

# From Belsenberg to Britain: A Case Study

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## Introduction

As a subject, immigration to the United States of America from Germany has had benefited from a reasonable amount of interest and scholarship. German migration to Britain has received comparatively less. This is a reasonable expectation as America was the main target for German migrants. Roughly one quarter of Americans are today descended from German immigrants. The work done on German immigration to Britain has been limited. This is mainly due to the fact that German immigration to Britain was on a far smaller scale than that of the US. It may also be due to the hostility that was shown towards Germans during both wars. America may have fought in the war, but was not nightly bombed by the Luftwaffe. The US was also an immigrant nation and more accepting of diversity than Britain. As we have seen many Americans were of German descent themselves. Many Germans in Britain changed their name, either in the First World War or the Second. The Funks fell into this category, changing their name to Ford and Fenton in 1940. The Hubbs appear to have changed their name at the beginning of the First World War to Hall. There were also more minor anglicisations such as Otterbach to Otterback and Stier to Steer. The subject suffered because of this hostility, especially immediately after the Second World War. The subject has remained largely unpopular even in recent times. Many are unaware of German immigration, partly because post-war resentment against Germany stopped much scholarship and interaction between academics from both countries. At the outbreak of the First World War, a sharp break between German and British scholarship can be observed. The Cambridge Medieval History series initially had several German scholars contributing to its pages, but after war was declared they were hastily dropped in favour of, often, less qualified British scholars. A second reason for lack of scholarship is because of the way many German immigrants were treated, which is a source of historical embarrassment and still within living memory.

In the past two decades the subject has taken tentative steps to enter its rightful place in history. There were several articles in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* in 1995, which related to German migration, although they were general and not specifically about German migration to Britain. The most prolific writer on the subject has been Panikos Panayi of De Montfort University in Leicester, UK. He has written numerous books about migration, often with attention given to German migration to Britain, but mainly in London. His book *Germans in Britain since 1500* is a collection of articles, many by himself that explore several aspects of German migration through the last 500 years. More specific to migration in the nineteenth century is his book *German Immigrants in Britain During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, 1815-1914*. Another problem with this area of study being under appreciated

is that books relating to it are difficult to obtain. This is also true of relevant works relating to Württemberg to describe the economic and social background that caused so many to leave. The only books available in English relate to the general background in Germany at that time and not specifically Württemberg. Volker Berghahn's *Imperial Germany, 1871-1914: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics*, has useful sections on the economic situation in Germany at the time and gives a useful overview of the period. There are, however, several works in English relating specifically to individual German villages in the Württemberg region. Two books by David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870* and *Property, Production and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870*, are helpful in giving background to the situation in rural Württemberg in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

I will attempt to bring what research there is on the subject together to present a picture of why many Germans chose to emigrate, and why Britain was their chosen destination. The reasons given will be general to many Germans, but will then be applied to the Funk family and those families which were associated with it. To do this it is necessary to examine push and pull factors. Push factors are the factors that encourage, or sometimes force, people to migrate. In the case of nineteenth century Württemberg there were a series of complex and intertwined socio-economic factors involved. Pull factors are those that encourage migrants to settle in a specific place. Sometimes better prospects can be enough to attract migrants, even if push factors are not that strong. In the case for Württemberg the push factors were strong, but the pull factors need to be carefully analysed, as the main question that presents itself is why the Funks chose Britain over America. America was the more popular destination and had greater pull factors in economic terms. One possible explanation that will be examined to explain this is the influence of established migration routes. Finally the push and pull factors will be weighed up in order to build a comprehensive picture of why the Funk family decided to move from Belsenberg to Sheffield.

### **Push Factors**

We must first turn to the factors that induced people to leave Germany. For anyone to leave for a new life in a foreign land there has to be a degree of dissatisfaction with their native country. In the nineteenth century approximately 5,000,000 people left Germany heading to German colonies in Eastern Europe, overseas colonies in Africa, America or Britain. In this period Germany was a net exporter of people. The reasons that caused such a migration are complex and subject to regional variation. There are, however, several universal trends that can be established, which when taken together can be simplified to increasing pressure on scarce resources. The mid to late nineteenth century saw the Germany economy lurch from rapid growth to depression several times. There was an increasing industrialisation production which placed the more rural and traditional proto-industries under pressure causing unemployment and starting the trend for the urbanised Germany that we see today. This was set in the context of rising population, increasing the pressure on scarce resources

and leading to lower wages. It was also a period of political change, as Bismarck sought to unify the fledgling German nation after 1871.

Some note must be given to the political situation in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Before unification in 1871 Württemberg had been an independent state with its own king. It was a Protestant nation and had its own history and culture. After 1871 Württemberg was forced to join with other German states that had differing histories and often were Catholic nations. Württemberg had supported Napoleon against its fellow German state of Prussia, and contributed 15,000 men to the *Grande Armée* of 1812 that met such a disastrous end on the freezing plains of Russia. It was difficult to find a new homogeneous German national identity and the later nineteenth century can be seen as a period in which Germany as a nation was essentially uncomfortable with itself. The states of Germany initially retained some independence after unification. Württemberg retained its elected representatives, control of tax and emigration policy, and some of the larger states even continued to send ambassadors to one another, despite being technically the same country. Bismarck was determined to unite the country into a cohesive whole, a task which he did with dedication, gathering support from whatever groups he needed in order to achieve his aims.<sup>1</sup> These political changes may have prompted some emigrate, but the lot of the average person did not change significantly due to political reorganisation. Those who chose to emigrate due to the political situation were largely political discontents.

It is difficult to give a general overview of the German economy throughout the nineteenth century. The general trend was towards greater industrialisation, but this did not simply lead to an upward growth trend. The economy had seen a period of boom during and after unification. In the four years from 1870 as many iron works and machine manufacturers were founded as had been in the period from 1800-70. The rapid industrial expansion led to greater economic growth. The capital invested into stock holding firms increased to 2.8 billion Marks, where it had merely been 400,000 Marks in the past two decades. The banking industry expanded to meet the new demands of a growing capitalist economy. 103 banks were registered on the stock market between 1871-3, and the two years from 1871-2 saw banks paying an average dividend of 12.49%, with the larger banks approaching 20%. It was also a time of boosted agricultural output. Cereal production was at 1,698 million Marks in 1870, but just four years later it had grown to 2,692 million Marks. Meat production likewise saw a large increase of 50%.<sup>2</sup> The country was going through political upheaval, but the economy appeared to be buoyant and confidence was high. As with most rapid change there were casualties and it is often the case it was the unskilled that were hardest hit. Industry focused on the cities and towns rather than the more rural areas. There had been a tradition of proto-industry in rural settlements, especially in the production of iron and textiles. When larger, more efficient industries started producing the same products but at a lower cost,

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Wagner, *A History of Migration from Germany to Canada, 1850-1939* (Vancouver, 2006), p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Volker Berghahn, *Imperial Germany, 1871-1914: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics* (New York, 2005), pp. 11-12.

and therefore with a lower selling price, the cottage industries went into terminal decline. The closing of many of these rural industries led to greater unemployment in the countryside that could not be absorbed by the agricultural sector. With an oversupply of labour in the rural economy the wages for general farm labourers decreased. Landowners were also able to demand more working hours from their labourers. This oversupply of labour meant that the tradition of workers migrating to where there was work according to the seasons was largely destroyed. It became an uneconomical lifestyle. Those in this situation were left with a choice, either to migrate to the city where there were some jobs in the new industries or to emigrate and try their fortunes in a new land.<sup>3</sup> Urbanisation, a by-product of industrialisation, is evident. In Dortmund the population increased from 11,000 in 1850, to 44,000 in 1871, again to 143,000 in 1890 and continued a sharp rise to 214,000 in 1900.<sup>4</sup> This demonstrates a growth trend that outpaces average population growth for the region.

Industry was one major driving force behind migration, and especially urbanisation. However, whilst the economy was in boom jobs were being created, albeit mainly in the cities and towns rather than the countryside. In the period from 1873 to the mid 1890s Germany saw the onset of an economic depression, originally titled, the 'Great Depression'. The period of 1873-9 serves as an example of the scale of the depression. The average dividend of the banks reduced to 6%. 73 of the 139 credit institutes listed on the stock exchange closed their doors and bankruptcies rose. On the index of prices coal fell from the 1873 high of 116 points to just 49 in 1879. Coal was a good barometer for the overall economy, much as oil is today. When the German economy was booming the price of coal was high as industrial demand was growing, but as demand fell the price slumped.<sup>5</sup> There were some who escaped the effects of the 'Great Depression', but it is important to bare the psychological impact in mind. Even those who fared fairly well in the depression lived in a world of bad economic news. The press played a part with articles of doom. Confidence was low which did little to lift the country out of depression. Even when the economy rallied in the 1880 confidence remained low and it sunk once more. It was not until the mid 1890s that the economy began to get back its stride again. This period was one of continued emigration, and between 1880 and 1893 was one of the peaks in nineteenth century German emigration. It was undoubtedly the poor economic situation that spurred many to take the risk at a new life.

One area that specifically suffered during the recession was agriculture. There had been much blight on the sector before the 'Great Depression'. Vineyards had been devastated by phylloxera, which killed vines. The pest would either attack the roots or the leaves of the vine depending on the type. The problem ran from 1863 to 1899. Another blight was pébrine, which was a disease that affected silkworms. It was caused by parasites that

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<sup>3</sup> Moch, Leslie Page. 'Moving Europeans: Historical Migration Practices in Western Europe', in Cohen, Robin (eds.), *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Berghahn, *Imperial Germany*, p. 319.

<sup>5</sup> Berghahn, *Imperial Germany*, pp. 12-13.

stopped the silkworm from spinning thread and became a problem in the 1850s. These diseases led to the ruin of some in the affected industries, which again fed into surplus labour supply.<sup>6</sup> Agriculture had seen a mixed century for its fortunes in general. There were several crop failures resulting in famines. Between 1846 and 1857 there was a large spike in the number of Germans who chose to emigrate. This coincided with a series of crop failures as well as teething problems with the growing capitalist economy. After the 1874 peak in grain at 2.8 billion Marks it declined by 20%. Meat, egg and milk production stagnated remaining around the 1874 peak. These were problems that specifically affected the Funk family of Belsenberg. Johann Christian Funk was a farmer and the slump in the price of food would have greatly affected his income.

The problems of a depressed economy were set against a period of rapid population growth. In 1816 the German population was 24,831,000, which had become 64,568,000 by 1910.<sup>7</sup> In just the period of 50 years after 1800 the population more than doubled. Such population growth placed great pressure on the economy to expand and deliver jobs to meet the rising supply of labour. Unfortunately this was not the case, and population growth outstripped economic growth leading to an excess of labour supply and therefore lower wages. When the economy intermittently plunged into recession this pressure became too great and Germans were forced to emigrate. A brief glance at the population density for Württemberg illustrates this point. In 1841 the population density was 85 per square kilometre, which had increased to 171 by 1871 and to 321 by 1910.<sup>8</sup> It shows how population increased in the mid to late nineteenth century which inevitably brought with it greater competition for scarce resources, especially jobs, which meant that employers could pay their workers less.

A brief section must also be given to the issue of inheritance. Partible inheritance had been the favoured method of inheritance in most of Southern Germany before the nineteenth century. This involved the estate being divided between the children of the deceased. Over time the system was unsustainable if a couple had more than two children, unless they were able to acquire more land in their lifetime than that which they inherited. As population grew land had to be divided between more children, which led to increasingly small amounts of land that were often in small parcels in different areas. The system of primogeniture became increasingly popular as a way of keeping the family lands intact. The oldest son inherited all of the lands, and any younger sons were left with very little. Traditionally females became part of their husband's family and were supported by lands that he owned. Younger sons were the ones hit the hardest by primogeniture. One route for them had been to become migratory workers, who moved from farm to farm on an annual basis. This usually meant that they never married. This was also a common practice in some areas in England.<sup>9</sup> To take just a small example of this in England we can look at a typically rural

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<sup>6</sup> Moch, 'Moving Europeans', p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> Panikos Panayi, *Germans in Britain since 1500* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Berghahn, *Imperial Germany*, p. 318.

<sup>9</sup> Moch, 'Moving Europeans', p. 126.

Warwickshire family from the village of Fillongley. Thomas Scattergood who was born in 1833 had four sons. One son, Thomas, received the family inheritance. Two of his brothers, William and Walter can be found migrating from farm to farm to earn a living, and neither of the two ever married or had children. The fourth brother, George, took the other option, which was to move to the city of Birmingham to find work.<sup>10</sup> This system of younger son migration in Germany largely came to an end. This was due to the oversupply of labour caused by industrialisation, economic depression and a growing population leading to lower wages. If we now turn to the Funk family we can see the effects that this produced. The younger children did not become migratory workers, but took the option to find employment elsewhere. They did not have the same job prospects as George Scattergood did in the cities of Germany so decided to emigrate and find work abroad. Johann Michael Funk, the eldest brother, was the only sibling, barring infant deaths, that did not emigrate. It is presumed that he took over the family estate in Belsenberg. It would appear that in the case of the Funks primogeniture played at least some part. This trend is also replicated by the Kantenweins. All of the children from George Christoph Kantenwein's second marriage to Magdalena Margaretha Otterbach emigrated from Germany. At least one of his children from his first marriage also emigrated, Johann Leonhard the second son, who settled in Cumbria.

There is a complex multitude of factors at play that influenced the emigration of German families, especially in the rural Hohenlohe. Political changes brought uncertainty, but did little to change the lot of the average family in real terms. The more usual push factors behind emigration tend to be economic. Industrialisation had caused more rural proto-industries to collapse causing urbanisation and also unemployment in the countryside. This coincided with a period of rapid population growth which outpaced economic growth, leading inevitably to surplus labour. This became acute when the 'Great Depression' hit and many rural inhabitants were left with a choice between getting a job in a city, which would be hard during a depression, or emigrating. Many chose the latter, especially as the depression hit agriculture hard. The psychological impact of this cannot be underestimated. In a depressed economy, confidence is usually low. Primogeniture was an influence in determining whether or not the eldest son would leave. If his inheritance was good enough then he would be able to stay, but the younger siblings having no land to stay for were often the ones to emigrate, as seen with the Funks and Kantenweins.

### **Pull Factors**

Having evaluated the push factors for the migration of the Funk family, we must now consider the pull factors. These are the factors that made Britain a tempting prospect for German emigrants. There were certain enabling factors, such as the light regulation of immigration and business. The main pull factor for immigration was the direct opposite of the push factor for emigration, economics. Britain was simply a better economic option than Germany. Britain also had historic, cultural and religious ties with Germany and specifically

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<sup>10</sup> Ford Family Archive

Württemberg in terms of religion. These factors, however, are too simplistic to explain the whole picture. America would have been a far better option in economic terms, so it was not economics alone that led specifically to Britain and to the Northern industrial towns. It was pre-existing routes of migration that influenced the choice of destination and occupation for the Funk family. This will be demonstrated by looking in greater detail at the Hohenlohe model.

First we need to turn to enabling factors, which are technically not pull factors, but rather allow ease of entry to a new country. In the case of immigration to Britain, the immigration laws of the nineteenth century fit into this category. The immigration laws were very slack throughout the century and up until the First World War. Immigration was not a major concern for Britain in this period as it was a net exporter of people, with many leaving for British colonies around the world as well as the United States. There was therefore little need for tough immigration restrictions, indeed in 1826-48 and 1850-1905 there were no laws on the statute books that could be used to stop aliens entering the country. In addition it was easy to set up a business, even if the businessman was not a British citizen. This is clearly seen with the Funks who set up numerous pork butchers shops in Sheffield. [John] George [Michael] Funk was able to set up a string of successful pork butchers shops including 34 and 125 Infirmary Road, 1 Holme Lane and 92 Harvest Lane. George was a naturalised British citizen, but his brothers, who also set up shops, were not. His younger brother, [Michael] Frederick Funk owned 161 Broomhall Street and 342 Langsett Road. The youngest of the Funk brothers, John William owned 10 Meadow Street and had previously owned a shop in Manchester at 129 Oldfield Road. As can be seen from the prolific nature of which the Funks went about setting up shops, there were no major restrictions on foreign nationals opening businesses in Britain. This freedom of entry, and crucially, ability to earn money was an enabling factor for choosing Britain as a destination. People did not migrate to Britain just because they could, but light regulatory laws allowed them to. A further enabling factor was the ability to easily reach Britain. There was a regular transatlantic shipping route, which used Britain as a stop off point. The growing number of ships on the route meant that tickets were available and crucially became cheaper as the nineteenth century progressed.<sup>11</sup>

Some German migrants who came to Britain only intended to use it as a stop off point on the way to America. The Kantenwein family fit neatly into this category. As we have already seen the children of Georg Christoph Kantenwein by his second wife all came to live in Britain, having few prospects back in Morsbach. Of the six siblings that came, the two males later left for America. [George Michael] Christopher Kantenwein was the elder brother and he settled in America and raised a family there. Christopher's brother, [George Peter] Frederick Kantenwein, also left for America and arrived there in 1915. We know that Frederick came over to Sheffield at some point in the 1880s, so his decision to leave for America may only have been made several years after he had immigrated to Britain. It was also possible for

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<sup>11</sup> Panayi, *Germans in Britain since 1500*, p. 74.

Germans who were intending to migrate to the United States to stop off in Britain and settle rather than go on to their intended destination. The Kantenweins are again able to illustrate this. Georg Christoph Kantenwein's son by his first wife, John Leonard, is listed in the emigration records for Württemberg as intending to leave for the United States. However, we find him settled in Cumbria by late 1879, when he married Fredericka Roger, also a German emigrant. It was possible, as the Kantenweins illustrate, that a German emigrant may have had an idea of where he was going, but this was not necessarily fixed. The push factors had been sufficient to induce him to leave, but the pull factors were not necessarily great enough for his chosen destination to overcome the pull factors of a different country, such as the United States.

We now move onto true pull factors. The main pull factor was economic. This can be seen as the logical opposite to the main push factor of poor economic prospects in Württemberg. Britain was the superpower of the day. Its colonies stretched the length of the world, with trading outposts in the major trading areas of the world. Built on the back of empire, Britain was undergoing a rapid industrial revolution in which it was the world leader. If we simply compare the production of pig iron for the period of 1880-84, we find Germany with an annual average of 2,893,000 and Britain with 8,295,000. The German economy was industrialising but Britain was ahead and had a booming economy. Britain was quite simply a better economic prospect. The majority of German immigration naturally focused on London, which as the capital and the largest city in the world had a great deal to offer. There were also German communities established in the Northern industrial towns, which is an altogether more interesting trend. Such towns would not have been the obvious target for migrants even 50 years before the 1880s. By the period that the Funks settled in Sheffield the situation had changed. The Northern industrial towns were growing wealthier. A visitor to one of these towns will be struck by the number of grand civic, business and private buildings that were erected in the latter half of the nineteenth century. A new wealthy elite had been established, as well as a growing middle class. Greater disposable income for families in Northern towns meant that they could afford meat more regularly than previously. There was a gap in the market for quality pork butchers to serve these newly affluent cities. The potential for profit can be seen by how successful the Funks were. Each of the brothers owned a succession of shops and the family were also property owners. George Funk owned numerous terraces of houses which were let out, and he had obtained six shops which he intended to pass on to each of his six children. Rosa Stier also owned several houses on Priestley Street. It appears that the German immigrants to the Northern towns had the skills to practice as pork butchers, as pork was an important meat in German cuisine. The introduction of new recipes for pork products appears to have given the Germans an edge over their native competition.

Historic ties between the counties of Germany and Britain were another pull factor that made Britain an appealing choice. Germans were the largest continental group of immigrants to Britain. There had been historical bonds between the two countries. Until the

First World War historical thinking on where the English came from had focused on the Anglo-Saxon invasion and colonisation of England. The idea was that Britain was a Germanic nation, seen by its language which was derived from a Germanic base. The royal family had historic ties with the German ruling dynasties of Hanover, during the Georgian period, and Saxe-Coburg Gotha during the Victorian era. For the Funks they found the national religion of Britain to be the same as their own. Protestantism accounted for the religion of more than two thirds of the population in Württemberg, which had a Protestant monarch.<sup>12</sup> Religion was an important to the Funks, especially the women. Rosina Barbara Funk can be seen holding a Bible in a photograph from c.1870. Religious intolerance was not a push factor for the Funks, but the fact that Britain was Protestant meant that it was a suitable destination. These were not major pull factors, especially in comparison to the economic factors. There was, however, more at work than simply the lure of economic success. There was a far more complex established migration route that influenced the Funks' destination, and caused them to move to Sheffield specifically.

It is interesting to note that the German pork butchers of England were almost exclusively from the Hohenlohe area of Württemberg, which focused around Kunzelsau. The Hohenlohe is a very small area of Württemberg, and a tiny area of Germany, yet most of the German pork butchers of Britain originated from there. The pork butchery tradition may have been strong in this region, but it was also strong in other areas of Germany, yet it was the Hohenlohe butchers that dominated the market. The reason behind this seems to have been the existence of previously established migration routes. A basic example is that a Hohenlohe pork butcher initially settles in Britain and opens a shop. He is the pioneer in this model. He then takes on apprentices from either his family or friends from back in the Hohenlohe. They become trained in pork butchery, open their own business and invite their family and friends from the Hohenlohe to be their apprentices and the process perpetuates. When the number of pork butchers in one town reaches a critical mass someone sets up a shop in a neighbouring town, until all the Northern industrial towns have a community of German pork butchers to service the needs of the population. Migration was not something that occurred necessarily in large spikes, although as we have seen that was sometimes the case, but the migration of this type was more slow and regular rather than a major influx.<sup>13</sup> They managed to dominate the market through the introduction of new products and hard work. The working hours for Germans in Britain were often far longer than their native counterparts, with the working week reaching 112 hours in some cases. It was also not uncommon for shops to stay open until after 21:00 on weekdays and to open on Sundays.<sup>14</sup>

This Hohenlohe model can be seen as one reason why Britain was a destination for German migrants. Immigrants were not jumping into the unknown, but had a pre-existing structure in place to welcome them when they arrived. They also had a potential source of revenue.

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<sup>12</sup> Berghahn, *Imperial Germany*, p. 320.

<sup>13</sup> Moch, 'Moving Europeans', pp. 126-129.

<sup>14</sup> Panayi, *Germans in Britain since 1500*, p. 80.

Even if revenue wasn't guaranteed on settling there were usually relatives or friends who had previously migrated to Britain. Because the Hohenlohe was so small it meant that a fairly close community could be formed in Britain with its own identity, distinct from an ill defined generic German identity. It is unclear exactly when the Funk family settled in Sheffield and also Manchester, but it appears to have been the mid 1880s. The earliest record we have for any Funk in Britain is the wedding of George Funk and [Sophia] Margaret Kantenwein in December 1885 in Sheffield. George and Margaret appeared to have good reasons for settling in Yorkshire. Sheffield was a wealthy town with an opening for a pork butcher business. It also had an established German community, and there may have been acquaintances living in the area. We do know that Margaret's uncle, John Otterbach also lived in Yorkshire, in nearby Rotherham. The two German communities of Rotherham and Sheffield appear to have had close ties, with families often having relatives in both towns. The towns also shared a newspaper, *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*. John Otterbach appears to have settled in Rotherham sometime in the late 1870s and by the time his niece had arrived he had been in the area long enough to become established. It is likely that Eva Rosina Funk who married Henry Hubb settled in Manchester at a similar date to her brother in Sheffield; although why she chose Manchester remains obscure. It is possible that Henry had relatives or friends in Manchester as it was the second largest German community in Britain. When John William settled in Britain towards the later end of the 1890s he chose Manchester and a place that was close to his older sister and her family. It also appears that the German community in Manchester, at least the Hohenlohe Germans were close knit. The name William Metzger appears as a witness on John William's second marriage certificate from 1910. Metzger had a shop at 298 Ashton Old Road, which is slightly to the east of Manchester city centre, whereas John William lived in Salford. When John William was married in Sheffield Metzger still lived in Manchester and the fact that he travelled to Sheffield shows that the community stayed close together. It was this close community and established migration patterns that made the choice of location for the Funks to settle the most compelling option.

There was not necessarily an established migration pattern for the Funks to the United States. The established pattern was to Britain and the Northern industrial towns in particular. We see this with relations who were forerunners, such as the Otterbachs. There was a clearly established Hohenlohe community in the pork butchery trade of the Northern towns. This model shows how the migration route for the Hohenlohe was specifically defined and this was the most logical route for any Hohenlohe migrant to follow. Once in Britain some then made the choice to leave for the United States, such as the Kantenwein brothers, but this was not their intention at the outset. There were exceptions to this general rule as seen by John Leonard Kantenwein who intended to set out for the United States, although he wound up in Cumbria practicing as a pork butcher, so to an extent fulfilled the model. Close cultural, religious and historic ties made Britain an appealing option for migration, although no more so than the United States. Economically the United States was a better option than Britain, although both were better options than staying in

Württemberg. However, the established pattern of migration led to the Northern towns of Britain and offered a more concrete prospect of achieving economic success than migrating to the United States, which brought with it greater unknowns and was therefore a more high risk option, and with the economic success having been proven in Britain, the United States did not necessarily deliver a higher potential return for the increased risk.

### **Conclusions**

It is always difficult to understand the reasons behind a person's actions when they are lost over a century in the past, but here I attempt to do so. I have drawn on the sources that I have to try to build a picture of, that oft used phrase in historical circles, 'the thought world' of the Funk family. The combination between push and pull factors can be boiled down to come up with a clear reasoning for the migration of the Funk family.

In order to cause a person to leave their home there must be push factors and some level of discontent with their situation. The push factors in this case are clearly economic, as is often true. Politics did not play a major part for the Funk family, but the process of industrialisation that was taking place did. As we have seen the result of this was urbanisation due to job losses in the rural economy. Population growth exacerbated the problems of a labour oversupply due to redundancy. When the 'Great Depression' of the 1870s to 1890s hit this chronic oversupply of labour was brought to a head. There were few options for many but emigration. A declining rural economy would have directly affected the Funks who were primarily farmers and those who were not were closely linked into the rural economy which was dependent on agricultural success. The inheritance system of primogeniture provided nothing for younger offspring with the family estate passing to the eldest son, who was often duty bound to carry it on even if his prospects could be better in a foreign country. This is clearly the case with the Funks, who were all younger siblings and also with the Kantenweins. The 'Great Depression' was at the precise time that the Funks decided to emigrate.

Having made the decision to emigrate due to the push factors the decision of where to migrate to presented itself. The United States were the obvious target from a purely economic perspective. The American economy was in a boom and far outpaced the German economy or even that of Britain. America like Britain also had cultural ties with Germany, especially in religion. Even London would seem like a more obvious migration target than the Northern industrial towns of Sheffield and Manchester. The established migration route for residents of the Hohenlohe was, however, overwhelmingly to the Northern towns. Most had relatives already in that area, and in the case of George and Margaret Funk, we know of at least the Otterbachs. They had rapidly grown and accommodated a burgeoning middle class and generally more affluent population, who had more disposable income to spend. The Germans of the Hohenlohe spotted an opportunity to sell their brand of pork products to this market. Due to the Hohenlohe model it was almost exclusively Germans from this region who made up the German pork butchers in Britain. Economic success had been proven in

this sector and it was able to grow creating a firmly established migration route that had a potentially lucrative career associated with it. It was this pre-existing route that made migration to the Northern towns of Britain such an appealing option. A migration route to America was not as well established, at least not for the Funks, so when they decided to leave Belsenberg, their destination was to an extent dictated by the established migration route.