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The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 effectively divided the island into two self-governing states. It created two majorities but more importantly it created two minorities. Roman Catholics comprised an overwhelming majority in the Free State, but they formed a significant minority in Northern Ireland. The much more heterogeneous Protestant population constituted sixty-six per cent of the Northern Irish population and a tiny minority of five per cent in the Free State. The fate of the northern minority has generated an extensive literature dealing with various aspects of that community's problems (Rolston et al, 1983). However, the dearth of material on the southern minority is in itself significant. It may be both a reflection of the southern majority's disinterest in the Protestant minority, and willingness by the southern minority itself not to "cause waves" within the southern state. Thus, the primary purpose of this paper is to examine the geographical dimensions of the reaction of the Protestant population in County Cork to the changing constitutional relationship between Ireland and Britain in the early years of this century.

The study commences in 1911 and ends in 1926. It examines County Cork and concentrates on the Church of Ireland population only. It is essentially an examination of census data (available at the District Electoral Division scale) in an attempt to explain the causes of population change during this period. It also refers to previously published secondary material, church records, newspapers and fieldwork evidence.

## THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY IN CORK, 1911

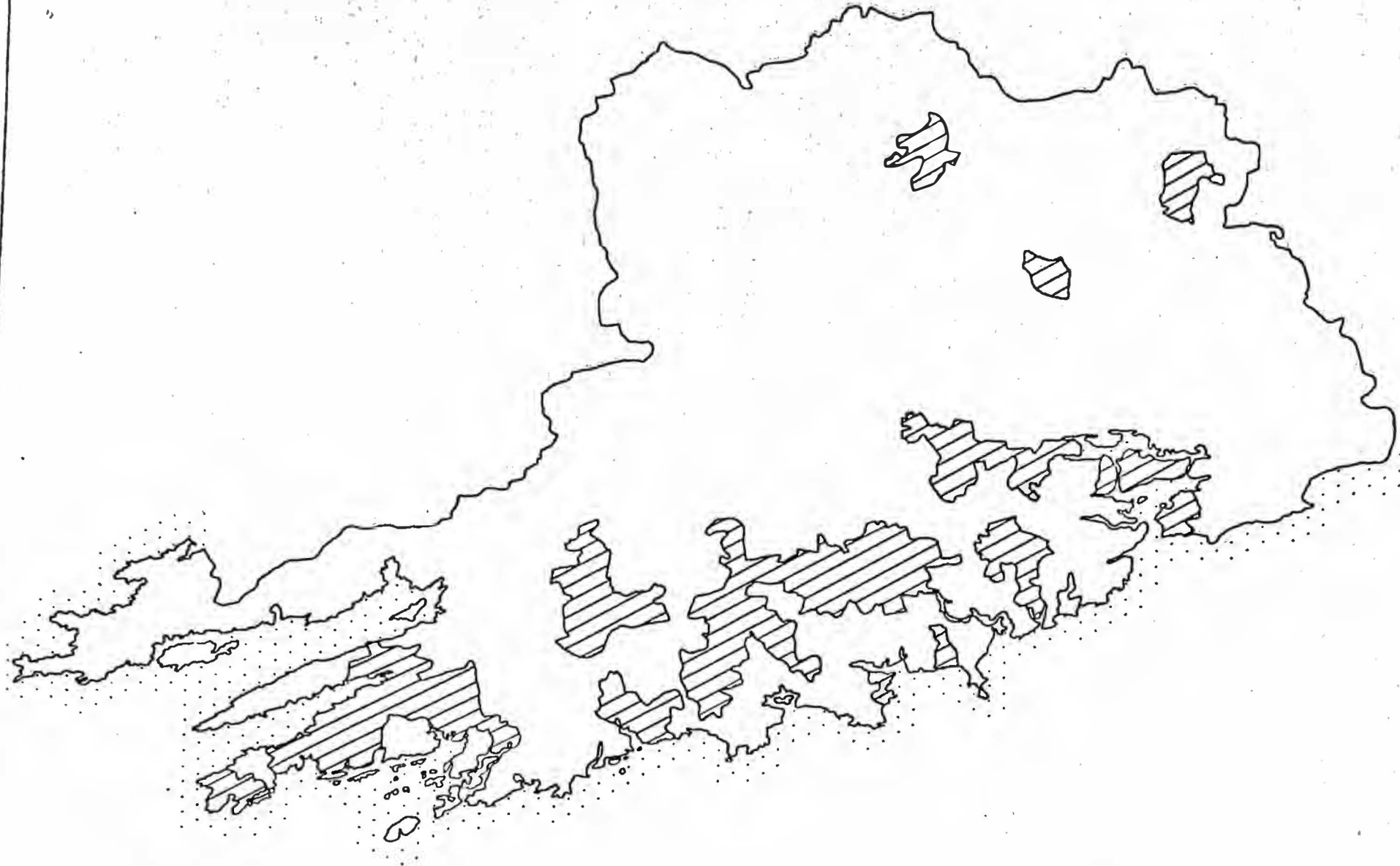
The Protestant population of Ireland represented twenty-five per cent of the total population in 1911 (census of population 1911, General Report, p. 211). However, the majority of these were concentrated in the six north-eastern counties which became Northern Ireland in 1921. There was also a sizeable Protestant population in South Dublin and North Wicklow. One town, Greystones, had a Protestant majority which made it unique in Southern Ireland. In Connaught, the Protestant population was negligible and in Munster it amounted to 58,996. In Munster, over eighty-five per cent were members of the Church of Ireland (1). The Protestant population of Cork City and County in 1911 was 35,038, 29,568 (83.38 per cent) of whom were returned as being members of the Church of Ireland. The other Protestant denominations which totalled 3,470 had very small populations concentrated in Cork City.

The majority of the Church of Ireland population was urban-based or living in close proximity to Cork City. As many as twenty-two per cent lived in Cork Rural District while a further twenty-one per cent lived in Cork City. Moreover, another nineteen per cent lived in the other urban centres as defined by the census. Thus, at least forty per cent of the Church of Ireland was urbanised, a figure greatly in excess of the Roman Catholic figure for County Cork which was twenty-nine per cent. This concentration of Cork's Protestants in urban areas represented a continuation of an historical pattern which emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Dickson, 1982; d'Alton, 1983). (Figure 1) When the rural population of County Cork is examined, it can be seen that the Church of Ireland population was concentrated south of a line from Cork Harbour to the Northern side of Bantry Bay (Figure 2). Here, the Church of Ireland population represented a substantial minority in most areas. The substantial nature of that community may be gauged from the fact that it approached forty per cent of the total population around Schull, Durrus and Dunmanway. Outside this core zone, the Church of Ireland rarely exceeded six per cent of the total population, and in much of the Rural Districts of Macroom, Millstreet and Kanturk, there were no Church of Ireland members at all. Some D.E.D.'s in this zone did have a significant Church of Ireland population, namely Buttevant, Fermoy, Mallow and Kilworth. These may be explained by the fact that each of these D.E.D.'s contained a British Army Barracks and the British Army in County Cork was comprised mainly of Protestants (4,699 out of 6,043 or 77.72 per cent).

(1) The census definition is strictly Protestant Episcopalian but as the 1911 census commissioners point out this was in practice the Church of Ireland (census of population, 1911, General Report, p.3).

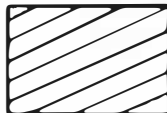
fig. 1

# Protestant Episcopalians as percentage of total population in CO. CORK in 1911. (BY DISTRICT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS)



-52-

D.E.D.s with P.E. pop. greater than 10%



SCALE:

1 ————— 20 Miles

Fig.2

# COUNTY CORK

## Distribution of Roman Catholics and Protestant Episcopalians in 1911 & 1926

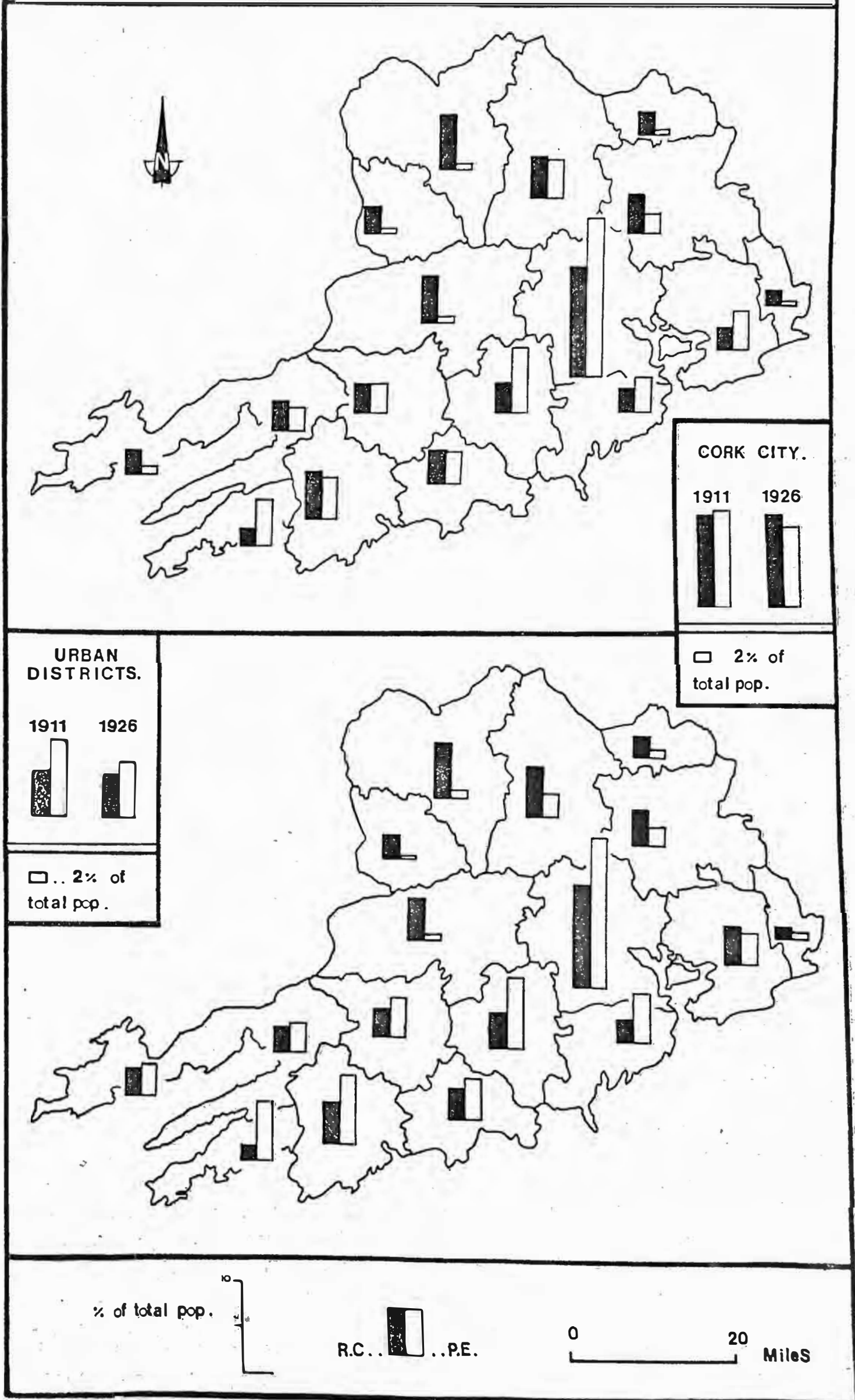


TABLE 1:	
Military Barracks	Number of People in Each
Bandon	29
Bear Island	89
Ballincollig	531
Victoria Barracks (Cork No. 1 D.E.D.)	1640
Elizabeth Fort (Cork No. 7 D.E.D.)	43
Queenstown Hospital	24
Spike Island	539
Haulbowline Island	131
Rocky Island	12
Fermoy	1828
Kilworth Camp	177
Camden Fort	232
Templebreedy	59
Kinsale	755
Buttevant	824
Mallow	17
Aghada	200
Youghal	184

Source: Census of Population, 1911, Cork County, pp. 159-161.

### CAUSES OF THE DECLINE IN COUNTY CORK, 1911 - 1926

Population decline may be attributed to two fundamental factors. A natural decrease may occur as a result of either decreased fertility or increased mortality. This is what caused the decline of the Protestant population in Ireland between 1946 and 1971 (Walsh, 1970; Walsh, 1974). Alternatively, migration may be greater in any given period than natural increase leading to population decline. The causes of the decline of the Church of Ireland population in the Free State between 1911 and 1926 have been attributed to emigration (Duffy, 1978; Kennedy, 1973; McMahan, 1983). This section, therefore, has a twofold objective. Firstly, it seeks to examine the reasons for the decline in the Church of Ireland population in County Cork between 1911 and 1926. In the second place, it attempts to explain the importance of each of the above factors during this period.

Many factors were responsible for non-Roman Catholic emigration between 1911 and 1926. These can be generally classified as political, social and economic in nature. It is also true to say that it followed a pattern later observable in Kenya, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other parts of the colonial world in the past fifty years (Prothero, 1972). The Protestant minority in and around Cork was well connected with trade and industry. For a variety of reasons, industry in post independence Ireland stagnated or went into decline towards the end of the period under discussion. This would have made emigration all the more attractive to a minority group that was greatly affected by the whole series of problems associated with Irish independence (McManus, 1967). In this situation, emigration also made it easier to avoid the increasing influence of the Catholic social code on the laws of the State by emigrating (McDowell, 1975; White, 1975). Similarly, the effects on former loyalists of the continuing economic and political disputes between Britain and Ireland would have caused many people to migrate. In addition to this, the British military and administrative establishment employed a large proportion of the Church of Ireland population. One-third of Cork City's male Church of Ireland population was employed in this manner in 1911 (census of population, County Cork, 1911 p. 194). Many of these would have been forced to emigrate in pursuit of new employment and would have taken their families with them. Also, it is possible to suggest that many of the Church of Ireland population migrated under the strain of the Anglo-Irish Civil wars between 1919 and 1923. McDowell has argued that as "the Protestant was often a Unionist, where a Unionist was often a *rara avis*", he became a target for the I.R.A. during the Anglo-Irish War (McDowell, 1975, p. 109). Many Protestant homes were also burnt out by the I.R.A. (and later the Anti-Treaty forces) as their houses were very often used as bases by the establishment (Bence-Jones, 1978, Introduction; White, 1975, Diocesan Council Record, 1923). Finally, the Church of Ireland death rate in the Great War was substantial (McDowell, Kingsmill Moore, White). Therefore, it may be said that the Great War, the unsettled state of the country, and the creation of the Irish Free State were the main reasons for the decline of the Protestant population between 1911 and 1926. All other causes were of negligible significance.

In County Cork, it is possible to abstract from the census returns and local sources the likely causes of the Church of Ireland decline between 1911 and 1926. The British Army had barracks at Buttevant, Fermoy, Ballincollig and Cork City. The British Navy had bases in Cork Harbour, Kinsale and Castletownberehaven. All but two of these (Cork Harbour and Berehaven) were closed between 1911 and 1926. This represented a loss to the Church of Ireland of approximately 4,600 or seventeen per cent of its 1911 members. On top of this, 387 members of the Church of Ireland population of County Cork were killed in the Great War. This represented 1.3 per cent of the 1911 population. However, the significance of this is greater than it actually appears since many of those killed were in the economically and demographically active age groups between fifteen and fifty years. The rest of the decline may be accounted for by other economic, political and social factors, but this is not quantifiable using the methodology of this study. The Church of Ireland death rate in the Anglo-Irish War must have had a very unsettling effect on the Protestant community in this part of Munster. Dunmanway was the scene of the 'massacre' of seven Protestants who were killed in retaliation for the shooting of a member of the I.R.A. in 1921 (Kingsmill Moore, 1930, p. 278). It would appear, then, that the decline of the Church of Ireland population involved a complex web of factors all of which did not leave the Protestant minority with a great feeling that they could remain in the Free State. Obviously, the importance of each factor changed over time but the period of greater decline was immediately after the granting of Irish independence. However, a geographical analysis of the pattern of decline also highlighted other often more localised factors which help further in understanding the Church of Ireland reactions to the creation of the new State.

SPATIAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE DECLINE OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND  
POPULATION IN COUNTY CORK, 1911-1926

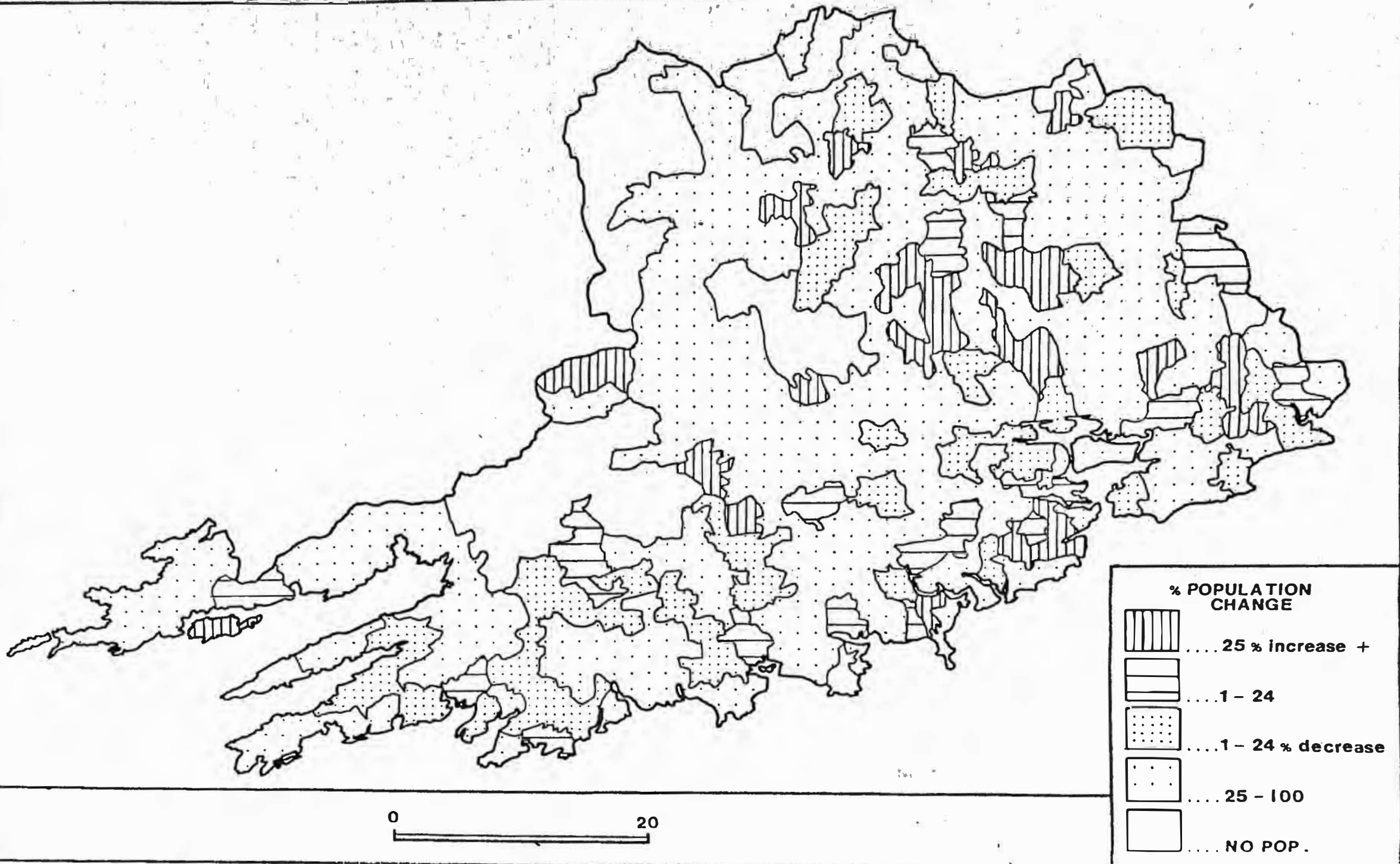
The Church of Ireland population in County Cork declined from 29,568 in 1911 to 16,839 in 1926, which represented a forty-three per cent decline over fifteen years (census of population, 1926, volume 3, p. 59). The massive nature of this decline is best appreciated when compared to the Roman Catholic decrease for the same period. The Roman Catholic population fell by 11,140 from 356,259 to 345,119, a decline of three per cent. Therefore, the Church of Ireland decline was not only fourteen times higher in relative terms, but it was (at 12,729) also higher in absolute terms than the decline of the Roman Catholic population. This reflects the differing population dynamics of both sections of the Irish population in this period.

TABLE 2: Population Change by D.E.D.'s in County Cork between 1911 and 1926, Church of Ireland, Population only.	
	Number of D.E.D.'s
Number Church of Ireland Population in 1911 or 1926	42
Decrease %	
.1-24.9	46
25-100	200
Increase %	
.1-24.9	19
25+	26
Total	333
Source:	Census of Population, 1926, Vol. 3, p. 59-66. Census of Population, 1911, County Cork.

As can be seen from table 2, some areas experienced a population increase, while others suffered a total eclipse which left them with no population at all in 1926. Generally speaking, it can be said that the overall pattern is one of decline which varies spatially (Figure 3).

A total of ten D.E.D.'s experienced a population increase of one hundred per cent or more. Only two had any sizeable Church of Ireland population in 1911. These were Berehaven and Glengarrif which would not have been affected by population decline. Berehaven was one of the treaty ports retained by Britain. As the 1926 British naval establishment was concentrated in Cork Harbour, Lough Swilly and Berehaven, it is not surprising that what had been a relatively small naval base in 1911 was upgraded by 1926. Glengarrif was a favoured retirement centre for the middle class and the Church of Ireland population was well represented in this socio-economic class. Other increases in this category occurred in areas of low population where any increase would appear to be significant in relative terms but was not so in absolute terms. Included in this group of eight D.E.D.'s are some

**Fig.3** Protestant Episcopalians Population Change in County Cork 1911-1926



which seem to be characterised by people congregating around Glebehouses, or Demenses. This appears to be the case at Marshalstown in Mitchelstown Rural District where the Church of Ireland population jumped from seven in 1911 to twenty in 1926.

A further sixteen D.E.D.'s had an increase of more than twenty-five per cent. These are to be found in areas of reasonably high (ten per D.E.D.) Church of Ireland population. The major reason for this is that Protestants from the small isolated population in less safe areas would find security in areas where Protestants were much thicker on the ground. A number of these cases are reported in the pages of the *Cork Examiner* in late 1921 and early 1922. A third group of D.E.D.'s (those with 0.1 to 24 per cent increases) was concentrated in the core areas of settlement most noticeably in Monkstown, Kinsale and Dunmanway. Thus, Monkstown's Church of Ireland population increased by eleven to three hundred and five which represented a three per cent increase. It is also important to note the nine D.E.D.'s on the ridge between Mallow, Fermoy and Cork City which recorded a population increase between 1911 and 1926. It seems likely this was a result of people moving out of the towns, or more likely the result of people moving into Cork Rural District from adjacent outlying areas. The reason that the increases are recorded here and not farther south can be explained by the fact that this part of the Rural District had a very small Church of Ireland population in 1911, thus, making any inflow appear to be more significant than it really was.

Those D.E.D.'s which experienced the lowest decline in the Church of Ireland population were to be found in Durrus, Skibbereen, Dromoleague, Drinagh, Ballymoney and Clonakilty. Another agglomeration existed on the fringes of Cork City in the D.E.D.'s of Inniskenny, Bishopstown, Blackrock, Douglas and Caherlag. In all these areas, the Church of Ireland population was high in 1911. Therefore, the pressure to move that existed in the north and east of the county was not a factor here as an extensive Church of Ireland community network existed in these areas to both protect and support those who felt threatened. Secondly, this was probably a zone of emigration from outside Cork County (or for that matter the north and east of the county). Finally (though this only applies to Cork City), the Church of Ireland population had already been moving out of the centre to new middle class suburbs situated on the south side of the city before the traumas of 1916 - 1922.

All the above patterns may be regarded as anomalies in the sense that they may be explained by particular factors impacting on specific locations. Over much of the rest of the county, the population decline ranged from a low of twenty-five per cent to a high of seventy-five per cent. In general, those areas with a relatively low decline were located on the fringes of the core zones in the south-west of Cork. Examples of this type of area include Rosscarbery and the northern side of Bandon Rural District. This zone represented those areas with a reasonably large Protestant population but one which was very much concentrated around the towns, leaving those people living in the rural areas more isolated than otherwise might have been the case. This would probably have led to an increased tendency among some rural members of the Church of Ireland population to move than in places like Schull or Durrus where there was a much more evenly distributed rural population.

The final group of D.E.D.'s (those with a decline of between seventy-five per cent and one hundred per cent) is concentrated in the north of the county. Two different types of area exhibit this characteristic. The first type of area included those places with little or no Church of Ireland population in 1911, while the second comprises those D.E.D.'s with British Army camps until 1921. Examples of areas with a Protestant population in 1911 of nine or ten, and a population of zero in 1926 include Castlecooke and Glanworth in Fermoy Rural District and Banteer and Barleyhill in Kanturk Rural District. These, in many cases, were areas which had one or two families of the Church of Ireland and these would probably thought themselves to have been the most threatened of all in the 1919 - 1923 'troubles'. It is no coincidence that many of the 'big houses' burnt during this time, such as Massytown House near Macroom, or Ryecourt near Crookstown, were to be found in this area (Bence-Jones, 1978, p. 56 and p. 121). Turning to those D.E.D.'s with British Army Barracks, it can be seen that Buttevant lost six hundred and forty of its six hundred and sixty Church of Ireland inhabitants between 1911 and 1926. The largest urban decline in the county (or in the country) was at Fermoy where only one hundred and seventeen of the one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine Church of Ireland inhabitants in 1911 were left in 1926. Similarly, the evacuation of a British Army Barracks at both Kinsale and Rincurran explains why these areas should have witnessed decline by seventy per cent when the average fall for the surrounding Kinsale Rural District was as low as thirteen per cent between 1911 and 1926.

This then accounts for the variable nature of the decline of the Church of Ireland population in the years that Ireland moved from being a part of the British Empire to being an independent self-governing state.

## CONCLUSION

What then are the conclusions that may be drawn from a study of this nature? In the first place, it appears that there was a potentially unstable Church of Ireland population in the north of County Cork consisting of the military establishment and their dependants. Secondly, it can be seen that the northern boundary of the enclave marked the sharp northern frontier of the Church of Ireland population in County Cork. The boundary is so sharp between Durrus and Dunmanway on the southern side and Bantry and Ballingearry on the north side that it must be said that the boundary marked the cultural frontier of English colonisation in this part of south western Ireland. As Ballingearry remains a Gaeltacht and Irish speaking, it must be said that this contention is doubly reinforced. Thirdly, it may be suggested that the distribution of Protestants in County Cork had not changed markedly since the mid-seventeenth century. Even today, the Kingston family name, which is generally associated with Protestants, is overwhelmingly concentrated in this county (Kingston, 1975). Thus, it may be said that County Cork was not typical of the south of Ireland in that it had a sizeable Church of Ireland population. However, it was in no sense as strong a core zone as the north-east of Ireland or south County Dublin.

Another series of conclusions may be drawn from a study of the period 1911 - 1926. Firstly, it can be seen that a sudden and sharp decline took place in County Cork, and that this decrease was steeper than the national decline for this period. Secondly, the Church of Ireland decline in this area was markedly different from the decline in the Roman Catholic population. Thirdly, this difference is directly attributable to emigration. Fourthly it would seem that the decline of the Church of Ireland population was much more complex than it was previously assumed to be. It involved some Church of Ireland adherents moving from the countryside into the towns, while others were moving out of the towns to places like Dublin, Northern Ireland, England, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The exact details of this complex pattern of population movement merits further investigation. Fifthly, it would seem that the emigration of the Church of Ireland population was a semi-forced colonial re-adjustment. This phenomenon is now occurring in Zimbabwe with many of its white population moving to South Africa or Britain. It might also be postulated that the emigration of the Free State minority made De Valera's "Ireland" all the easier to manage as much of the dissent from the Catholic, Gaelic, Nationalist vision of the new Free State leaders would have come from this group (Brown, 1979). Finally, it can be seen that the Protestant population retreated into the core zones from the periphery, thus turning back the settlement frontier which had crystallised in the colonial era.

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