



The German Pork Butchers of Dublin, 1900-c.1945

James Perry

Abstract: The stepwise migration of several German-born families through England into Ireland in the early twentieth century resulted in the establishment of a congregation of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Dublin area that remains to the present day. Following research into their origins and activities, this article reveals that these immigrants overwhelmingly originated from the Württemberg region of southern Germany and were disproportionately engaged as pork butchers. Through a robust kin and kith network, employment opportunities and religious information passed through the small and tight knit community. The Dublin congregation was wealthy and mostly composed of German-born persons. This article explores the origins, composition, distribution, and experiences of the community across almost fifty years as it experiences continuity and change over time.

Received: 27 July 2020
Accepted: 16 August 2020

Keywords: Migration; Dublin; Latter-day Saint; Pork Butcher; and German

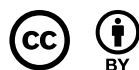
During an investigatory visit to a meeting of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Dublin in 1924, a correspondent recorded several observations regarding the congregation and the course of the meeting. 'I noticed as they talked,' they noted, 'that three of the four older men spoke with very pronounced German accents...'¹ Following their visit, the correspondent suggested that the Minister of Home Affairs may want to pay attention to the issue of German Latter-day Saints in the city.

The Dublin congregation, which is better known as the Dublin branch, was primarily made up of first- and second-generation immigrants. During its first five decades, the membership of the Dublin branch was largely composed of wealthy German-born persons.² The Latter-day Saint membership in Ireland has typically been a negligible element, rarely present in noticeable numbers. However, the Dublin branch serves as a useful case study to demonstrate how stepwise migration and family networks worked together to bring about the expansion of a religious society. The strong familial and occupational networks that existed in Dublin amongst the Latter-day Saint German community are the principal subject of investigation in this article.

There is a paucity of literature about the Latter-day Saint faith in Ireland with the extant literature relying almost exclusively upon *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, the faith's periodical for the British Isles.³ Through a combination of contemporary records and reports, including oral histories, religious records, censuses, and family histories, this article will offer the first investigation into the composition of the Dublin branch and will chart its developments during the first half of the twentieth century. The central questions asked are how was the Dublin branch formed? Who and what kind of people comprised the membership of the congregation? And, how did the community expand over time? Specifically, through personal writings and family records, it will be argued that the congregation experienced its growth and obtained its distinct composition through the effective utilisation of familial and occupational networks.

Latter-day Saint missionaries first arrived in the island of Ireland in 1840 where they primarily worked in the Protestant counties. In June 1850, a pair of missionaries were assigned to Dublin for the first time.⁴ By September there was a small branch of six converts, most of whom were relatives.⁵ Over several years the numbers ebbed and flowed as converts were made only for them to emigrate or move elsewhere. By 1853, however, it was stated that there was a membership of fifty-seven people.⁶ Continued opposition and emigration caused this number to dwindle to just three families by 1865 when the branch was finally closed. 'Ireland is a "dead beat,"' wrote one editorial in a Latter-day Saint publication, 'those who desire persecution have only to declare themselves Latter-day Saints and the multitudes are more relentless in their pursuit than if they were chasing mad dogs.'⁷ In 1897 Latter-day Saint historian Andrew Jensen visited Dublin but with no missionaries or members there he continued his journey and travelled to Liverpool.⁸ Finally, thirty-four years later, in 1899, a small group of German-born persons formally requested Latter-day Saint missionaries and work was recommenced in the city.⁹

The British Isles was a popular destination for Germans in the nineteenth century. From the mid-1850s German-born persons comprised the largest element of the foreign-born population of the British Isles until the arrival of thousands of Russians refugees from the early 1880s.¹⁰ Specifically, Germans were drawn to England, with smaller numbers in other nations of the British Isles. In Dublin, the 1901 Ireland census



recorded 330 German born persons, which increased slightly to 344 in 1911.¹¹ With respect to religion, most migrants were Catholics, or Lutherans, with a small number of Jews. The butchering trade was the largest single form of employment for Germans in Dublin, with twenty-seven individuals definitively identified as butchers in 1901, and thirty-two in 1911. While the number of German butchers was disproportionate to the size of the German community, it was only a small element of the total butchering trade.¹² Panikos Panayi argues that the concentration of Germans in parts of London resulted in the emergence of a distinct community, with various establishments selling German foods and drinks.¹³ Although the German population in Dublin was much smaller than in London, the butchers shops fulfilled this function, providing a variety of foods to eat, that were utilised by German migrants and the native community. The Irish censuses reveal that Germans were significantly involved in the service industry, with the restaurant trade being popular amongst such migrants.¹⁴

Literature related to migration and Ireland has been characterised by a focus on people leaving the country, with an overwhelming degree of attention on the mid-nineteenth century famine crisis.¹⁵ One explanation for the paucity of literature relating to Ireland's immigrant communities is the loss of many census records, which make verification of communities and individuals challenging. In recent years, efforts to redress the absence have been undertaken. For example Cormac Ó Gráda's work on the Jewish community has shed some light on the motivations and drivers of migration for those international migrants who settled in Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁶ The presence of small, compacted, but culturally distinct communities has previously been identified along with geographical concentrations.¹⁷

Crucially, the German pork butchers' shops operated in family units. As the businesses expanded and opened new shops, more workers were needed. Rather than drawing on local labour, workers were drawn from kith and kin networks in Germany, resulting in a series of chain migrations. This behaviour explains the concentrations of migrants from specific regions of Germany and influenced residency patterns in and around Dublin.¹⁸ The tendency to employ and draw upon their fellow-Germans resulted in a socially contained community, which was further reinforced by their faith associations, while remaining geographically dispersed. From analysing the marriage records of the Latter-day Saint German pork butchers, exogamy was uncommon, and the marriages to British-born persons tended to be to someone of German descent.

In 1899, Catharina Louisa (various spellings put the name as Louie or Luise) Speidel a native of Niedernhall, Germany, joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Lancaster, Lancashire, England, along with her married sister, Wilhelmina Boeger.¹⁹ Shortly afterwards, Louie moved to Dublin, Ireland, before emigrating to America where she married and raised a family.²⁰ Whilst visiting with her sisters, she shared her new found faith with them.²¹ A small group of her extended family started to meet together and wrote to missionaries in Belfast seeking baptism.²² In April 1900, Friedrich Boeger, a native of Württemberg, Germany, was baptised in the River Liffy, becoming the first person to be baptised in Dublin in the twentieth century. To better assimilate with the host community, Friederich and other German converts anglicised their names. As such, Friederich Boeger became Frederick Baker. Later that year, in August 1900, Elder John Orr Freckleton visited Dublin and met with the few scattered members there, which included the Eardleys, an English family from Staffordshire.²³

The Dublin branch was formally organised on 24 March 1901.²⁴ Meetings were initially held in the homes of various members. Eventually halls were rented for meetings and the members donated money to furnish the facilities.²⁵ During the branch organisation, Charles H. Eardley was called as Branch President with Minnie Baker as Branch Clerk and Louie Speidel as Treasurer.²⁶ In the same meeting Frederick (Fred) Baker was ordained to the office of Priest and sustained as a counsellor to President Eardley.²⁷ A short time later in May 1901, Catharina Louie was installed as the new leader of the Bible Class when the full-time missionaries were away from the city.²⁸ As members chose to emigrate to North America or move elsewhere in the British Isles there were changes to the organisation of the congregation.²⁹ But as members emigrated abroad or moved elsewhere the branch also received people from different areas of the country. 'As one door shuts, another opens,' wrote Minnie Baker following the emigration of her sister and the arrival of a member from Birmingham on the same day.³⁰

In its formative years, the membership of the Dublin branch was overwhelmingly composed of Germans, many of whom were related to one another. The Speidel family network proved potent, and most members of the family investigated or joined the faith in Ireland and England. Fred Baker soon became Branch President when the Eardley family moved away from Dublin.³¹ Nearly all the German converts were related in some way, most were close relatives, with the remainder being distant relations. In the 1900s, Johann Speidel, a brother of Louie, and his family began associating with the Latter-day Saints in Lancaster, England. Johann had been sent to England by his mother as a young man to escape military service. After marrying a local Lancastrian girl, Mary Jane Dowthwaite on 17 February 1885, they had eight children.³² Some of their children investigated the Church, but even though the family later moved to Dublin they remained fixed in their Methodist faith.³³ While a source of many converts, conversion to the Latter-day Saint faith was not a universal experience for those in the Speidel family network.

In 1903, a Sunday School was organised for the benefit of the members, with a missionary serving as the superintendent.³⁴ Another important development for the branch came on 26 February 1907 when a Relief Society was organised.³⁵ The society is a female-only association that coordinates efforts to support Latter-day Saints and others in local communities.³⁶ The female members of the branch played an important

function in its social life, regularly hosting activities for the congregation and providing aid to those around them. Shortly after its formation the Dublin Relief Society was asked to hold a commemorative event marking the sixty-fifth anniversary of the organisations establishment in North America.³⁷ Membership was not free, but it seems a number of the local women joined the society. As such, several contemporaries acknowledged the branch for its generosity and high levels of activity.³⁸ The foundations set in those early years were long lasting. Although many members subsequently emigrated, some children of the early German families remained in the area and formed the core of the branch until the late 1940s, at which point Irish-born persons began to be baptised in greater numbers.

Unlike their counterparts in England and Wales, the 1901 and 1911 Irish censuses offer rich data on the religious self-identification of the population.³⁹ The ability to record their religious identity enabled the enumerated to make a semi-formal declaration of their religious affiliation. However, as with all census data, they are subject to limitations. One notable irregularity is the enumeration of the Youkstetter family. Contemporary records demonstrate they were consistently active in their faith in the time following their conversion, but although they are recorded as Latter-day Saints in 1901, they are described as 'Church of Ireland' in the 1911 census.⁴⁰ A range of plausible explanations could include a temporary period of disillusionment or suspicions concerning the true purpose of the census. Whatever the reason, it illustrates the limitations of the census as a historical source.⁴¹

Without trying to compensate for additional information, [Table 1](#) represents those persons in the 1901 and 1911 Irish censuses recorded as Latter-day Saints. To better represent the community, second generation migrants living with their parents are assigned to the same birthplace. Both censuses enumerated twenty Latter-day Saint members, although the composition changed noticeably. In 1901, the Eardley family, who hailed from Staffordshire, England, lived in Kill O Grange, and recorded their religion as 'Latter Day Saints Church of Jesus Christ'. However, by 1911 the family were living in Liscleary, Cork, and identified as 'Irish Church Protestant' in the 1911 census. In an interview with the press that same year, two Latter-day Saint missionaries reported 30 members in Dublin, with several new converts in the previous six months.⁴²

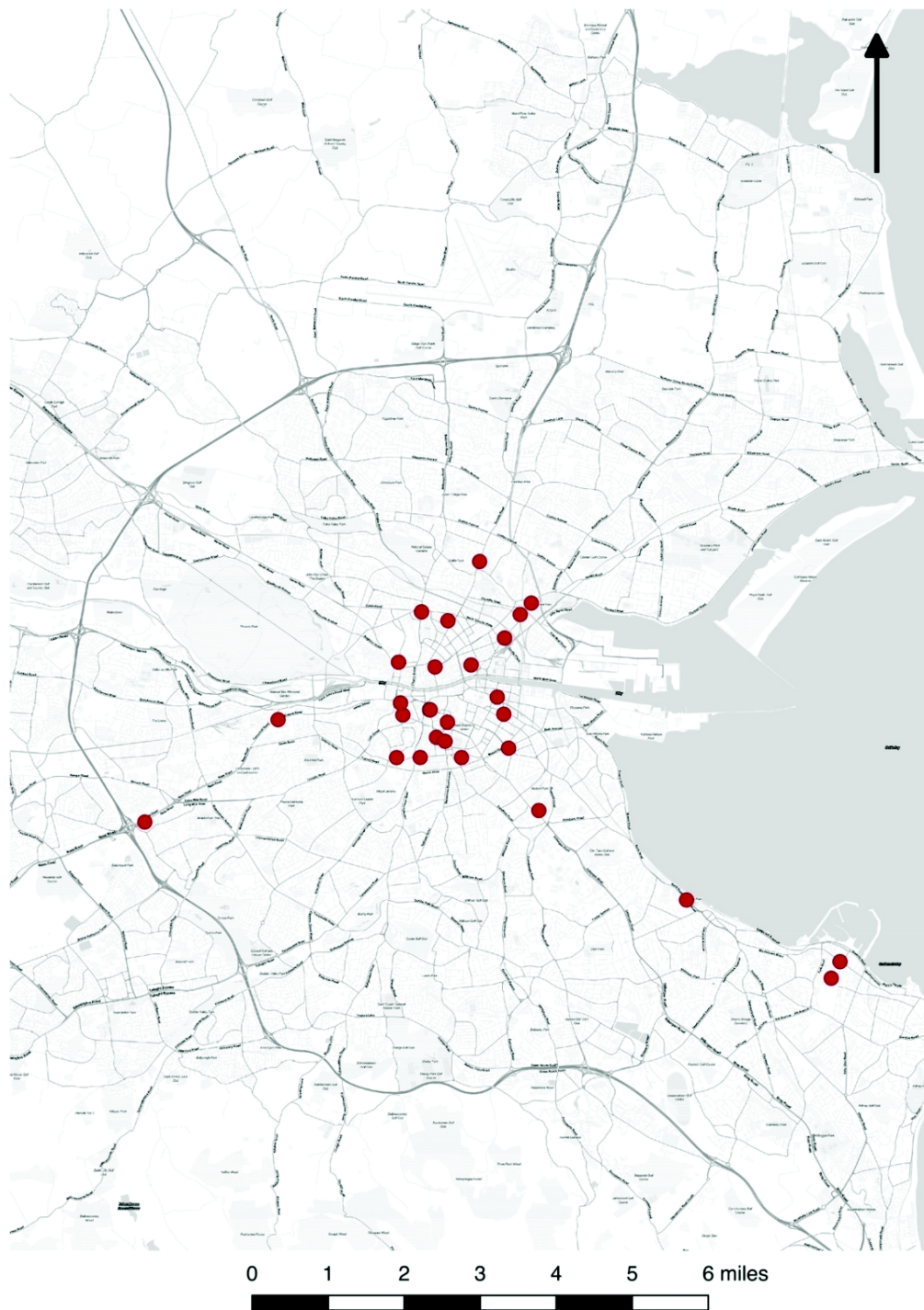
Table 1: Persons enumerated as Latter-day Saint in the 1901 & 1911 Ireland censuses⁴³

Birthplace	1901	1911
England	9	1
Germany	9	15
Ireland	1	1
Scotland	1	0
United States	0	3

Of the twenty Latter-day Saints in Dublin recorded in the 1911 Irish census, four were missionaries, typically young men from the United States of America, Canada, or Mexico.⁴⁴ The remaining membership was divided between four families, the Boegers [Bakers], Horlachers, Mogerleys, and Krants. All four heads of household were Latter-day Saints, and each of them was recorded as a pork butcher. None of the wives were enumerated as having an occupation, but all of them could read and write. The community was not overly segregated in its spatial distribution. In addition, many households had assistants or servants living with them who were not of their faith. Members of the branch resided across the city, including surrounding communities such as Kingstown and Blackrock. Photographic evidence of Latter-day Saints' butcher shops depicts the entire family working in the shop, suggesting that it was a familial enterprise, despite the obfuscation of such information in the censuses.

Unlike other migrant groups, German households tended to distribute across the city. A likely motivation for the distribution was to avoid competition. As illustrated in [Figure 1](#), whilst still within a reasonable distance to one another, the migrant pork butchers could avoid directly competing with their co-religionists and fellow Germans. A small cluster of households existed in the south west of the city, but they rarely lived in the immediate vicinity of one another.

Of the five Speidel children living in the British Isles, all four daughters became Latter-day Saints in the period 1899-1901 (see [Figure 2](#)). All of them, Catharina Louie, Magdalena (Kramer), Wilhelmina (Boeger), and Marie (Youkstetter) moved to and lived in Dublin. While Louie soon emigrated, the others married fellow Germans who also subsequently converted. Using a photograph of the Dublin branch Sunday School in 1917 ([Figure 3](#)), and by drawing on family identifications and records, almost all of the forty-five people present were German-born or second-generation migrants. Similarly, most present were primarily drawn from one of the large families, most of whom were related to the Speidel daughters or had been influenced by a member of their family. In most cases the large German Latter-day Saint families had connubial connections, which resulted in close connections among the branch membership. The same behaviour is true of unrelated Latter-day Saint converts who tended to marry fellow German Latter-day Saint converts, as was the case with Christian Jordan and Rosine Knolbauch. Christian was baptised a Latter-day Saint in 1901 and Rosine in 1902. The following year they were married.



Legend

● Each dot represents a household with at least one Latter-day Saint present.

Figure 1. Distribution of Latter-day Saint households in Dublin and the surrounding area, 1901-1911⁴⁵

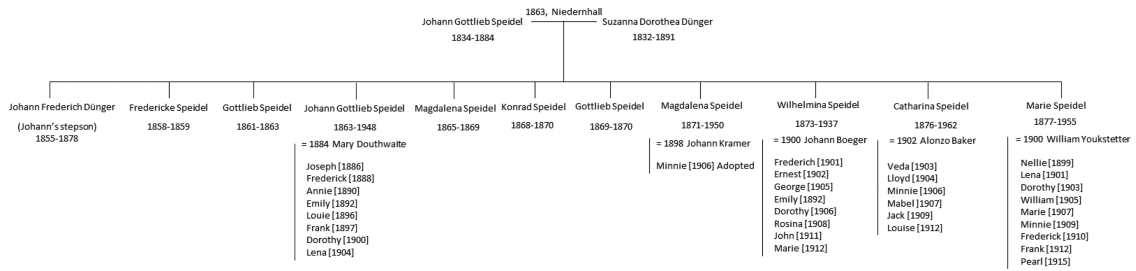
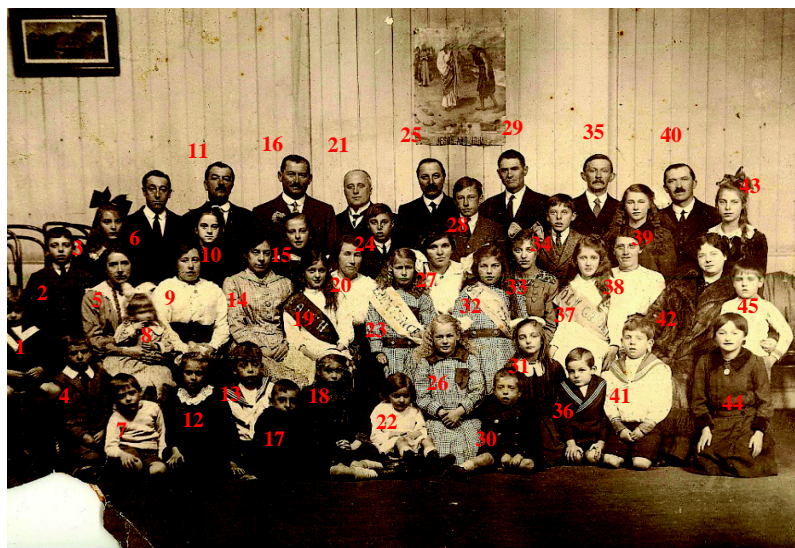


Figure 2. Speidel Family Tree⁴⁶



Identification of Dublin branch Sunday School membership

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Johann F. Boeger | 23 Gladys Horlacher |
| 2 Herman H. Horlacher | 24 William Youkstetter Jr. |
| 3 Dorothy Youkstetter | 25 William Youkstetter Sr. |
| 4 Alfred F. Horlacher | 26 Freda Horlacher |
| 5 Marie Youkstetter | 27 Magdalena Horlacher |
| 6 Unknown | 28 William Horlacher |
| 7 George Mogerley | 29 Unknown |
| 8 Pearl Youkstetter | 30 Harold Mogerley |
| 9 Unknown | 31 Marie Youkstetter |
| 10 Ena Birchall | 32 Gertrude Horlacher |
| 11 Christian Steele | 33 Nellie Youkstetter |
| 12 Minnie Youkstetter | 34 George Boeger |
| 13 Fred Mogerley | 35 Johann Kramer |
| 14 Mary Mogerley | 36 Gilbert Retz |
| 15 Minnie Kramer | 37 Dorothea Boeger |
| 16 Karl Horlacher | 38 Wilhelmina Boeger |
| 17 Fred Herterich | 39 Emily Horlacher |
| 18 Eileen Retz | 40 Fred Boeger |
| 19 Rosine Boeger | 41 Harold Mogerley |
| 20 Unknown Horlacher | 42 Elizabeth Birchall |
| 21 Benjamin Birchall | 43 Lena Youkstetter |
| 22 Marie Boeger | 44 Unknown |

Figure 3. Dublin branch Sunday School, 1917⁴⁷

All identified German-born converts in the Dublin branch came from the Kingdom of Württemberg, located in southern Germany. It has been claimed in the existing literature that a prominent driver of German emigration was due to the system of primogeniture in practice at the time.⁴⁸ Known as *Ältestenrecht*, the inheritance system resulted in the eldest son receiving the family's property and business. In many situations there was no way to separate or divide the inheritance, an issue known as impartible inheritance. When this occurred, it meant that only one child could inherit from their parents, which did happen in farming communities.⁴⁹ As a result, many younger siblings were faced with a dilemma; they could both remain with their family in a subservient role to the older brother, or try their luck in another region or country.

Whilst economic considerations impacted the decisions of many to emigrate there were other factors. The eruption of violence in Europe during the 1848 Revolutions was particularly pronounced amongst the various German states, a result of longstanding opposition to the Confederacy in support of a unified Germany.⁵⁰ The failed revolution caused a small but prominent group of intellectuals and revolutionaries to flee from Germany in search of refuge.⁵¹ Known as the 'Forty-Eighters', these individuals, often well-educated, wealthy, and active in politics, emigrated to escape the post-revolution repression.⁵² Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States was the primary destination for Germans, although a sizeable element settled in the British Isles.⁵³ Panayi argues that some transmigrants *en route* to North America ended up in the UK unintentionally.⁵⁴ A significant portion of the German-born population of the British Isles had fled from military service, including many of the Speidel family.

A large portion of the German migrants arriving during the nineteenth century sought to improve their economic prospects. As previously mentioned, pork butchering was a prominent activity of the German migrant population and the primary form of employment amongst members of the Dublin branch. Previous scholarship on Germans in Britain has demonstrated the popularity of butchery amongst those from the Württemberg area.⁵⁵ The crowdsourced German Pork Butchers database further corroborates this point and reaffirms the relationship between certain regions of Germany and butchery.⁵⁶

To test the literature, the birthplaces of the German community were analysed to identify where migrants originated from and their proximity to one another. The data reveals that there was a correlation between German migrants occupied as pork butchers in the UK and the Hohenlohe region of Württemberg, in southern Germany. For the period 1901-1937, it has been possible to identify thirty-four German-born persons that were baptised as members of the Dublin branch, all of whom originated from the Württemberg area. The birthplaces for thirty-two of them have been identified from government census records and family histories on FamilySearch, and then correlated with baptismal records for the congregation. Nearly all birthplaces were within the Hohenlohekreis district of Württemberg, with a small scattering of individuals from the surrounding districts. The concentration of migrant birthplaces, therefore, is linked to the formation and development of family networks.

These findings correspond with those proposed by Margit Beerbühl, who argues that the transnational migrant networks resulted in additional arrivals stemming from specific communities in the Hohenlohe region of Germany.⁵⁷ The tendency to seek fellow Germans to work in the shops resulted in a form of chain migration, with family and friends being attracted to the area for employment opportunities. Another defining attribute of the Dublin branch was that its members were repeatedly described as being extremely generous and wealthy, with many of the heads of households owning one or more shops. When guests visited, large meals were prepared for them, and the members gathered to socialise.⁵⁸

The Latter-day Saint members and missionaries worked closely as they sought to grow their fledgling congregation, gathering attention from the local population as they did.⁵⁹ In 1906, missionaries secured permission from the local authorities to hold open air meetings, with the promise of police protection. Although the missionaries faced opposition from local preachers, they avoided harm and recorded that the meetings were good and that they held attentive crowds.⁶⁰ Members assisted the missionaries in the delivery of the open air meetings.⁶¹ Cottage meetings in member's homes were also held in an attempt to convert those taught by missionaries. Although efforts were made to proselyte the population of Dublin, the greatest success took place through the work of local members and the utilisation of familial and economic networks.

Many of the German families followed a stepwise migration pattern, moving initially from Germany to a town or city in England, and then on to Dublin at a later point. Frederick Dimler and Babette Hennerich separately emigrated from Württemberg in the 1880s, and arrived and secured employment in the meat trade. The couple met and were married in Hull, Yorkshire, England, before then moving to Ireland and establishing a home in Dublin. While living in Hull, the Dimlers became acquainted with the Steele family, another German family, through a relationship that blossomed between Elsie Dimler and Christian Steele. During the war, Christian emigrated to Dublin and joined the Church. A

couple of years later, Christian married Elise, and she was subsequently baptised. Through the efforts of Christian and Elise, her family were converted and were baptised at midnight on 1 July 1926 at Cleethorpes-by-the-sea.⁶²

The Horlachers were a prominent family in the Dublin branch and formed a crucial component in the management of the congregation for many years.⁶³ Charles Horlacher had joined the Church in March 1902 and soon began serving as a leader in the branch.⁶⁴ In time, Charles invited his brother, Herman, to attend church meetings. Herman investigated the faith and was baptised on 11 June 1905 in Dublin. A short while later, Herman married a German-born woman who also joined the Church. Much of the Latter-day Saint growth came from religious exogamy, with members being driven to marry outside their faith due to limited potential spouses. Although missionaries had visited or been stationed in Dublin on and off since the closing years of the nineteenth century, they struggled in finding, teaching, or baptising new converts on their own efforts.⁶⁵ However, there were periods and individuals of exception. One missionary, Sidney Wyatt, reported considerable success when he served in Dublin during the Great War. Although most of his converts came from the Speidel extended family network, at a baptismal service on 24 July 1918, he claimed to have baptized about forty people.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, anxieties were excited by the success of missionaries. Wild claims of young girls being moved to Salt Lake City were exaggerated, further stoking resentment amongst the native populace.

The role of the kin and kith network in successful conversion activities is further borne out in the case of Henry and Mary Mogerley in 1907.⁶⁷ In August 1907, Henry arrived in Dublin, having relocated due to poor health and the inclement conditions of Manchester, where he and his newly married wife had been residing. Upon arrival in Dublin, Henry began working in a pork butcher's shop, having come ahead of his wife a month earlier to prepare arrangements. In his first week working, a colleague invited him to attend Latter-day Saint meetings, which he did that Sunday. In Manchester, the couple had attended Methodist meetings, but in Germany, Henry had been a Lutheran. Prior to emigrating, the couple had lost a daughter, Greta, on 5 January 1906. The death of their first daughter might have been a contributory factor in their decision to migrate and in their decision to convert. Maureen Lynn, their daughter, noted the following about her mother's arrival in Ireland a month after her father:

She used to tell us that he went down to the boar to meet her and instead of telling her things about the shop or the home or whatever that she wanted and expected to hear, he talked incessantly about the church he had gone to, and this book. She wasn't particularly impressed with this, but she did go along to the church with him. For quite a while they used to go to the Mormon Church one Sunday and the Methodist the other. This persisted until May 1908.⁶⁸

Henry was immediately captivated by the Church and its teaching. However, Mary was conflicted for multiple reasons. Having been raised Methodist it was a challenge to transition from an established church setting to meeting in rented halls and member's homes, as well as the fundamental doctrinal differences. After meeting with Christian Jordan, another German member of the branch, Mary relented and on 24 March 1908, the couple were baptised.⁶⁹ The fellowship offered by the members proved pivotal, as her daughter confirmed:

She just thought they were lovely people, and she really felt right at home with them right away. She didn't think she would, but she did.⁷⁰

Henry and Mary became heavily involved in the branch and served in a variety of positions. In this case and others, kin and kith relationships proved crucial to the expansion of the congregation and acquisition of new members.

Due to the prevalence of Germans in the branch, Latter-day Saint missionaries required and requested tracts from the German mission organisation for use amongst their members and their acquaintances.⁷¹ Soon a large number of the German pork butchers of Dublin were Latter-day Saints and this permeated throughout the network. Events were held for the pork butchers and their friends and family, such as the Pork Butchers Association summer picnic in Glendalough in August 1919, where church members and members of the association met together. These interactions generated opportunities to discuss work and religion in the company of both members and non-members of the faith. As in the example of Henry Mogerley, the concentration of German Latter-day Saints in one select industry made it easier to invite and facilitate the conversion of others. Shared cultural, linguistic, and social ties enabled the acculturation of fellow German migrants into the faith easier.

Members of the branch persevered through a series of challenging situations during the first half of the twentieth century.⁷² Following the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, much of the male German population of Dublin was interned in camps.⁷³ In England, claims were made that the nationalist disorder in Ireland was the result of German propaganda, thereby further creating problems for the community there.⁷⁴ As some of the male members had not been naturalised by that point the internment affected the branch leadership, and the congregation largely became composed of women and children.⁷⁵ In January 1916, John Leo Seely, an American Latter-day Saint missionary in Dublin, related his observations and experiences:

I have had the pleasure of teaching the little ones for the last six months. Our branch here is largely composed of children, and a brighter or more intelligent lot it would be difficult to find... During this European conflict our branch has suffered considerably. Most of our male members being of German nationality, they have been interned, and some of our sisters have been forced to leave us, but the faith and fortitude displayed by all have been good to see. Though this branch is small, it is large in the spirit of the gospel.⁷⁶

Later in 1916, Englishman Benjamin Birchall, who had moved to Dublin prior to the war with his family, was made Branch President.⁷⁷ Through his leadership the branch was able to continue functioning, albeit in a limited form. Further difficulties arose on account of the Easter Rising. Meetings were cancelled during the week of the uprising. In the first meeting after the uprising, the Dublin Saints held a testimony meeting where they expressed their thoughts and beliefs to the audience. "All with one accord gave thanks and glory to God our Father for the preservation of our lives & property for there was not one of us that was hurt in any way," the secretary recorded.⁷⁸

During the war a number of shops owned by Germans were damaged by angry crowds, with windows smashed and fittings destroyed.⁷⁹ As such, the war did not only affect the congregation's ability to function fully, but the livelihoods of members.⁸⁰ With many of the men taken away, wives and other relatives became responsible for ensuring the continuation of the family business, despite the emergence of travel restrictions for German nationals.⁸¹ When Latter-day Saint John Retz was interned his neighbour recollected that his wife (Barbara) continued to run their family butcher's shop.⁸² Although other cases persisted where Germans residing in the UK were accused of anti-British sympathies, the same could not be said of the Dublin Latter-day Saints.⁸³ In a report concerning the efforts of the Relief Society organisations, the Dublin branch was noted for its special circumstances:

It will be seen from these communications that the members of the Relief Societies have, through their patriotic efforts for the soldiers, come in contact with some of the foremost ladies in the land, and it is our fond hope that this has not been in vain. They have donated in all three hundred and fifty-one articles of various descriptions, and all the material of which these were made has been bought with money collected by special efforts, so that the regular funds of the Society have been used, as originally intended, only for the benefit of the poor.

It deserves special mention that the sisters in Dublin, as well as other Church members there, some of whom are of German extraction, cheerfully joined in this relief work; for it shows that when the gospel of Jesus Christ fills the heart nationality is no obstacle to fulfilling the law of Christ.⁸⁴

Ultimately, the German members in Dublin escaped the wholesale repatriation practised elsewhere and were eventually able to return to their families.⁸⁵ However, one tragic story stands out from the unwarranted internment. Herman Horlacher returned home from the camp on The Isle of Man, arriving on 16 February 1919. Tragically he arrived thirty minutes after his son, also called Herman, passed away from spinal meningitis.⁸⁶ In the aftermath of the war and on account of the persecution they received, some members were eager to emigrate.

The membership of the Church in Dublin was remarkably resilient and highly active. However, conversions were not always spiritual in nature and members would on occasion leave the faith. On 5 February 1904, a letter was received from Bertha Bury stating that she had left the religion. As the corresponding missionary noted:

Her reasons for such action are not stated. She states specifically, however, that (1) she remained a member of the L.D.S, only to retain her position as employee of Bro. Baker and (2), that she, desires no more of our company.⁸⁷

The loss of members was rarely recorded, and despite some defections, it proved a remarkably active congregation, a consequence of the many familial connections. The example of Bertha Bury emphasises the interconnectivity of being a Latter-day Saint and working in the shops of German members. Of Bertha Bury, Wilhelmina Baker noted that 'she has only joined the Church for Mr. Baker's sake, that all her friends had turned away from her because of it.'⁸⁸

In almost every way the Dublin Latter-day Saint community was unique. The community was overwhelmingly composed of German-born persons, but they were generally of a much higher socio-economic class than most other British Latter-day Saints. Although German-born or of German heritage, the Dublin membership participated fully in the Church's national activities.⁸⁹ All of these developments, however, can be traced back to the baptisms of Louie and Wilhelmina Speidel in Lancaster, which caused a chain reaction amongst members of her family. Ultimately, their decisions resulted in the baptism of dozens of converts and the formation of multi-generational Latter-day Saints. In 1905 Heber J. Grant, President of the British Mission, noted the composition of the Dublin branch following a surprise visit.⁹⁰

There is a thriving branch of the Church in Dublin, most of the members not being Irish but Germans. A number of enterprising German Saints, having found it profitable business to sell pork in all its varied forms and grindings to the inhabitants of Dublin, have invited others of their fellow countrymen to come over and partake of their good fortune and opportunities, and so there is quite a colony of German pork-butchers in the capital of the Emerald Isle.⁹¹

In 1939, towards the end of the German prominence in Dublin, the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, George Albert Smith, noted the value and strength of the German Latter-day Saints, who by that time had nearly entirely moved to North America, 'Surely our Heavenly Father has blessed a little group of Germans who came here from Dublin, Ireland.'⁹² Many of the sons and daughters of the early converts served proselyting missions across the world, and relatives took on prominent leadership positions.⁹³ The first young men and women to serve as missionaries left Dublin left in the 1930s to preach and teach others in England, Scotland, and Wales.⁹⁴

The community began to transform during the 1940s after the baptism of William R. Lynn, the husband of Maureen *née* Mogerley.⁹⁵ While the lack of marriage partners forced local Latter-day Saints members to marry outside of their community resulted in mixed outcomes.⁹⁶ With time, German-born members began to die and emigrate resulting in an increasingly Ireland-born congregation.⁹⁷ The first wave of emigrations in 1922 drastically curtailed the membership. Nonetheless, conversions amongst the German population continued.⁹⁸ As generations progressed and as German migration diminished there was increased success amongst native Irish-born persons and the dominance of German-born persons gradually evaporated to the point where it has almost been forgotten.

Ultimately the origins of the Dublin branch are rooted in the stepwise migration of the German pork butchers. Various family and church records indicate that their interaction with the Latter-day Saint congregation in Lancaster, England, and subsequent movement to Dublin allowed a foothold for the Latter-day Saint Church there. Similarly, the evidence demonstrates that the growth of the community in Dublin in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by the German-born pork butcher community. As such, the community was disproportionately wealthy and well-received amongst locals despite the opposite circumstances of their co-religionists elsewhere in the British Isles. The utilisation of familial and employment networks meant member missionary efforts were more likely to occur amongst their fellow German kith and kin, resulting in an unusual social, economic, and religious community that was imbalanced in the birthplaces and backgrounds of the branch membership. Crucially, the various surviving family and Church records demonstrate that for many decades the German community shaped and comprised the bulk of the Latter-day Saint membership in Dublin.

References

- H. L. McN. (1924) The Mormon Menace in Ireland. *Irish Society and Social Review*. 23 February. p. 11b. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001939/19240223/035/0011>: accessed 23 April 2020.
- Douglas, J. H. (1935) Former Mission President of the British Mission. General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. 5 October. Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. pp. 60–65.
- See Barlow, B. (1968) *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Ireland since 1840*. Unpublished MA thesis, Brigham Young University. <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5502&context=etd>: accessed 23 June 2020.
- Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- Brigham Young (1865) Editorial. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 27(52). p. 822.
- Neilson, R. L., and Melville, R. M. (2016) *A Historian in Zion: The Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, Assistant Church Historian*. Provo, UT. Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University. p. 373.
- Day, M. Y. (n.d.) *My Family Roots and All*. Privately published. p. 13.
- Panayi, P. (1996) 'Germans in Britain'. In Panayi, P., ed., *Germans in Britain Since 1500*. London: The Hambledon Press. pp. 1–7.
- Data taken from The National Archives of Ireland Census of Ireland 1901/1911. <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/>: accessed 23 April 2020.
- In 1901 the census recorded a total of 962 persons involved in butchery, which in 1911 had increased to 1,179.
- Panayi, P. (2008) *Spicing Up Britain: The Multi Cultural History of British Food*. London: Reaktion Books. pp. 55–58.
- Mac Con Iomaire, M. (2008) Searching for Chefs, Waiters and Restaurateurs in Edwardian Dublin: A Culinary Historian's Experience of the 1911 Dublin Census Online. *Arrow@DIT*, (86). pp. 92–126. See also Panayi, P., and Manz, S. (2013) The Rise and Fall of Germans in the British Hospitality Industry, c1880-1920. *Food and History*. 11 (2). pp. 245–266.
- MacRaild, D. M. (2011) *The Irish Diaspora in Britain, 1750–1939*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ó Gráda, C. (2006) Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 30–33.
- Ó Gráda, C. (2013) 'Because She Never Let Them In': Irish Immigration a Century Ago and Today. Working Paper Series. University College Dublin Centre for Economic Research. (13/19). pp. 4–6.
- Beerbühl, M. S. (2012) 'German Sausage for the British Cuisine: Migration and Cultural Appropriation'. In Huck, C. and Bauernschmidt, S., eds., *Travelling Goods, Travelling Moods: Varieties of Cultural Appropriation, 1850–1950*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. p. 84.
- There are some discrepancies in the records, Louie was also reported as being baptised in January 1900. Wilhelmina is recorded in various family and Church records as being baptised on 6 August 1899 and Marie on 28 March 1901. Wilhelmina and Louie were taught and became members of the Lancaster branch, however, the baptismal service took place in Accrington, Lancashire. A branch of the Church was formed in Lancaster in 1899. Missionaries recorded visiting Annie Speidel, their niece in Lancaster. Catharina Louise (Louie) emigrated in 1901, although she returned to visit in 1906. See Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), p. 6, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.
- Diary of Wilhelmina Speidel Baker. https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/75535898?cid=mem_copy: accessed 23 April 2020.
- The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1901) Among the Conferences. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 63(21). p. 351.
- The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1969) Irish Mission. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 131(5). pp. 18–19.
- John O. Freckleton, Reminiscences and Journal, 1900–1902, p. 49, MS 1604, item 1, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA. <https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets?id=5cf0962d-2105-4b3b-98ec-2ea7e07c2b82&crate=0&index=0>: accessed 23 June 2020.
- Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), p. 3, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL. Other records place this as 9 June 1901, with Fred Baker as President, and William Youkstetter and Charles Horlacher as counsellors. See Muir, L. (1952) *A Century of Mormon Activities in California*, Vol. 2. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press. p. 430; Ireland Dublin Mission manuscript history and historical reports, 1840–1950, Vol. 1. p. 105 [unpaginated]. LR 4131 2, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL; and Day, M. Y. (n.d.) *My Family Roots and All*. Privately published. p. 14.
- Dublin Branch Manuscript History, 19 May 1912, CR 2338 2, bx. 1, fd. 1, CHL.
- Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), pp. 7–8, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.
- Frederick and Minnie had not been in the Church long when their son, Frederick, who had been born on 19 April 1901, died on 28 April.
- Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), p. 19, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.
- Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), pp. 25–29, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.

30. Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), p. 30, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.
31. Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), p. 56, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.
32. The Speidel family joined many of their extended family in Dublin after their butcher's shop in Lancaster was damaged by a mob during the Great War.
33. Perry, J. (2015) *A History of the Lancaster Congregation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Unpublished manuscript in author's possession. p. 54.
34. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1903) Editorial. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 65(51). p. 810. Dublin Branch Manuscript History, 28 August 1904, LR 2338 2, bx. 1, fd. 1, CHL.
35. Dublin Branch Manuscript History, 26 February 1907, LR 2338 2, bx. 1, fd. 1, CHL.
36. Innes, T. W. (1907) Minutes of Irish Conference. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 69(10). pp. 157–158; *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1908) Relief Societies Anniversary. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 70(13). p. 203; and Penrose, C. W. journal, book 11, February 26, 1907, MS 8911, CHL.
37. Penrose, R. (1907). Letter to Wilhelmina Baker, 4 March, LR 1140 23, bx. 1, fd. 1, CHL.
38. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1941) Belfast And Dublin Conference Reports. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 103(26). p. 407.
39. Christopher, A. J. (2014) The Religious Question in the United Kingdom Census, 1801–2011. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 65 (3). pp. 601–619. See also Christopher, A. J. (2014) The "Religion" Question in British Colonial and Commonwealth Censuses 1820s–2010s. *Journal of Religious History*. 38 (4). pp. 579–596.
40. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
41. A similar case is found in the example of the Horlacher family, who in 1911 are recorded as 'Protestant Presbyterian'.
42. *Edinburgh Evening News* (1911) Mormons in Dublin. *Edinburgh Evening News*. 24 April. p. 2h. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000452/19110424/035/0002>: accessed 23 April 2020.
43. Data taken from The National Archives of Ireland Census of Ireland 1901/1911. <http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/>: accessed 23 April 2020.
44. *The Catholic Advance* (1909) Mormons Visit Dublin. *The Catholic Advance*. 4 December. p. 10e. www.newspapers.com: accessed 23 April 2020.
45. Map produced by the author.
46. Family tree produced by the author with information derived from regular genealogical records and confirmed against a Speidel family pedigree chart.
47. Photograph. Unknown author (1917) Dublin Branch, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Sunday School. https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/7859771?cid=mem_copy: accessed 23 April 2020.
48. Panayi, P. (2014) 'Germans as Minorities during the First World War: Global Comparative Perspectives'. In Panayi, P., ed. *Germans as Minorities during the First World War*. Farnham: Ashgate. p. 6.
49. Moch, L. P. (2003) *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since 1650*. 2nd ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. pp. 127–130.
50. Ashton, R. (1987) *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 10.
51. Robertson, P. (1952) *Revolution of 1848: A Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 178.
52. Saville, J. (2003) '1848 – Britain and Europe'. In Freitag, S., ed. *Exiles from European Revolutions - Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books. p. 19.
53. Bade, K. J. (1997) 'From Emigration to Immigration: The German Experience in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries'. In Bade, K. J., and Weiner, M., eds. *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States*. Oxford: Berghahn Books. pp. 6–8.
54. Panayi, P. 'German Immigrants in Britain, 1815-1914', pp. 75–76.
55. Wuestner, K. H. (2009) 'New light on the German Pork butchers in Britain (1850–1950)'. Centre for Britain and Europe. <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/4306262/new-light-on-the-german-pork-butchers-in-britain-great-war-forum>: accessed 23 April 2020.
56. RootsChat (n.d.) Database for Special Interest Groups (DBSIG) – German Pork Butchers. <http://surname.rootschat.com/lexicon/dbsig/index.php>: accessed 23 April 2020.
57. Beerbühl, M. S. (2012) Migration, Transfer and Appropriation: German Pork Butchers in Britain. *Transfers*. 2(3). pp. 104–105.
58. James Walter Paxman journal, Vol. 3 (1926–1927), p. 33, MSS 1036, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, USA.
59. A Special Commissioner (1911) Craft of the Mormon. *Dublin Daily Express*. 19 January. p. 4f. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001384/19110119/053/0004>: accessed 23 April 2020.
60. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1906) Good News from Ireland. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 68(22). p. 347.
61. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1908) Assault on a "Mormon" Missionary. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 70(24). p. 380.
62. William F. Homer (1936) Ireland Says Farewell. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 98(10). pp. 148–150.
63. Carol Cornwall Madsen (1979) A Church For All Lands – Ireland: Mormon athlete. *Church News*. 24 February. p. 16c.
64. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1903) Editorial. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 65(51). p. 810. Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book A (1901–1904), p. 90, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 1, item 1, CHL.
65. Grant Jr., J. M. (n.d.) *Life Story*. https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/18574364?cid=mem_copy: accessed 23 April 2020.
66. Wyatt, S. L. (1972) *I Remember*. http://weightfamily.net/famhist/wyatt/wyatts/webpages/i_remember.htm#MY_MISSION_TO_IRELAND: accessed 23 April 2020.
67. Maureen M. Lynn, Oral History, Interviewed by Brent A. Barlow, Dublin, Ireland, 20 July 1987. The James Moyle Oral History Program, Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA, OH 893, item 1, CHL.
68. Lynn, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
69. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1908) Baptisms. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 70(22). pp. 350–351.
70. Lynn, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
71. Freckleton, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
72. Harold H. Jenson, (1921) Irish Conference Visited by Elders; Work Progresses Under Difficulties. *Deseret News*. 29 October. p. 23f. <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=Aul-kAQHnToc&dat=19211029&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>: accessed 23 April 2020.
73. McCormick, M. A. (1942) A Brief History Of The British Mission Relief Society. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 104(12). p. 181.
74. *Times* (1916) Internment of Aliens. 14 June. *Times*. p. 3d.
75. McCormick, *op. cit.*, p. 181; and *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1918) Interesting Items from Ireland, *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 80(2). p. 30.
76. *Improvement Era* (1916) A Branch Composed of Children. *Improvement Era*. 19 (5). pp. 465–466.
77. Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book D (1913–1920), p. 127, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 4, item 4, CHL.
78. Record of Dublin Branch, Historical Record Book D (1913–1920), p. 118, CR 2338 11, bx. 1, fd. 4, item 4, CHL.
79. *Cambridge Independent Press* (1914) Several Dublin pork butchers' shops. *Cambridge Independent Press*. 21 August. p. 6f. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000418/19140821/088/0006>: accessed 23 April 2020. See also Waddington, K. (2013) "We Don't Want Any German Sausages Here!" Food, Fear, and the German Nation in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. *Journal of British Studies*. 52(4). pp. 117–118. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24700890>: accessed 23 April 2020.
80. *Times* (1918) Enemy Aliens. 9 July. *Times*. p. 7f.
81. *Dublin Daily Express* (1914) German Subjects in Dublin. *Dublin Daily Express*. 11 August. p. 6d. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001384/19140811/127/0006>: accessed 23 April 2020.
82. Johnston, M. (1988) *Alive Alive O! Recollections and Visions of Dublin Women*. Dublin: Attic Press. p. 16.
83. *Times* (1918) The Alien Peril. *Times*. 11 May. p. 5d; and *Times* (1918) The German-Irish Plot. *Times*. 27 May. p. 9d.
84. J. M. S. (1915) British Relief Society Work. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 77(1). p. 14.
85. Panayi, P. (1992), An intolerant act by an intolerant society: The internment of Germans in Britain during the first world war. *Immigrants and Minorities*. 11(3). pp. 53–75.
86. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (1919) Died. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*. 81(10). p. 160.
87. Edward M. Rowe journal, Vol. 1, (1903–1904), p. 122. MSS 831, L. Tom Perry Special Collections. Harold B. Lee Library. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, USA.
88. 88 Diary of Wilhelmina Speidel Baker, 7 February 1904, available at: https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/75535898?cid=mem_copy: accessed 8 April 2020.
89. James Perry, 'Irish Sport Legend: Fred Horlacher', available at: <https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/ensign/2020/01/eur-eng-local-pages/local-news-006?lang=eng>: accessed 23 April 2020.
90. Dublin Branch Manuscript History, 21 May 1905, LR 2338 2, bx. 1, fd. 1, CHL.
91. Nephi Anderson (1905) Sunny Days in Ireland. *The Improvement Era*. 14(1). p. 32.

92. Letter from George Albert Smith to William Horlacher, 14 August 1939, available at: https://www.familysearch.org/photos/artifacts/34875453?cid=mem_copy: accessed 23 April 2020.
93. Obituaries. (1949) *Salt Lake Telegram*. 15 January. HORLACHER, Margaret. p. 20a. <https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6j68rd2/17424654>: accessed 23 April 2020.
94. *Church News* (1965) This Week in Church History: Dublin Hard To Crack. *Church News*. 4 September. p. 16a–c.
95. *Catholic Standard* (1949) The Church of "Saints". *Catholic Standard*. 30 September. p. 4g. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001950/19490930/072/0004>: accessed 23 April 2020.
- Heslop, J. M. (1974) Romance Leads to Conversion. *Church News*. 28 December. p. 5a-d.
96. *Church News* (1971) Irish Member Has Many Memories Of Dublin Church. *Church News*. 5 June. p. 11b–d.
97. Obituaries. (1937) *Provo Evening Herald*. 1 November. BAKER, Mrs. Fred. p. 8b. <https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6xd4r7s/22690986>: accessed 23 April 2020.
98. *Salt Lake Telegram*. (1922) Irish Business Men Stop Over In City. *Salt Lake Telegram*. 27 July. p. 12a. <https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6bp44mr/18165404>: accessed 23 April 2020.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

James Perry is a historian at the Church History Library and recently completed a PhD in history at Lancaster University. His thesis focused on immigration into Britain during the period 1851-1911 and used digital humanities to analyse national and local migration and settlement patterns. Email: jperry89@gmail.com

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7424-1259> 