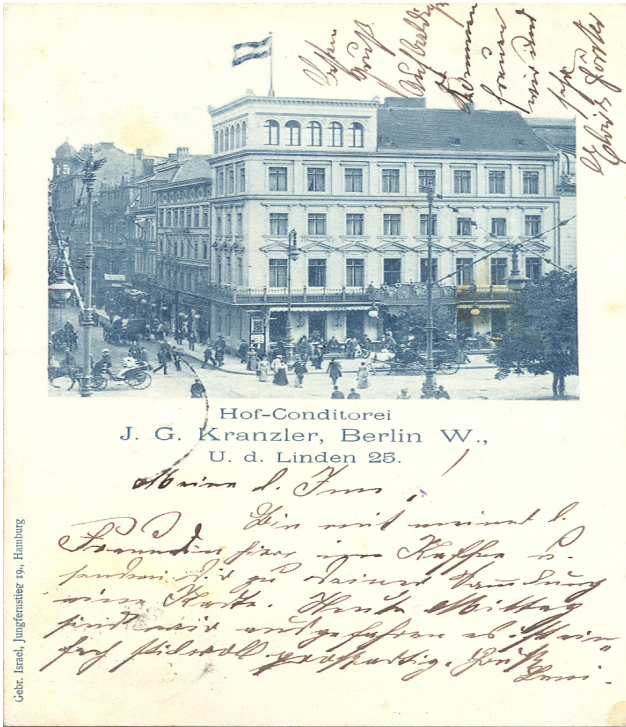


Figure 1: Postcard, postmarked 11 1900, Hof-Conditorei. Source, author's collection



Figure 2. Deller's Café, Exeter, main entrance. Deller's brochure, ca 1925, source author's collection.



Figure 3: Postcard, Deller's Café, Bedford Street, Exeter, ca 1920. Source, author's collection.

is interesting to note that Hoskins considers the loss of the café in the 1942 blitz as, ‘perhaps the greatest single loss to Exeter in all the destruction of that terrible night’. The café, he suggests, in its relatively short life, had become part of

the social history of the city, and its disappearance made Exeter a duller place.

Elements of the design and its spatial configuration are shown in the architect’s plans in figure 5.



Figure 4: Postcard ‘A corner of Deller’s Café. Exeter’. ca 1920. Source, author’s collection.

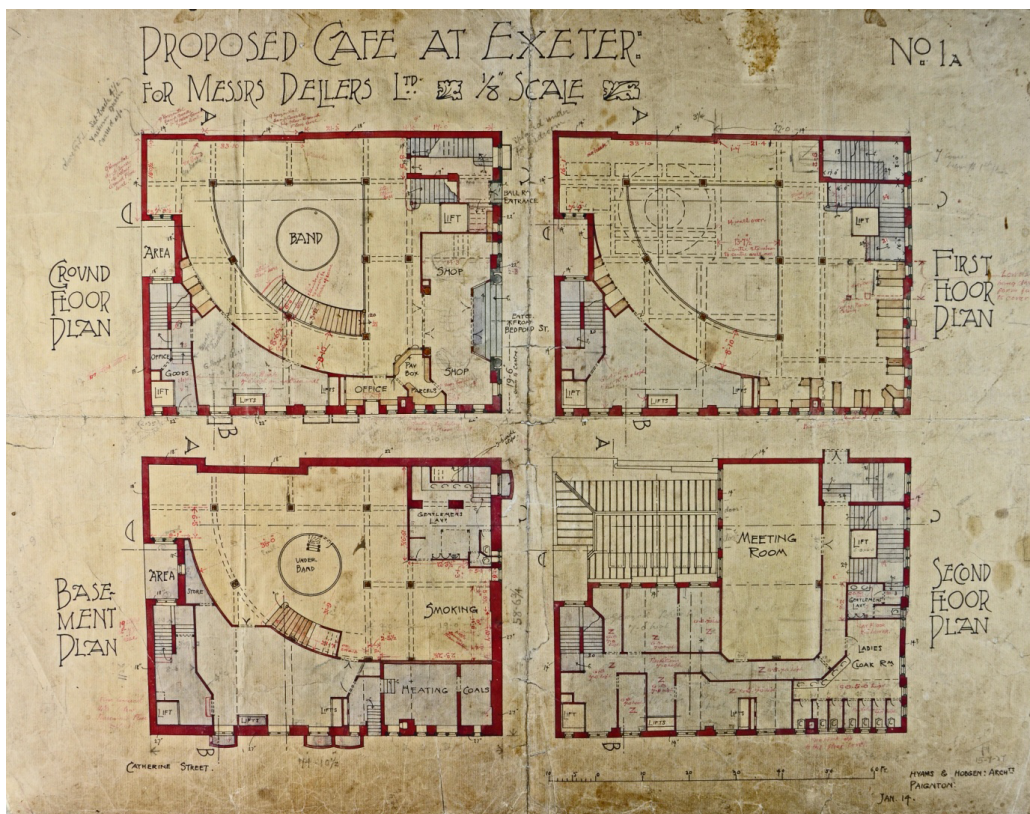


Figure 5: Architect’s plans for the café, dated January, 1914. Courtesy, The Salutation Inn, Topsham, Devon.

Together, the cafes have an interesting architectural legacy, with features that made them special, remembered, and in the case of Kranzler's, rebuilt. For Kranzler's it may have been its long history, fashionable *Ecke* (corner) locations, and Harwood (2003) indicates that Hyams' work was of a high artistic quality.

Both cafes, Kranzler's and Deller's fell victims to the bombs of World War Two, Kranzler's Unter den Linden remnants are depicted on a postcard ca 1945, shown in image 6. Post World War Two, and the division of Germany, and its former capital, Kranzler's premises on the Kurfürstendamm were rebuilt as seen in image 7. The temporary café was replaced in 1958 with its rotunda topped structure shown in figure 11. Thus the famous *Ecke* passed to another generation, the Unter den Linden site of the original cafe was later redeveloped. The remains of Deller's Bedford Street premises were cleared to make way for the post war reconstruction of the blitzed city centre, however, the High Street branch café continued trading until the 1960s. Behind its elegant façade there is now a bookshop, one of the city's ubiquitous multiple retailers. Orsali (2000: 76) suggests that in the context of tourism in historic cities the maintenance of facades contributes to its architectural heritage and is linked to identity. Deller's Paignton café was demolished in the 1960s, leaving few traces of the *Dellerland* Cafes once so well known in the South West.



**Figure 6:** Postcard, Die historische Kranzler-Ecke in Berlin, Unter den Linden, ca 1945, *The historic Kranzler corner, on Unter den Linden, Berlin.* Source, author's collection



**Figure 7:** Source, author's collection

Postcard image 7 shows the temporary Café at the Kurfurstendamm *Kranzler Ecke* ca 1951, and the spires of the ruined Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church.

The architecture of Deller's Cafe – interior, exterior, its location, reflect the personality of its creator, Henry Hyams, artist and architect. His distinctive style may have been influenced by his extensive, early twentieth century European travels. The name of the café (and the other branches) became well known to a clientele comprising tourists and residents. As an architect, writer, and artist, (Hyams was listed as an architect and artist in the 1933 Encyclopaedia of Esperanto,), his short story written in Esperanto, *La arto de spelamoro* (Spelamoro's art) includes a prophetic statement, *'I often wondered whether there isn't some sort of magic, a hypnotic effect in a work of art'*. His creations in Devon appear to have had this effect, many who visited the cafes never forgot them. Interviews with former patrons recall their ambience, experience and quality of the food, for example, ice cream and coffee.

Hyams' design for the interior of Deller's café, Bedford Street Exeter (see figure 4) was exhibited at the Royal Academy Annual Exhibition in the summer of 1922, (catalogue ref no 1205). At the time the Bedford Street Café was under construction in 1916, Henry Hyams was facing imprisonment as a Conscientious Objector.

Grafe and Bollerey (2007) describe the architectural details of the Berlin cafes including Kranzler's famous Unter den Linden neighbour the Café Bauer. The Unter den Linden started as an avenue through open fields, and

ended up as the most fashionable street in Berlin. Other cities too had their parades and promenades, leisurely meeting places for society, and the parading of troops, for example, Nevsky Prospect in St Petersburg, and the Grand Canal in Venice. Cities developed a society, and Girouard (1983:181) suggests that as a consequence, neighbourhoods grew to cater for its needs which included hospitality - coffee-houses and cafes.

## Social spaces

The design of the café was an important factor, with its main dining rooms, shops and perhaps additional rest rooms, smoking rooms, ladies rooms, separees and function rooms. Deller's Café in Exeter boasted a ball room which contributed to its position as a social centre. They were, in a commercial context multi-functional. Often with gardens, balconies, and as shown in image 8 (Deller's Café, Paignton) recessed verandas.

Pavement, or boulevard seating seen in figure 9, Café Kranzler, Unter den Linden, Berlin, shows how street life could be observed. Montgomery (1997) suggests that pavement cafes are a means of stimulating street life and contemporary urban culture, recalling that of the belle époque.

The European *Konditorei* (confectioners with café) emerged in the early nineteenth century as a place designed for the social needs of an audience of both sexes,



Figure 8: Postcard, Deller's Café, Torbay Road Paignton, Devon. Source, author's collection

Grafe and Bollerey (2007: 15). With the absence of salons for playing cards and billiards, and smoking allowed only in special rooms, they became institutions for respectable women. They catered to middle class men and women, the features of the outlet, typically, its pastel colours, and with shops and attractive displays, and then rooms for consuming coffee and cakes became a successful formula adopted by others. From the 1870s many of the older Konditoreien transformed themselves into large cafes, whilst still retaining the shop function. MacDonough (1998) regards the café as a form of a fashionable salon, a public meeting space, and one that had absorbed the influence of the Viennese *Kaffehaus*, into the culture and life of Berlin, the Imperial city.

The idea that a café could provide a venue that could be inhabited, temporarily and was more luxurious and grander than a private home is well known in hospitality. Cafes as palaces of consumption along with the cathedrals of consumption, the department stores, became to be regarded as places of entertainment and for the consumption of food and beverages (ibid: p 28). Improvements in the economic situation of urban populations and the development of tourism, for the middle and later the working classes found its expression in large scale developments including cafes. Many were purpose built and characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the era of the belle époque, a time for some, of luxurious leisure. They represented a form of conspicuous consumption as identified by Veblen

(1961).

In contrast to formal and exclusive restaurants with strict dress codes, and costly menus, the affordability and accessibility of the café offered a more inviting prospect to customers with limited budgets. It presented consumers with the opportunity to sample, and experience something otherwise unattainable, but was still an occasion, and something special. During the belle époque a period up to the First World War, eating out, travel, consumption of leisure and burgeoning resorts catered for the leisured middle classes. Luxury hotels, summer and winter resorts and the European capitals proved to be popular destinations for the middle classes. Thomas Cook, Hamilton (2003) encouraged and enabled the public to travel, explore and consume, and with offices in major cities was able to advise travellers of the attractions. Hindley (1983) affirms the trends of the tourists, and travelling public, for example the British who explored Europe in the nineteenth century, aided by Thomas Cook making all the necessary arrangements, and equipped with the appropriate guidebooks. This form of travel required the provision of hospitality and refreshment.

## Café architecture

Many cafes occupied architect designed (commissioned) premises. Those dating from the later nineteenth century often reflected the prevailing fin de siècle, and art nouveau



Figure 9: Postcard, Café Kranzler, Unter den Linden, Berlin, ca 1905. Source, author's collection

styles. Deller's café in Exeter, opened in 1916 is described (with Mackintosh's Willow Tea Rooms in Glasgow) in Sir Bannister Fletcher's (1961: 1047) *A history of architecture*, as an example of an art nouveau interior, Deller's Café, Exeter, the Ingram Street 1901, and the Willow Tea Rooms, 1904 designed by C.R. Mackintosh, 'are among the few genuine instances in Britain of Art Nouveau'. It is one reason why the Exeter café is remembered, its design, was unique in the West Country, and more akin to larger urban centres. Grafe and Bollerey (2007: 36) propose that the two decades before the First World War were a time when the design of the cafes appeared in the working field of architects with a decidedly artistic profile, for example Mackintosh's Tea Rooms in Glasgow. It was considered an attempt to 'purge cafes of the mass produced ornament and brash theatricality', and to restyle the earlier models. This is evident in Hyams' designs for Deller's Cafes which presented elements of contemporary arts and crafts, and art nouveau as noted by Bannister Fletcher (ibid).

Pump-Uhlman (2007: 172-173) states that in 1825 Johann George Kranzler, (pastry cook to the Prussian Court) opened a coffee house in Berlin at what was to be known as the *Kranzler Ecke*, at the corner of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstrasse. In 1932 a second branch was opened at another significant street corner which became known as the *Neues Kranzler Ecke*, with its patisserie on the ground floor and restaurant on the first floor. West Berlin created its own centre in the cold war period. The Café Kranzler and the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church became symbols of the city of West Berlin. The two storey building of the 1958 Café Kranzler, with its rotunda, balcony, and red and white awnings was designed by Hanns Dustmann, and became a synonym for the architecture of the 1950s and 60s. The spatial features were reminiscent of earlier cafes, patisserie, café area and terrace, and a retail outlet (for chocolates). The wall, and picture decoration of the café included a parquetry picture of the original Unter den Linden, Kranzler Café. Further development of the Neues Kranzler Eck following German reunification, and Berlin becoming a capital city once again is documented by Nagel (2006).

## Location of the cafes

Borer (2006: 175) proposes that an urban culturalist approach identifies how people are drawn to a place where a culture's narratives are told but also play an important role in defining character and identity. Both Deller's and

Kranzler's occupied prominent positions corner sites on the main thoroughfares. Murray's Hand book for Northern Germany (1868: 345-347) states that the finest buildings in Berlin are to found on the Unter den Linden. With its double avenue of lime trees it is the principal, and most frequented street in the city. Café Kranzler was located at 25 Linden. It later (ibid:361) describes the attractions of the city centre and lists various hospitality outlets. These are indicative of the period, for example, 'supping-houses for bachelors', and the lower classes it is suggested resort to the wine and beer houses which are compared in splendour to the gin palaces of London. However the confectioners shops (Konditoreien) are described as similar to the cafes of Paris supplying ice (ice cream), coffee, and newspapers, 'and become the lounge and resort about 1 or 2 o'clock, it being usual practice to take a cup of chocolate in the middle of the day'. Kranzler was noted as supplying *capital ice*. Deller's were well known for their ices too, made on the premises, and by the 1920s were offering ice cream sodas and sundaes, culinary imports from America, and fashionable transatlantic food trends.

Contemporary travel guides identify hospitality outlets for the visitor. Fodor's (1936: 514) 1936, *On the continent*, recommends both Kranzler cafes, suggesting that patrons 'can sit for hours over a cup of coffee'. The Dunlop (1935) Guide, and Muirhead's, *The Blue Guide to England* (1939) both listed Deller's Café. Baedeker (1900: 6) lists *cafes in the Vienna style*, but Kranzler appears as a confectioner at the corner of Friedrichstrasse. A new form of gastro-tourism is identified by Bell (2007: 9) where spaces to eat, drink and socialise occupy a central role in new forms of city living for residents, working population and tourists. These represent a stage in the evolution of the city and trends in hospitality consumption. However, although presented as new some look to the past, for example Kranzler, and Café Josty in Berlin.

Following World War Two, and the division of the city, Kranzler's location became West Berlin, and the Neues Kranzler Ecke a symbol of the newly divided city, and yet a reminder of its past. The café was featured in Henseleit's (1973) landscape in transition as a pre-eminent landmark and 'corner' in the city's architecture.

## Social mores and the cafe

Through the nineteenth century the café became to be regarded as a fashionable salon in the public domain, and it was socially acceptable for unaccompanied ladies to use the cafes as social spaces. In this context,



and in tourism Kivela and Crotts (2006: 355) identify a pleasure factor or ‘feel good’ factor as the result of food consumption at a destination as an important ‘pull factor’. It is a significant marketing tool that should not be underestimated. For many consumers there are intangible components which contribute to the appeal, and sensory experience, for example the service, ambience and perhaps historical legacy. Consumers often select a particular, restaurant or café that will fulfil a particular desire.

## Ephemeral archive resources

A promotional brochure, *About Dellerland* (c 1925: 21) describes Deller’s Exeter Café as a pre-eminent social centre, and rendezvous adding to the attractions of ‘the Metropolis of the West as a tourist, shopping and excursion centre’. Additional materials, for example, menus and notes from the manager’s desk of the Exeter café, although an elusive archive are invaluable in completing the story of the cafes, and the clientele they served. The minutiae, and marginalia of daily routine, which with the passage of time provides an invaluable record of the way the cafes were organised, and functioned. The success of the Exeter café must, in part be attributed to the high standards and expertise of Mr and Mrs L. H. Williams who managed the café for seventeen years, retiring on the cafes 21<sup>st</sup> birthday in 1937. Their influence contributed greatly to making the café a social centre for the city.

## Brochures, menus, postcards, souvenirs

Advertisements and promotional materials for both cafes emphasise location, architecture, and the interiors of the cafes. Photographic postcards were a mass produced, and reliable, relatively inexpensive important form of communication, combination of image and message. As souvenirs and mementos they form an important resource, perhaps more so than other visual records. Their narratives in the form of sender’s messages, addresses, and dates are important in tracing social history. Surviving examples from the two cafes show how they were regarded by their clientele. Numerous postcards of both Kranzler’s and Deller’s present images of interiors, exteriors, and their urban locations.

Simmons (1960: 328) advised that the preservation of visual records of the past is important for many researchers, and that history if it is to be written well needs to be a visual as well as a documentary study. The visual records of the cafes appear to support this proposal, and Edwards (2012: 2) states that photographic images come to represent a form of cultural nostalgia allowing us to examine earlier perceptions of change, class relations and national identity. Cleave (2014) identifies photographic postcards as providing a rich source of data for hospitality and tourism. Postcards of both cafes contribute to a narrative of time and place, through a series of images, for example the street scene captured in the style of a snapshot, or instantaneous picture, Kodak (1920), in figure 10.



Berlin - Friedrichstraße-Kranzler-Ecke

Figure 10: Postcard, Kranzler Ecke ca 1938. Source, author’s collection.

Postcards provide researchers with an historical visual and textual record analogous to the digital forms of the twenty-first century. Although many survive in collections in the public domain, there is a market for them as collectibles. Morgan and Pritchard, (2005) suggest that souvenirs (including postcards) are perhaps signifiers of self, touchstones of memory, and objects of transition and trajectory. They become woven into the fabric of social life. Hitchcock and Teague (2000) indicate that the souvenirs, as sites of meaning, allow for social meaning to be captured and materialised, which is evident in the postcard imagery of cafes. The postcard proved to be an affordable and convenient means of sharing experiences with others, the image often annotated with messages for example, indicating where the sender had sat. The real photographic postcard is an important visual photographic record in local and social history. As shown in the examples presented in this article, they are enduring, perhaps saved as a reminder of the sender, or as a souvenir of a personal visit. Gordon, (1986: 135) states that souvenirs, and in the context of tourism and hospitality, postcards and menus, are tangible reminders of special intangible moments, events and places. Their physical presence locates and freezes in time the transitory experience, and brings back something of the quality of the extraordinary. Souvenirs hold meanings for their owners, and reflect relationship between,

object, place and person. Menus saved as souvenirs tell us what foods were fashionable at a point, and place in time; Cohen and Avieli (2004: 770) suggest the menu is a culinary equivalent of a geographical map, guiding the customer through the dishes of the establishment. It is a systematic list of dishes and reflects a wider system of ethnoclassification. For example in a Deller's Café menu ca 1930 patrons were presented with a wide choice of dishes, ranging from *Sardines on toast*, to *Lobster mayonnaise*, and *Charlotte Russe*. Examples of the cakes and pastries served in many European cafes are illustrated in the influential technical handbooks of Erich Weber, (1929), a Dresden confectioner. (There were translations from the original German published in French, English, Spanish and Swedish).

Messages which refer to the café, for example, the message written on a postcard showing the interior of Deller's reads, 'have just had tea at the celebrated café', form a narrative of a point in time, telling us something of how the cafes were regarded as special, and memorable. A postcard, one of a collection, dated October 20<sup>th</sup> 1912, sent to a family in Bristol, from friends staying in Berlin, records that, '*Savoy Hotel, Friedrichstrasse, Berlin. ..we have started exploring Berlin, and it seems a fine city, palatial buildings, and cleaner than London. The chief industries appear to be cafes and cigar shops,*' - as shown in figure 11.



**Figure 11:** Postcard Cafe Josty, Berlin, post marked 8 12 13. Source, author's collection.

Author of the *Gourmet's Guide to Europe*, Newnham Davis, (1903, 1908, and 1911) recorded in the Berlin chapter, that the Savoy Hotel in Berlin was 'excellent'. His guidebooks advised travellers of not only the best restaurants in Europe, but also where they might find authentic regional dishes and fashionable cafes. Bauer's Unter den Linden café (situated close to Kranzler's) is

described (1903: 149) as 'more of the refreshment saloon class, everything supplied there is of the best quality', but had become a general rendezvous in the afternoon and evening. Examples of the postcard narrative are shown in figures 12 and 13 which reflect on changes brought about by the Second World War. Figure 14 records a visit to the post war Kranzler's in 1981.



**Figure 12:** Postcard dated 16<sup>th</sup> November 1943, a period described by Vassiltchikov (1985), reads that Kranzler's was visited on Sunday afternoons, even in wartime Berlin. Source, author's collection



**Figure 13:** Postcard of the pre-war Kranzler Ecke dated 3. 5. 1948, with its poignant message, *Es war einmal*, *once upon a time*, perhaps recalling the era before its destruction. Source, author's collection



**Figure 14:** Postcard, Kranzler at night ca 1980, saved as a memento reads, 'Visited, Sunday August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1981, Mushroom omelettes, salad, toast, coffee, Sacher torte with cream, serenaded by barrel organ.' Source, author's collection

## The past and the present – nostalgic appeal and enchantment

The anecdotal and archival resources used in researching the cafes have provided a link with the past, a former period and style. They have identified something in living memory, yet for many unknown, social spaces of hospitality that were attractions, and affectionately remembered. Win Sung Tun and Ritchie, (2011: 333) regard memorable experiences as important in tourism, suggesting that autobiographical memory may be a motivation to revisit place and experience as a form of nostalgic re-enactment. Janssen, Chessa and Murre (2005: 658) identify the reminiscence bump in the lifetime retrieval of memories often associated with important events, maybe social encounters, tourism and hospitality. It is suggested (Bennett 2001, Ramsay 2009) that consumers (and tourists) are sometimes subject to a form of enchantment through the discovery of the extraordinary amongst the familiar and every day. The legacy of the cafes and their souvenirs indicates that cultural sites enchant, attract and captivate.

The examples of postcards, their images and messages may be regarded as a form of memory cue in the retrieval of date, place and experience. These, and odours, it is

suggested spontaneously cue autobiographical memories, Chu and Downes (2000: 111) for example the aromas of coffee, and freshly baked cakes in the example of cafes. White (2000: 77-78) writing at the age of 80 retrieves memories from the reminiscence bump recalling a childhood spent in Devon. She describes visiting Deller's Café in Exeter in the 1920s, 'it was great to have lunch at Deller's, it was circular with a balcony and while you were eating you could look down on everyone else while a four-piece band played light music'. Her favourite meal included a chocolate cream pudding, and it is interesting to note the detail she was able to recall from those formative years.

Grafe and Bollerey (2007) suggest that the café might be regarded as an object of nostalgia, a stage for inventing oneself, they were spaces where experience could be negotiated in a space between private and public life spheres, the longing for privacy. The staging of public display, and the provision of hospitality affected the physical arrangement of the cafes and perhaps contributed to the intangible atmosphere and ambience, both Deller's Café and Kranzler's provide examples of innovative spatial design.

There is an appeal for many of the past, possibly evoked by memories of former patrons, for example poet Rupert Brooke and the Café des Westens, a rendezvous on

Berlin's Kurfurstendamm, shown in figure 15.

This was frequented by artists and journalists, it became one of his favourite haunts, a place 'where patrons could sit and watch the world go by under the awnings', Hassall (1965: 338). Rupert Brooke spent most of his time in Berlin at the Café des Westens, a haunt of advanced intellectuals, Jones (1999: 246 – 247), Brooke described the café as 'thronged by all the intellectuals, picturesque geniuses, and so forth'. It was here in Berlin he wrote one of his best known poems, *The Old Vicarage, Grantchester*, (*Café des Westens, May 1912*) with the much quoted lines; expressing a nostalgic expression of an England far away from the Kurfurstendamm,

*Stands the clock at ten to three*

*And is there honey still for tea*

The Café des Westens became Kranzler's branch café in 1932.

Consumers often seek the authentic in the experience of hospitality, whether staged, or perceived. Quan and Wang (2004) propose that these may be regarded as peak touristic experiences in terms of food, regional dishes and specialities, or the authenticity of place. The name of an establishment (café) or brand may form a link to the past and hold powerful associations, and perhaps with former eras, happier times, Imperial Europe, or with the personalities of clientele or staff. Everett (1979) states

that beneath the reconstructed city lies the buried heart of Imperial Berlin, and perhaps its social history. The names of institutions of former times including, The Hotel Adlon, Café Josty and Kranzler's may, for some provide a link, a temporal reference to another era. Today, amidst the steel and glass of Berlin, the Neues Kranzler Ecke is a reminder of former times. Memories of Deller's are regularly featured In the *Nostalgia* column of the Exeter, Express and Echo newspaper.

## Conclusion

Historical research has relevance, it can show how, and perhaps why there is change, and why we sometimes look to the past. How are the cafes remembered? There are many illustrations that could be used, and historic parallels to be drawn. Two contrasting examples have shown much to interest researchers in many fields, for example, social history, tourism, and anthropology.

The legacy of the historic café, is more than a fashion, or a trend. It is about change, evolution, and nostalgia, a link with a past, or elements of it, something transmuted to a generation who did not experience the original. They have been shown to evoke a sense of the past through historical references, associations between time and place. It is possible to reproduce and create illusions of age and patina, and traces of former decades are recreated in new outlets. However the attraction of historical legacy



Figure 15: Postcard, Café des Westens, Kurfurstendamm. Source, author's collection

has been shown to add uniqueness and the qualities of enchantment. Articles in the press are indicative of the interest in the culinary past, and it is evident that Kranzler's and Deller's are regarded as social, cultural and architectural landmarks, revealing a style popular in Europe, more than just about eating out, and much about the social functions of space.

The survival of the café depends on an atmosphere of leisure, a gentle slowing down, it embodies the opportunity for an outlook and at the same time a retreat, cafes with a soul, Grafe and Bollerey (ibid: 80). Café culture, it is proposed has been revitalised due to the regeneration of many city centres. Again, they are places to meet, for leisurely consumption, and to do business. Qualitative and archival research has identified trends in consumption, nostalgia and the presentation and interpretation of the past in the context of food, hospitality and tourism. Cafes have been presented as landmarks in consumer society and social history, and in the experience, and memories of time and place. Historical investigation has been shown to provide a basis for social research.

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