

IRISH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY



VOL. XX 1993

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THE JOURNAL OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF IRELAND

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE DUBLIN PROTESTANT WORKING CLASS, 1870–1926*

A convention has grown that Bessy Burgess, the street vendor of robust Orange opinion in Seán O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars*, is played in a strong Northern accent. It has seemed unimaginable that she could be at once a native Dublin woman and a staunch Protestant Unionist. Apparently the Protestant working class begins north of Newry, despite the fact that O'Casey himself was a member of that class. The view that Protestants in Dublin formed a garrison of the highly respectable middle classes lies at the very heart of the nationalism of the founding fathers of independent Ireland. For C.S. Andrews his earliest social awakenings were sectarian experiences, rather than class experiences, of social distinctions:

They were all Protestants and very respectable. I noticed that they never recognised me when passing in the street although they knew who I was and that their children never mixed with the village children. I noticed too that they and their children always travelled inside the trams—never on top—that their daily newspaper was the *Irish Times*. On Sundays they seemed to walk in convoy on the same side of the street with their bibles and their hymnals clutched in gloved hands under their oxters. We always rode on top of the trams, unless it was very wet, and we children went to mass separately from our parents with our prayer books, if we brought one, stuck in our pockets. It was 'we' and 'they' from an early age.¹

The Protestant working class of Dublin was not always so invisible. In the early nineteenth century the Protestant working class of Dublin was confident and assertive of its identity and status. The Dublin Protestant Operative Association, formed in 1841, was a body of exuberantly sectarian and evangelical Protestants who attracted a substantial working-class membership.² However, by the time of the 1871 census, the first

* I would like to record my gratitude to Dr. Mary Daly for her advice, encouragement and assistance. My thanks also to Professor Donal McCartney, Dr. Fergus D'Arcy and Dr. Alvin Jackson, and also to the Board of the Lord Edward Fitzgerald Memorial Fund for a generous bursary towards my research.

1 C.S. Andrews, *Dublin Made Me* (Cork, 1979), p. 68.

2 J.R. Hill, 'The Protestant response to Repeal: the case of the Dublin working class' in F.S.L. Lyons & R.A.J. Hawkins (eds), *Ireland under the Union: Varieties of Tension* (Oxford, 1980) pp. 35–68. J.R. Hill, 'Artisans, sectarianism and politics in Dublin 1829–48', *Saothar*, 7, 1981, pp. 12–27.

census to break down occupations by denominations for all cities and counties, an inexorable decline in Dublin's Protestant working class had begun. This article profiles the Protestant working class of Dublin city between the census of 1871 and that of 1926. An explanation of the decline of the Protestant working class is offered which sees that decline as a socio-economic rather than a political process. The area of the study is the city of Dublin which up until the boundary changes of 1901, lay entirely within the Royal and Grand Canals. After the boundary changes it included the industrial suburb of New Kilmainham to the south and to the north the middle-class suburban townships of Glasnevin, Drumcondra and Clontarf.³

I

It was not only Catholic nationalists such as C.S. Andrews who saw all Protestants as belonging to a middle-class elite. The Association for the Relief of Distressed Protestants (ARDP), founded in 1836 'to assist necessitous Protestants of good character'⁴ complained recurrently of the lack of awareness amongst well-off Protestants of the extreme poverty and distress which existed within the Protestant community. The 1880 annual report of the ARDP regretted that 'many of the objects for which sermons are given have less claims upon the congregations than the starving poor in our lanes and alleys.' The report did admit, however, that the lack of support from wealthy Protestants was not the result of indifference but of ignorance of the plight of Protestant families living close to the depths of extreme poverty.⁵ Research into the occupational structures of Dublin has also tended to dwell on the disproportionately middle-class nature of Protestant employment.⁶ In Table 1, as an alternative to analysing the proportion of Protestants and Catholics in any particular occupational group, the entire male working populations of Catholics and of Protestants have been analysed separately to show the overall structure of Catholic and Protestant employment.⁷

Socio-economic group 1, (seg 1) consists mainly of middle-class professionals. It is apparent that this group was more significant in the

3 'Protestants' is used to include Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Methodists. Episcopalians constituted the overwhelming majority and the numbers of Presbyterians and Methodists were too small to be treated separately.

4 G.D. Williams, *Dublin Charities* (Dublin, 1902).

5 Association for the Relief of Distressed Protestants (ARDP): *Annual Report*, 1880, pp. 15, 10-11.

6 M.E. Daly, *Dublin: the Deposed Capital, A Social and Economic History, 1860-1914* (Cork, 1985), p. 124.

7 For the socio-economic groups used and their relationship to the census occupational categories, see Appendix.

TABLE I
CITY OF DUBLIN: MALE WORKFORCE BY RELIGION 1871-1911

Socio-economic group	1871		1881		1891		1901		1911	
	%Cath	%Prot	%Cath	%Prot	%Cath	%Prot	%Cath	%Prot	%Cath	%Prot
1. Professional & major proprietors	3	10	2	7	1	5	2	5	2	4
2. Clerks, sales, semi-professionals	8	21	9	24	10	26	11	24	12	25
3. Petty proprietors, managers, officials	15	11	17	12	18	12	18	12	17	11
4. Skilled workers	33	27	31	26	29	26	27	23	25	22
5. Semi-skilled, public service	13	11	12	12	12	11	12	10	12	10
6. Unskilled, domestic service	26	6	26	3	28	6	28	8	31	6
7. Military	2	15	2	17	2	14	2	19	2	21
Total number	60563	15475	64000	14057	63173	14477	72019	16010	77460	15080

Sources: *Accounts and Papers* (British Parl. Papers, 1872, LXXVII) Population (Ireland). Census of Ireland, 1871, Pt. 1, Area houses and population. Vol. 1: Province of Leinster, Table XXa, pp. 139-146; *Accounts and Papers* (British Parl. Papers, 1881, XCVII), Population (Ireland). Census of Ireland, 1881, Pt. 1, Area, houses and population. Vol. 1: Province of Leinster, Table XIXa, pp. 131-138; *Accounts and Papers* (British Parl. Papers, 1890-91, XCV) Population (Ireland). Census of Ireland, 1891, Pt. 1, Area, houses, and population. Vol. 1: Province of Leinster, Table XIXa, pp. 132-138. *Accounts and Papers* (British Parl. Papers, 1902, CXIII), Population (Ireland). Census of Ireland, 1901, Pt. 1, Area houses and population. Vol. 1: Province of Leinster, No. 2(a) City of Dublin, Table XX, pp. 18-27; *Accounts and Papers* (British Parl. Papers 1912-13 CXIV), Population (Ireland). Census of Ireland, 1911, Pt. 1, Area, houses and population. Vol. 1: Province of Leinster, City of Dublin, Table XX pp. 16-23.

Protestant than in the Catholic population, though in absolute figures the number of Protestants in this Seg declined even after the annexation of the northern townships of Drumcondra, Glasnevin and Clontarf in 1901. Seg 2, mostly clerks and travelling salesmen, was a very significant element of the Protestant occupied male population which was probably responsible for projecting onto the Protestant population as a whole a lower middle class caste. Although the lower middle class of clerks grew significantly with the expansion of the services sector and of government employment, the growth in the lower middle class occurred almost entirely in the Catholic population. This imbalance is even more apparent between 1891 and 1911 when the growth in local government and the expansion of the city boundaries into the suburbs of Drumcondra, Clontarf and Glasnevin would have been expected to result in an increase in Protestant numbers. That the Protestant lower middle class barely managed to hold its own and was showing a decline in 1911 suggests that the combination of expanding educational opportunities and a growth in the number of public employees recruited by competitive examination, created within Dublin city a significant Catholic lower middle class that effectively squeezed out the existing Protestant lower middle class. Seg 3 which mainly comprised small shopkeepers, was dominated by Catholics and is one of the socio-economic groups showing growth. Seg 4, the skilled working class, was in inexorable decline in Dublin city despite a temporary rise following the 1901 extension of the city boundaries to include the industrial suburb of New Kilmainham. It declined in absolute numbers, a decline which was common to both Catholic and Protestant populations, and as a percentage of the total population of occupied males. The semi-skilled Seg 5 remained relatively stable but the unskilled Seg 6 grew, especially among the Catholic workforce. In 1871 the largest sector of the Catholic workforce consisted of skilled workers at 33 per cent of all employed Catholic males. By 1911 this had declined to 25 per cent. The unskilled, already large at 26 per cent in 1871, grew to become at 31 per cent the largest single group in the Catholic male workforce in 1911. In summary therefore, within the Catholic male workforce the classes showing growth were the lower middle classes (Seg 2 and 3) and the unskilled working class (Seg 6); the middle class (Seg 1) and the skilled working class (Seg 4) both declined. For Catholics a decline in the skilled working class was accompanied by a modest growth in the lower middle classes and a surge in the unskilled working class.

In the Protestant population a decline in the skilled working class was accompanied by similar trends but on a more modest scale; a growth in lower-middle class occupations and in the unskilled working-class, though the rise in the lower-middle class had halted after 1901. Members of the military (Seg 7) though insignificant in the Catholic population, were a

prominent group in the Protestant population and the presence of large numbers of young single males had a major impact, as we shall see, on the marriage patterns of the Protestant working class.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CATHOLIC AND TOTAL
PROTESTANT POPULATION
RESIDENT IN EACH WARD, 1891-1926

Ward	Catholic population			Protestant population		
	1891 (%)	1911 (%)	1926 (%)	1891 (%)	1911 (%)	1926 (%)
Arran Quay	11	12	11	9	11	8
Clontarf E	—	1	1	—	3	4
Clontarf W	1	1	3	5	5	6
Drumcondra	1	3	4	1	5	6
Glasnevin	1	3	3	1	8	7
Inns Quay	9	8	8	6	4	4
Mountjoy	9	9	9	8	6	5
North City	4	3	2	3	1	1
North Dock	9	8	9	8	7	8
Rotunda	5	6	6	4	4	3
Fitzwilliam	4	4	4	8	7	9
Mansion House	4	4	3	5	3	3
Merchants Quay	9	8	8	8	8	8
New K'ham	2	3	4	5	5	3
Royal Xchange	3	2	2	5	3	2
South City	2	1	1	2	1	1
South Dock	6	5	5	6	5	5
Trinity	5	4	3	4	3	3
Ushers Quay	9	9	8	6	7	8
Wood Quay	8	7	7	8	7	7
Total number	211,298	253,370	285,035	45,196	45,896	27,506

Sources: Census of Ireland, 1891, Pt. 1 Leinster, Table XXIX, p. 172; Census of Ireland, 1911, Pt. 1 Leinster, No. 29a) City of Dublin, Table XXXIII p. 41; *Saorstát Éireann* 1929 (Order No. 140/3) *Census of population of Irish Free State, 1926*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, Religions, Table 12, pp. 35-37.

The main difference to emerge between the two populations was not, therefore, the dominance of the lower middle classes in the Protestant population but rather the huge lumpen-proletarian base of the unskilled working class in the Catholic population. Because the 1926 census in the Irish Free State adopted an entirely new method of classifying occupational data and only analysed those occupations relating to farming on a local basis, the analysis in Table 1 cannot be carried forward into 1926. Although the data on occupation and religion was transferred to punch cards, raising the possibility of extracting data for Dublin city by re-running the punch cards, the cards were unfortunately destroyed in 1962.

II

In the study of the working classes of Belfast a major concern has been the extent of denominational segregation into localities that are recognisably 'Protestant' or 'Catholic'.⁸ Table 2 is a comparison of the proportion of the total Catholic and of the total Protestant population of Dublin city by Ward in 1891, 1911 and 1926.

The table shows that denominational segregation into recognisably Catholic and Protestant areas did not occur within Dublin city. A comparison of the percentage of the total Catholic and total Protestant populations respectively, resident in each Ward, shows quite a high degree of similarity in the distribution of the two population groups. A difference of more than two percentage points occurs in favour of the Catholic population in the poorest Wards of the north inner city in Arran Quay, Inns Quay and Ushers Quay from 1891 through to 1926. A difference of more than two percentage points occurs in favour of the Protestant population in more prosperous Wards such as Glasnevin, Clontarf and Fitzwilliam from 1891 through to 1926. Unlike Belfast, Dublin did not have recognisably Catholic or Protestant areas. What Dublin did have however were recognisably middle-class areas in the suburbs and lower-class areas in the inner city. The differences in the dispersal of the two population groups are the result of socio-economic rather than sectarian forces. Middle-class Protestants lived in middle class areas along with middle-class Catholics. Working-class Protestants lived in working-class areas with working-class Catholics. In Dublin a person's address would give no clue to their religion but could reveal their socio-economic class.

8 Sybil Gribbon, 'An Irish City: Belfast 1911', in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *The Town in Ireland* (Belfast, 1981) pp. 203-220; A.C. Hepburn and B. Collins, 'Industrial Society: the structure of Belfast 1901', in P. Roebuck (ed.), *Plantation to Partition: essays in Ulster History in Honour of J.L. McCracken* (Belfast, 1981), pp. 210-228. Sybil Baker, 'Orange and Green: Belfast 1832-1912', in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City: Image and Reality*, 2 vols, (London, 1973) ii, pp. 789-814.

7

Three areas have been selected from the manuscript 1901 and 1911 Census Enumerator Returns for a detailed examination of the economy and society of the Protestant working class in Dublin city. The first area, Wexford Street—Aungier Street, is centred on the north-south axis of Wexford Street—Aungier Street extending east to Harcourt Street and Stephen's Green West and west to Bride Street. This area was characterised by single-room lettings and tenements. The only significant employer in this area was Jacobs' biscuit factory. The second area, South Circular Road, is bounded by Heytesbury Street, South Circular Road, Lower Clanbrassil Street and Long Lane. This was a mixed zone of older, two-room cottages in narrow alleyways off Clanbrassil Street and newly built spacious streets of five to eight-room terraced houses off the South Circular Road. The third area, the working-class suburb of Inchicore was built around the yards and workshops of the Great Southern and Western Railway (GSR) and the Dublin United Tramway Company. Housing here consisted mostly of three to five-room terraced houses. In the Aungier Street—Wexford Street area, the 1901 population totalled 12,277, of which 1,317, or 11 per cent was Protestant. In 1911 this same area had a population of 11,154, of which 1,023, or 9 per cent, was Protestant. In the South Circular Road area the total population in 1901 was 2,180 of which 606 or 28 per cent was Protestant. A significant element of the population in this area was its Jewish community which accounted for 14 per cent of the total.⁹ By 1911 the total population had risen slightly to 2,289 persons of which 398 or 17 per cent was Protestant, a significant decline in the Protestant population. The Catholic population had also risen but only by four percentage points from 58 to 62 per cent which would suggest that as Protestants moved out of this area they were replaced mostly by Jewish in-comers. In the third area, Inchicore, the population rose from 5,744 in 1901 to 8,072 in 1911. In 1901 Protestants totalled 935 or 16 per cent of the population. In 1911 this figure had risen to 1,321 which was also 16 per cent of the population. These figures are summarised in Table 3.

Within these areas there were few streets which did not have any Protestant residents. Bearing in mind that in these areas, as in most of Dublin, streets are small, typically of thirty to fifty houses, any attempt to distinguish 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' streets by calculating the percentage of each denomination street by street would be of doubtful benefit and any urban folklore which suggests the existence of such streets is unreliable though interesting for other reasons. An examination of the class structure (see Appendix) of the Protestant male population of these areas confirms

9 M.J. Duffy, 'A Socio-Economic Analysis of Dublin's Jewish Community, 1880-1911', unpublished M.A. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985.

that social class, rather than religion, was the main determinant of where people lived.

TABLE 3
POPULATION OF SELECTED AREAS

	1901			1911		
	Total	% Cath.	% Prot	Total	% Cath.	% Prot.
Aungier-Wexford St.	12,277	89	11	11,154	90	9
South Circular Road	2,180	58	28	2,289	62	17
Inchicore	5,744	83	16	8,072	83	16

Source: National Archives of Ireland, Census of Ireland 1901, Enumerators returns, city of Dublin DED 58/1-89, 73/1-42, 75/1-12, 76/21-76; Census of Ireland, 1911, Enumerators returns, city of Dublin DED 57/1-85, 71/7-41, 73/1-12, 74/32-87.

TABLE 4
OCCUPATIONS OF PROTESTANT MALE 'HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLD' IN 1901

Socio-economic group	Aungier-Wexford	South Circular	Inchicore
	Street (%)	Road (%)	(%)
1. Professional and major proprietors	4	7	1
2. Clerks, sales, semi-professionals	9	33	19
3. Petty propr., managers, officials	8	7	12
4. Skilled workers	44	33	45
5. Semi-skilled and public service	11	11	6
6. Unskilled and domestic service	23	6	6
7. Military	1	3	11
Total number	266	98	159

Source: As for Table 3.

TABLE 5

ALL OCCUPIED PROTESTANT MALES BY OCCUPATION 1901

Socio-economic group	Aungier-Wexford Street (%)	South Circular Road (%)	Inchicore (%)
1. Professional and major proprietors	3	5	2
2. Clerks, Sales, Semi-Professionals	10	46	20
3. Petty Propr., managers, officials	5	4	9
4. Skilled Workers	38	26	42
5. Semi-Skilled and public service	19	13	13
6. Unskilled and domestic service	24	5	8
7. Military	1	2	6
Total number	459	234	294

Source: As for Table 3

Tables 4 and 5 show that the South Circular Road area had the most significant middle and lower middle class Protestant population (Segs 1 and 2). These groups accounted for 40 per cent of household heads and 51 per cent of all occupied males. In contrast in the Aungier Street—Wexford Street area the working-classes constituted 77 per cent of heads of households and 81 per cent of all occupied males. In Inchicore, skilled workers (Seg 4) were the most important segment of the working class and the most significant class in the population, though the lower middle class (Seg 2) was well represented by the clerks at the GSWR offices.

These results, when compared with the overall class structure of the Protestant male population (see Table 1) confirm that Dublin was a city shaped by social class rather than religion with substantial communities of working-class Protestants in the Inchicore and the Wexford Street—Aungier Street areas, the latter containing a considerable unskilled element.

III

Urban populations are highly mobile. For the working classes Dublin was part of an economic zone which connected the industrial centres of Ireland and Britain. Migration within this zone was not an aimless drifting but a purposeful drive. Migration was part of the life cycle of workers. Taking in lodgers seems to have been an almost universal practice;

C.S. Andrews' grandmother did so, as did many of the Jewish households along the South Circular Road.¹⁰ In the Wexford/Aungier Street area eight per cent of the 404 Protestant households had lodgers or boarders. In the South Circular Road area 34 per cent of the 152 Protestant households had lodgers and in the Inchicore area the figure was 14 per cent of 189 such households. The different percentages suggest that availability of space governed whether or not lodgers were taken in; in the Wexford Street—Aungier Street area characterised by one and two-room tenancies opportunities were limited whereas in the area off the South Circular Road or in Inchicore where most households occupied an entire house, the availability of space created an opportunity to keep lodgers. If, as seems probable, the income from lodgers went to the wife or female head of the house, keeping lodgers served as a crude form of income redistribution and perhaps as a form of social insurance ensuring there were some wage-earners under the roof in times of uncertainty. Within the areas sampled a significant number of occupied male Protestants were lodgers. In the Wexford Street—Aungier Street area, where only eight per cent of the Protestant households took in a lodger, 17 per cent of occupied males were lodgers. In the high subletting South Circular Road area 38 per cent of the occupied males were lodgers and in Inchicore the figure was 14 per cent. This underlines the mobility of the Protestant working class of Dublin. However, there was no tendency for Protestant households to seek Protestant lodgers nor for Protestant lodgers to seek Protestant households. Protestant households frequently contained both Protestant and Catholic lodgers and Protestant lodgers were often enumerated in Catholic households. The dispersion of Protestant lodgers suggests that Protestants were not a separate caste nor as immiscible as C.S. Andrews remembered:

From childhood I was aware that there were two separate and immiscible kinds of citizens: the Catholics, of whom I was one and the Protestants, who were as remote and different from us as if they had been blacks and we whites.¹¹

Mean household size varied from 3.13 per cent in the Aungier Street—Wexford Street area, slightly smaller than the characteristic tenement household of Daly's study where the mean household size was 3.7 persons, to 3.24 in the South Circular Road area and 4.84 in Inchicore, quite close to the 4.45 persons in the elite working-class Dublin Artisans Dwelling Company (DAD) housing in Daly's 1982 study.¹²

¹⁰ Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 15; Duffy, 'Dublin's Jewish Community' p. 68.

¹¹ Andrews, *Dublin Made Me*, p. 9.

¹² M.E. Daly, 'The Social Structure of the Dublin Working-Class, 1870-1911', *Ir. Hist. Stud.* XXIII, no. 90, (1982) pp. 121-133.

All three areas sampled show a high number of occupied males for working-class (Segs 4, 5, and 6) households and a few occupied females. In the Aungier—Wexford Street area the mean of occupied males per household was 1.45, a low figure compared to the South Circular Road and Inchicore areas where the mean of occupied males for working-class households was 1.78 and 1.68 respectively. This compares favourably to the working classes of Daly's study where even the elite DAD-housed group had only 1.37 workers per household. The relatively better prospects of the Protestant working-class households is further emphasised by the low level of occupied females. The highest level of female workers per household was in the Aungier Street—Wexford Street area, not surprising given that this was an area of low skill and tenement dwellings. However, the proportion of 0.37 female workers per Protestant household is almost the same as that of Daly's elite group. The number of female workers per household was lower in both Inchicore (0.25) and the South Circular Road (0.24) areas. Few of these women were in skilled employment. Most were seamstresses, laundresses, charwomen or general domestics. It must be supposed that those who worked did so to supplement family income. Given that the area with the highest number of female workers was characterised by the highest level of unskilled workers and workers in declining trades, it would appear that the Protestant working class of Dublin was more successful in securing employment, even of the unskilled variety, than the mass of the mainly Catholic working class.

An age profile of the Protestant population sampled in 1911 contrasts with that of the population of the city as a whole (Table 6).

TABLE 6
STRUCTURE OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS, 1911

Age	City		Protestants	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
0-19	40.0	37.8	35.6	33.9
20-39	35.7	35.3	34.0	33.8
40-64	20.2	20.6	26.6	25.0
65 +	4.1	6.3	4.8	7.3
Total	147,656	157,146	1271	1337

Source: As for Table 3 and N.A.I. Census of Ireland, 1911, Pt. 1 Leinster, city of Dublin Table XV, p12.

The Protestant population in 1911 was apparently weighted toward older age groups with a lower proportion in the age group 0-19 and 20-39, both male and female, than the city as a whole and a higher proportion in the age groups 40-64 and 65 and over.

IV

The conjugal status of the 20-44 age group in the 1901 sample suggests that Protestants were more likely to marry than the city's overall population and that there were fewer single men and women, though more widowed among the city's Protestant population (Table 7).

TABLE 7
CONJUGAL CONDITIONS: AGE GROUP 20-44, 1901

	Males		Females	
	Prot. (%)	City (%)	Prot. (%)	City (%)
Single	52.8	56.9	41.9	48.0
Married	44.4	41.3	51.5	46.4
Widowed	2.8	1.8	7.6	5.6
Total number	580	50,532	570	53,429

Source: As for Table 3 and N.A.I. Census of Ireland, Pt. 1 Leinster, No.2(a) city of Dublin Table XVIII, p13.

It would seem therefore that the Protestant population had a greater propensity to marry. The mean age of the heads of households and their wives in the Protestant working class (Seg 4,5,6) was 45.5 years and 41.9 years respectively in the 1911 sample, similar to the mean age of male household heads living in Corporation housing in Daly's study, though significantly higher than the mean age of 41.2 among male household heads in the elite DAD-housed group.¹³

The mean age of marriage of all Protestants in the 1911 sample was 28.3 years for males ($n = 412$) and 24.6 years for females ($n = 412$). The mean age for the Protestant working classes was slightly lower; 27.8 years for males ($n = 276$) and 24.4 years for females ($n = 276$), ages of marriage which are similar to those of the Dublin working class as a whole, especially with those of the skilled working class. The number of children born in marriages of twenty or more years duration within the Protestant working class, 5.84 ($n = 117$) compares closely to a figure of

¹³ Daly, 'Social Structure', Table 5.

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5.9 among migrant families in Daly's study.¹⁴ However, of the 590 families whose names occur in the Baptismal Register at St. Jude's Church of Ireland parish church in Inchicore, 64 per cent registered the baptism of one child only, 17 per cent registered two children and eight per cent three children. Only four per cent registered five baptisms.¹⁵ Thus, the vast majority of Protestant families registered only one child in one particular Parish and only the smallest minority registered a completed family of between five and six children.

The loss of young adults explains why the age profile of the Protestant population was weighted towards the elderly (Table 6). This feature of the Protestant population which has been treated heretofore as a special characteristic of post-independence Protestantism¹⁶ in the twenty-six counties was already characteristic of Protestantism in Dublin city in 1911. The main features which confirm the Protestant working class as a mobile population group, whose most mobile members were young married couples at the early family formation stage, are a high rate of marriage with no significant difference in age of marriage to that of the working class as a whole, a family size consistent with that of migrant families in the Dublin working class and a low number of family members registered in the same baptismal register. Marriage patterns within the Dublin Protestant working class were deeply disrupted by two factors. The first was the presence within the city of a large number of soldiers, mainly Protestant and for the most part young and single. The second was that Protestants were not segregated but lived amongst a numerically dominant Catholic population. Table 1 indicates that the military was one of the most significant occupational groups within the male Protestant workforce, rising from 15 per cent of all occupied Protestant males in 1871 to 21 per cent in 1911. By 1911 the military constituted 14 per cent of the entire Protestant male population of Dublin city. The marriage registers of four Church of Ireland parishes, distinguishing military grooms and non-military grooms, are summarised in Table 8.

The Parishes were St. Jude in Inchicore, St. Matthew in Irishtown, (the proletarian end of the Pembroke estate) St. Paul of North King Street, in the north inner city, and St. Kevin on the South Circular Road, Portobello (a church noted for its intense evangelicalism and fervent adherence to low church principles). The Register of St. Kevin began in 1884, that of St. Matthew in 1880. St. Paul's Register ends in 1939.¹⁷

14 Daly, 'Social Structure', Table V.

15 Representative Church Body Library (RCB), Baptismal Register Parish of St. Jude Kilmainham 1857-1982.

16 B.M. Walsh, *Religion and Demographic Behaviour in Ireland* E.S.R.I. paper No. 55, (May 1970) p. 16.

17 RCB, Marriage Registers of the Dublin Parishes of Irishtown, Kilmainham, St. Kevin and St. Paul.

Table 8 shows that at the end of the nineteenth century marriages to soldiers often exceeded one-third of all Protestant marriages. The total number of marriages declined inexorably, though the steepest decline was in the period of World War I and not, as one would suppose, the period after 1921 and the creation of the Free State when the number of marriages to non-military grooms recovered, though never to the level of the pre-war period.

TABLE 8
MARRIAGES IN FOUR CHURCH OF IRELAND PARISHES,
1870-1939

	Total	Military groom	Non-military groom
1870-79	353	251	102
1880-89	458	197	261
1890-99	515	193	322
1900-09	423	100	323
1910-19	276	98	155
1920-29	271	41	223
1930-39	248	2	246

Source: RCB marriage registers of the city of Dublin parishes, St. Jude, St. Matthew, St. Paul and St. Kevin.

Military grooms came mostly from working-class backgrounds and were English or Scottish natives on tours of duty in Dublin with their British regiments. Of the 186 soldiers married in St. Jude's church, Inchicore between 1870 and 1899, 41 per cent had fathers whose occupations belonged to the skilled working class, 12 per cent had fathers of semi-skilled class and 19 per cent unskilled occupations. Only three per cent had fathers in military occupations. Soldiers also married mainly into the working class. Of the 187 soldiers married in St. Jude's church, 20 per cent married women whose fathers were skilled workers, 12 per cent married women whose fathers were semi-skilled and 21 per cent married the daughters of unskilled workers. Thus, the military garrison would seem to have been a drain on the population of young women from which young working-class men could find a wife. Within the Inchicore sample from the 1901 Census, of those males and females in the age group 20-44, 43 per cent of the men and 35 per cent of the women were single. Both these rates are below the city averages of 57 per cent

and 48 per cent respectively, suggesting that though soldiers drew many single women from the community this did not leave a large fraternity of forlorn Protestant bachelors. There is no reason to suppose that soldiers were considered a poor choice or a last chance. Soldiers had a regular income and the security of a pension and where brides of soldiers give an age in the register (very rarely) they are usually in their twenties. The marriage register also show that soldiers, though mainly marrying the daughters of working-class fathers, married into middle-class households at a far higher rate than working-class men as a whole. From the marriage patterns it appears that the military barracks, and few parts of Dublin were not within a mile of a barracks, served for working-class Protestants as the Castle did for the middle and upper classes, as a social centre, a place to see and be seen. In many marriages to soldiers the witnesses were often other soldiers and either brides or brides-to-be of soldiers and a bride's name often recurs in the register as a witness for her bridesmaid's marriage to another soldier. Marriages are much fewer among the non-military occupational classes and an intense social conservatism is apparent; sons of skilled workers married daughters of skilled workers, often of the same trade. Marriages, excluding those to soldiers from local barracks, were extremely local, mostly between those from the same or adjoining parishes. Between 1870 and 1899 in 113 non-military marriages, 65 per cent of brides married a man from the same or adjoining parishes, 17 per cent a man from another Dublin parish. After 1900, grooms came increasingly from other Dublin parishes which would suggest that the extension of organised leisure through various social and sporting clubs created an alternative focus to the barracks for contact between the young. The second factor which deeply disrupted the marriage pattern of the Dublin Protestant working class was the numerically overwhelming Catholic population. It has been supposed that religiously mixed marriages were infrequent.¹⁸ Within the three sample areas from the 1901 and 1911 Census, religiously mixed marriages proved surprisingly common and must have contributed significantly to the erosion of the Dublin Protestant community. The rate of interdenominational marriage was highest in the Aungier Street—Wexford Street Area characterised by tenement lettings and lower-skilled workers and lowest in the area off the South Circular Road characterised by lower middle class and skilled working class occupations (Table 9).

Within the total sample between 14 per cent and 15 per cent of all married Protestant males were married to Catholic females in 1901 and in 1911. Of the 208 born to inter-church parents in 1901, 79 per cent were Catholic, 21 per cent Protestant. The figures for 1911 are similar; of 218

¹⁸ Daly, *Dublin: the Deposed Capital*, p. 145.

children, 77 per cent were Catholic and 23 per cent were Protestant. This pattern of inter-church marriages, mainly between Protestant males and Catholic females, which had a significant impact on the demography of Irish Protestantism with most offspring becoming Catholic, was well established by 1901. This pattern of inter-church marriages has also been discovered for 1961 by Brendan M. Walsh though the rates of Protestant grooms marrying Catholic brides had risen further to almost 30 per cent.¹⁹ This suggests that the 1907 Papal Decree on inter-church marriages, *Ne Temere*, had little impact on the rate of such marriages and probably only introduced compulsion into a process that was already established of the children of such marriages becoming Catholic. Interestingly, of the 98 such households with children in 1911, only six had what has been considered the traditional pattern of boys following the father's religion and girls the mother's. The Protestant working class of Dublin was being eroded not only by the decline in Dublin's manufacturing economy but also by internal social processes. Marriage patterns show that for women, soldiers were the preferred choice for marriage partners which in the vast majority of cases meant the loss of such couples and their offspring to the Protestant community of Dublin as the soldiers' tour of duty ended. A significant number of men chose Catholic brides, a choice which led to the majority of such marriages creating a Catholic household.

TABLE 9

HOUSEHOLDS WITH EVIDENCE OF INTER-CHURCH
MARRIAGES, 1901-11

Area	1901		1911	
	%	Total	%	Total
Aungier/Wexford Street	18.0	405	16.0	327
South Circular Road	5.0	156	6.0	123
Inchicore	13.0	200	11.0	273

Source: As for Table 3.

V

The decline in the number of Protestants in the twenty-six county state between 1911 and 1926 was dramatic. Of the total decrease of 105,025,

¹⁹ Walsh, 'Religion and Demographic Behaviour', pp. 26-30.

only about one quarter can be attributed to the withdrawal of the British garrison and their dependants, leaving about 80,000 to be accounted for.²⁰ Had this loss of population not occurred the downward trend in the total population of the new State would have been reversed for the first time since the Famine.²¹ This decline in the Protestant population has been treated as a diaspora of the terrorised. In Northern Ireland this interpretation has been readily accepted, conflating as it does with a traditional narrative of siege and persecution stretching back to 1641.²² Robert E. Kennedy's social and demographic study has also explained the decline in the number of Protestants in the twenty-six counties as a reaction to the triumph of Catholic nationalism.²³ Whilst acts of terrorism against Protestants did occur, this explanation for the decline in the number of Protestants is unsatisfactory. The nearest safe area for Southern Protestants would have been the newly established Northern Ireland. Yet, in September 1922 during the height of the Civil War, James Craig, writing to Churchill about the plight of Southern Protestants mentions only 360 persons as the number of refugees fleeing across the border.²⁴ The counties straddling the border do not show any marked divergence in the demographic fortunes of Protestants and Catholics. A study by Geary and Hughes on the impact of the border on migratory patterns within Ireland concluded that 'there is little sign of change in migratory behaviour occasioned by the Treaty'.²⁵ Nor did the creation of Northern Ireland attract northwards a great number of the middle class Protestants in the new administration. In fact the partitioning of the Irish civil service resulted in the transfer of a total of only 300 from South to North. This small number can be explained by the Northern Ireland Government's suspicions of any Southerner, Catholic or Protestant, and its anxiety to reserve posts for local applicants.²⁶

Furthermore, there is no evidence of fear and terror in the records of the City and County of Dublin Conservative Workingman's Club, an exclusively Protestant club, nor in those of the ARDP.²⁷ Except for the inconvenience of the curfew, business was very much as usual. As the *Irish*

20 *Saorstát Éireann, Census 1926*, vol. III, pp. 26-30.

21 *Commission on Emigration and other population problems 1948-54, Reports*. Dublin [1955], Pr. 2541, addendum No. 2 by R.C. Geary and M.D. McCarthy, p. 201.

22 Denis Kennedy, *The Widening Gulf. Northern Attitudes to the Independent Irish State, 1919-49*. (Belfast: 1988), p. 128.

23 R.E. Kennedy, *The Irish: Emigration, Marriage and Fertility* (Berkeley, 1973), chapter VI.

24 Kennedy, *Widening Gulf*, p. 126.

25 R.C. Geary and J.C. Hughes, *Migration between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland*, E.S.R.I. Paper No. 55 (1970), Appendix p. 48.

26 John McColgan, *British Policy and the Irish Administration, 1920-22* (London, 1983), p. 86.

27 RCB Ms.486 Records of the City and County of Dublin Conservative Working Mens Club, *Committee Minute Book 1921-26*; Ms.485 Association for the Relief of Distressed Protestants *Committee Minute Book 1915-31*.

Times commented on the morning of December 6th, 1922 when the Irish Free State formally came into being, 'in actual fact very little will happen, and the change will merely be marked by the change of name'.²⁸ That things had really changed in Ireland in 1921 was not a dramatic revelation to these Protestants, but rather a realisation that dawned over time.

The decline in the Protestant population in the Irish Free State was predominantly a decline in its urban Protestant population.²⁹ A population that was predominantly urban in 1911 was, by 1961 about evenly balanced between rural and urban. This was a reversal of the trend in the nineteenth-century Protestant population towards an increasingly urban population. It was also a reversal of the trend in the total population in the Irish Free State. This balance was the outcome of the attrition of the urban population. In Dublin City the Protestant population fell in the period 1911-26 from 45,896 to 27,506, a fall of 40 per cent. The decline in the County of Dublin was a less dramatic 22 per cent from 46,432 to 36,412. The contrast between the city and county is underlined when the percentages of Protestants in the city and in the middle class county townships are compared. In 1926 Protestants accounted for 10 per cent of the city population; between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of the population of Killiney/Ballybrack, Dun Laoghaire, Dalkey, Howth, Pembroke and Blackrock; over 30 per cent of the population of Terenure and of Rathmines/Rathgar and 57 per cent of that of Greystones. What appeared at first glance to be a loss of undifferentiated 'Protestants' was in fact a loss mostly of urban working-class Protestants.

Because the 1926 Census enumeration returns are not available it is impossible to say exactly which Protestants left Dublin between the Census of 1911 and that of 1926, nor why they left. However, a detailed analysis of the three areas selected from the 1901 and 1911 Census' suggests that the explanation for the decline in the number of Protestants in the Free State lies not in a catastrophe theory but in the acceleration of those economic and social trends which were already at work in the years before 1921. Between the Census of 1911 and that of 1926 these trends depleted the urban Protestant working class at a much greater rate than middle class or rural Protestants. If we need a catastrophic event to explain this decline it lies in the impact of the 1914-1918 war rather than the War of Independence.

Table 3 would initially suggest that the Protestant population of the Wexford Street—Aungier Street and the Inchicore areas was stable. The more middle-class area of the South Circular Road showed the greatest movement of population, presumably to the suburban townships. An

28 *Irish Times*, 6 December 1922.

29 *Saorstát Éireann, Census 1926 Report*, p. 47.

examination of the individual households, however, while confirming the South Circular Road area as the most mobile, reveals in all areas an astonishing degree of physical mobility. Of the 156 households enumerated in the South Circular Road area in 1901 only 21 or 13.5 per cent were still within the area in 1911. Of the Protestant households enumerated in the 1911 Census, only 17 per cent had been enumerated in 1901. In the Aungier Street—Wexford Street area, which seems to present an almost static population, only 88 or 22 per cent of the 404 households enumerated in 1901 were also enumerated in 1911. Only 27 per cent of households enumerated in 1911 had been enumerated in this area in 1901. In Inchicore, which presents a growing Protestant population, only 23 per cent of the 1911 households had been enumerated in 1901. Of the 200 households in 1901 only 31 per cent or 63 were still in Inchicore in 1911. Even within this area there was considerable mobility; of the 63 households who remained in Inchicore from 1901 to 1911 only 37 were living at the same address. In a sample of 87 Catholic households in Inchicore however 60, or 69 per cent were still in the area in 1911, the majority at the address that they had occupied in 1901. A phenomenal level of physical mobility was, therefore, a mark of Dublin's Protestants and the Dublin Protestant working class, a level not matched by Catholics within the same area. Where it showed growth and decline, the Protestant population was not growing by a steady accretion nor declining by a steady depletion. Rather, there was a massive through put of population which replaced or failed to replace periodically virtually an entire population. The decline of the Dublin Protestant population in general and the Protestant working class in particular, was due to the decline in the inflow of people which failed over time to replace the well established and growing outflow. Though emigration has been treated as peculiarly characteristic of Catholic Ireland it is probably true to say that Protestant Ireland is a population more shaped and conditioned by emigration. It has been noted that social class was the most significant force segregating Dublin's population. This force for segregation operated not alone between classes but also within classes. The Protestant working class of the Aungier Street—Wexford Street area was marked not only by a significant unskilled element but also by the fact that its skilled workers were overwhelmingly concentrated in the older artisan 'maker' categories such as boot and shoemakers, cabinet-makers and in the building trades. In 1911, 38 per cent of the skilled workers were building tradesmen and 31 per cent were artisan 'makers'. This contrasts with Inchicore where the building and traditional 'maker' sectors were only 30 per cent of skilled workers but over 57 per cent were in the engineering trades such as boiler-makers and fitter-turners.

TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONS OF PROTESTANT MALE HEADS OF
HOUSEHOLD IN 1911

Socio-economic group	Aungier-Wexford Street (%)	South Circular Road (%)	Inchicore (%)
1. Professional and major proprietors	4	6	2
2. Clerks, sales, semi-professionals	10	30	21
3. Petty propr., managers, officials	6	6	12
4. Skilled workers	39	27	40
5. Semi-skilled and public service	18	15	8
6. Unskilled and domestic service	20	12	6
7. Military	3	4	10
Total number	213	82	228

Source: As for Table 3.

TABLE 11

ALL OCCUPIED PROTESTANT MALES BY OCCUPATION, 1911

Socio-economic group	Aungier-Wexford Street (%)	South Circular Road (%)	Inchicore (%)
1. Professional and major proprietors	3	3	2
2. Clerks, sales, semi-professionals	8	30	23
3. Petty propr., managers, officials	5	4	8
4. Skilled workers	37	26	40
5. Semi-skilled and public service	20	21	12
6. Unskilled and domestic service	26	13	8
7. Military	2	2	7
Total number	363	158	414

Source: As for table 3.

21

Tables 10 and 11 analyse the occupational structure in 1911 of the three areas sampled. A comparison between tables 4 and 5 and tables 10 and 11 which involves a comparison between 1901 and 1911, reveals that the tendencies apparent in the analysis of Census occupational data (Table 1) and implicit in 1901 are remarkably enduring despite the turnover of two-thirds of the Protestant population. The more middle class area adjoining the South Circular Road showed the most significant change, becoming less middle class and its working class becoming more skilled. The working-class areas of Aungier Street—Wexford Street and Inchicore showed a greater degree of stability. The 'heads of household' who may be considered the initiators of mobility, declined in the skilled working class (Seg 4) and grew in the semi-skilled (Seg 5) and unskilled (Seg 6) working classes.

The role of migration in shaping the character of the Irish working class cannot be underestimated, nor can it be understood without an analysis of the immigration and emigration of workers. An examination of Dublin's working class has established the importance of mobility in the demarcation of unskilled and skilled workers. It found that the majority of the unskilled casual workers were native Dubliners whose lack of skill had made them geographically immobile.³⁰ Migrants from the rest of Ireland, mainly from Leinster, absorbed the secure though relatively unskilled jobs in Guinness's, the tramway companies or as policemen or shop assistants. Long distance migrants from Great Britain were concentrated in the civil service, financial institutions and commercial activities as well as the railways. It has been suggested that in the migratory population of Dublin the increasing proportion of long-distance migrants may reflect relatively better employment opportunities, while the falling proportion of Leinster migrants may reflect difficulties in less skilled positions.³¹ Migration was a powerful shaper of the Protestant working class in Dublin. As early as 1841 the editor of *The Warder*, a newspaper which championed working-class Protestant interests, lamented that emigration would lead to the extinction of the Dublin Protestant artisan class. The decline of the Protestant working class in Dublin between 1834 and 1871 was primarily due to the poor economic climate.³² An examination of the birthplace of 'household heads and wives' in the 1901 and 1911 sample, underlines the mobility of the Protestant working-class (Table 12).

Table 12 shows that the largest concentration of native Dubliners was in the artisan and working-class area of Aungier Street—Wexford Street. In the more middle-class South Circular Road area the most

30 Daly, 'Social Structure', p. 130.

31 M.E. Daly, 'Dublin in the Nineteenth Century Irish Economy', in Paul Butel and L.M. Cullen (eds), *Cities and Merchants, 1500-1900* (Dublin, 1984), pp. 62-3.

32 J.R. Hill, 'Artisans, Sectarianism and Politics in Dublin, 1829-48', *Saothar*, 7, (1981), p. 16.

significant place of birth was 'rest of Ireland'. In Inchicore, which was dominated by the engineering industry, the most significant place of birth was Great Britain. Moreover, in comparison to the population of the city of Dublin as a whole, the Protestant population was much less a native Dublin population, and those born in England, Wales and Scotland were of much greater significance, even when compared with the elite working-class residents of DAD's housing where 34.9 per cent of household heads and their wives were Dublin born, 50.1 per cent had been born in the remainder of Ireland and 15.0 per cent born elsewhere.³³

TABLE 12
BIRTHPLACE OF "HEADS AND WIVES", 1901 AND 1911

Area	1901				1911			
	Dublin (%)	Rest of Ireland (%)	G.B. (%)	Total	Dublin (%)	Rest of Ireland (%)	G.B. (%)	Total
Wexford/Aungier								
Street	49.0	32.8	17.9	457	54.4	28.2	15.3	485
South Circular								
Road	30.4	42.6	26.0	204	40.4	38.8	16.0	188
Inchicore	30.0	31.5	36.2	340	32.7	29.8	33.8	456
City of Dublin	66.6	26.6	5.5	291 ¹	70.3	23.9	5.5	305 ¹

Note: 1. Thousands

Source: As for Table 3 and Census of Ireland, 1911, Pt. 1 Leinster, No. 2(a) city of Dublin, Table XXV, p. 32.

This would suggest that the Dublin Protestant working class was not a homogeneous group bound together by a denominational bond but rather that there existed two different Protestant working classes, those in the artisan craft industries who were suffering decline, and those in the new engineering industries who were experiencing expansion. The fundamental expression of that division was place of birth with those who were Dublin born tending to cluster in the lower skilled or declining occupational classes and those born in Great Britain tending to cluster in the lower middle classes and expanding skilled worker occupations. An analysis of the place of birth of all occupied males in the three areas (Table 13) confirms this.

³³ Daly, 'Social Structure', Table IV.

TABLE 13
DISTRIBUTION OF MALE PLACE OF BIRTH BY SEG

Socio economic group	Dublin (%)	Rest of Ireland (%)	G.B. (%)
1. Professional and major proprietors	2.1	3.4	1.5
2. Clerks, sales, semi-professionals	17.6	20.2	21.8
3. Petty proprietors, managers, officials	3.9	7.7	7.0
4. Skilled workers	39.7	30.1	42.1
5. Semi-skilled and public service	15.8	20.6	7.4
6. Unskilled and domestic service	19.5	15.0	8.9
7. Military	1.4	3.0	11.4
Total number	488	233	202

Source: As for Table 3.

Dublin born Protestant males were losing out in the lower middle class occupations both to those in the rest of Ireland and to British born males, and were tending to sink into the unskilled working class. British born males were skilled working class with a sizeable proportion also in Seg 2 occupations. Only a residual proportion were in the semi skilled and unskilled working classes. The Dublin Protestant working class was buoyed up by an influx of skilled workers in periods of expansion or, more often during the nineteenth century, depleted by periods of recession. Those who rose into the middle class moved to the better off suburbs, or emigrated. Those remaining were gradually by-passed by technology and slipped into the ranks of the semi-skilled and unskilled. Even without the War of Independence and Civil War the decline in Dublin's Protestant working class would have become a catastrophic collapse as Dublin was deindustrialized by war time controls.³⁴ This process continued after independence. The only city, as opposed to suburban, parish of the Church of Ireland to expand during the twentieth century was St. Mary's in Crumlin. This expansion followed an influx of workers from Liverpool and Bristol who had been recruited by the Imperial Tobacco company in 1923 to staff a new factory. Later there were added more Protestant workers from Guinness's brewery who moved into the newly built Iveagh Trust housing in the Parish.³⁵

³⁴ Niall O'Flanagan, 'Dublin City in an Age of War and Revolution, 1914-25', unpublished M.A. Thesis, (University College Dublin, 1986), pp. 54-5.

³⁵ Enda Burrows, *Love, Laughter and Yellow Brick. A History of St. Mary's Parish Crumlin, Dublin.* (Dublin, 1992), pp. 8-9.

VI

A 'diaspora of the terrorised' as an explanation for the changes in the number of Protestants in independent Ireland pretends that the category 'Protestant' is sufficient to sustain an historical explanation. Yet 'Protestant' as an undifferentiated category ignores those other categories of human experience such as urban and rural, working class or middle class, modern tradesmen or traditional craftsmen or even male and female. These other categories of class, skill and gender show that there was no simple 'Protestant' experience. Dublin's Protestant working class was a class as well as a denomination. The Protestant working class of Dublin was similar in structure to the Catholic working class, it was not an 'aristocracy of labour'. The key difference that emerged between the Catholic and Protestant working classes was the unskilled labour mass in the Catholic working class. The mechanism which segregated the population of Dublin was class rather than religion. Within both the Protestant and Catholic working classes migration was the key segregator, the most mobile were the most skilled and Dublin-born Protestants and Catholics tended to cluster in the unskilled classes. The Protestant working class of Dublin shows characteristics of the two most common models of urban populations. Like the population of North American cities, its seeming stability concealed a massive replacement of population over time by vast flows of in-migration and out-migration.³⁶ At the same time it displayed the characteristics of a 'settling tank', the dreaded image of the city of the late-Victorian anti-urban reaction, wherein the migrants into a city arrive at a middling level but inevitably sink to the bottom with the passing of generations. The pattern of boom and recession which characterised capitalist development triggered off massive population movements. Centres of growth acquired a working class which was extremely heterogeneous, centres of decline returned to a residual local population. Migration for the industrial working class was not a drift but a purposeful drive and was a regular part of the life cycle of workers. Opportunity, as a part of the cycle of boom and recession, fuelled this drive. Dublin's Protestant working class requires perhaps a third model for urban populations of reserves and flows in which the reserve population declines at a rate which the flow of new population fails to equal because the economic growth attracting newcomers falters. But perhaps most importantly, Dublin's Protestant working class raises an important question about the working class and 'nations': in what sense was there an 'Irish' working-class? A significant section of what has been termed the Irish working class consisted of English or Scottish skilled men for which Belfast or

36 Stephen Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*, (New York, 1973), pp. 39-41.

Dublin were part of the economic zone in which they moved. Names of British workers like Hugh Scammel, William Foreman, Will Thorne, Jim Larkin, James Connolly or Thomas Johnson are indicators of the role migratory workers played in the formation of the Irish working class. Conversely any history of the Irish working class would be incomplete without taking into account the experiences of Irish workers in Britain. Nor could the history of the working class of Great Britain be complete if it excluded the migratory Irish. The working class of any country is a heterogeneous mixture, drawn together by active economies and dispersed by declining economies. An homogeneous, truly 'national' working class would therefore be symptomatic of economic decline.

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APPENDIX**THE 1911 CENSUS OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES BY
SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP****SEG 1—PROFESSIONAL AND MAJOR PROPRIETORS**

Peer; M.P.; Privy Councillor; clergy; others in religious professions; barrister; solicitor, attorney; physician; surgeon; general practitioner; dentist; engineer; manager; merchant; broker; agent; factors; auctioneer; valuer; house agent; banker; finance agent; farmer; market gardener; income from property; gentleman.

SEG 2—CLERKS, SALESMEN AND SEMI-PROFESSIONALS

Civil service officers and clerks; local government officers, East India and colonial service; law clerks and others not professionals in law; medical students and others not professionals in medicine; teachers; literary and scientific, students (third level); artists; persons in theatre, music shows etc; accountant; salesman; buyer; commercial traveller; commercial clerk; others in commerce; others in bank service; persons in insurance.

SEG 3—PETTY PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS AND OFFICIALS

Other civil service; coach or cab owner; stable-keeper; persons engaged about animals; music and book publishers; bookseller; librarian; news-agent; builder (unspecified); furniture broker or dealer; undertaker; bicycle maker or dealer; chemist; druggist; tobacconist; board and lodging keeper; wine and spirit merchant or agent; others in drink trade; grovers and others in food; draper; mercer; coal merchant; coal dealer; ironmonger; hardware dealer; shop-keeper; dealer (unspecified); pawnbroker; manager or superintendent (unspecified); contractor (undefined).

SEG 4—SKILLED WORKERS

Railway engineer driver; bookbinder; printer; other trades in books and printing; lithographer; other trades in maps and prints; engine and machine maker; millwright; fitter/turner; boiler-maker; agricultural machine and implement maker; domestic machine maker; implement and tool maker; watch and philosophical instrument maker; surgical instrument maker; arms and ordnance maker; musical instrument maker; type dye medal and coin maker; maker of tackle for sports and game; carpenter; joiner; bricklayer; mason; paviour; slater; tiler; plasterer; paperhanger; plumber; painter; glazier; others in building trades; cabinet-maker; upholsterer; french polisher; locksmith; gas fitter; house and shop fitter; wood-carver; figure-maker; animal preserver; others in decorating trades; coachmaker; motor-car body maker; railway carriage maker;

wheelwright; others in carriage and harness; harness-maker; persons in ship-building; persons in chemicals and compounds; pipe-makers; maltser; distiller; brewer; persons in textile spinning and weaving; tailors; boot and shoe maker; others in dress-making; makers from animal and vegetable substances; makers in earthenware and glass; goldsmith; silversmith; manufacturing jeweller; iron and steel manufacturers; smith in copper, tin, zinc, lead, brass; others in metal work and wire; artisan (undefined); mechanic (undefined).

SEG 5—SEMI-SKILLED AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Prison officer; police; officials and servants of railway companies; cabman; flyman; coachman (not domestic); carter; drayman; tram company service; motor car driver; chauffeur; merchant; seaman; others on canals; rivers; sea; warehouseman; storageman; miner; gas-works service; stone-cutter; road-maker; salt manufacture; mineral water manufacture; engine-driver; stoker; fireman (not railway); apprentice; assistant (undefined); machinist; machine-worker.

SEG 6—UNSKILLED AND DOMESTIC SERVICE

Domestic servant; other service; messenger; porter; farm labourer; coal heaver; road labourer; costermonger; huckster; sheetseller; general labourer; factory labourer; cleaner.

SEG 7—MILITARY

Army officer; army soldier; N.C.O.; army pensioner; royal naval officer; royal navy seaman; royal navy pensioner.