

# the Ulster-Scot

Ulster-Scots Agency  
Tha Boord o Ulster-Scotch

COMMEMORATIVE CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT

**Belfast Telegraph**



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NORTHERN

2

FOUNDED 1921  
OUR FIRST CENTURY

IRELAND

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Sir Edward Carson © The Honourable Society of Middle Temple, 2021



Sir James Craig © The Northern Ireland Assembly

# Northern Ireland's Ulster-Scots Founding Fathers

*Much of the commentary in relation to this year's centenary has focused on contemporary concerns, but it is also important to broaden our knowledge of the people and events that led to the country's foundation. Their political convictions are well-known today, but their wider cultural understanding of themselves and their community is rarely discussed by present-day commentators. In this article, we discover the importance of Ulster-Scots to some of the men who may be regarded as founding fathers of Northern Ireland.*

## **SIR EDWARD CARSON**

Edward Carson is well-known as the leader of the Ulster movement to resist Home Rule in the early 20th century, which leads many to assume that he was the father of Northern Ireland. The fact that he was so revered by the Ulster people as to be called the uncrowned King of Ulster; cast in bronze in front of Parliament Buildings; and ultimately buried in St Anne's Cathedral, the only person ever to receive a State Funeral here, helps to sustain the assumption. It is however, a misleading idea and one partly shaped by his opponents.

Bonar Law, the Conservative Party leader and a key supporter of Ulster, observed: "Carson's influence is greatly, in my opinion absurdly, exaggerated by our opponents. They think, or pretend to think, this movement in Ulster, to which they have given his name, is due to him, and without him would disappear. There never was a greater delusion. That movement rests on forces far deeper and stronger than the

personality of any man."

Carson knew well that he had come to Ulster, not to lead a political party or a campaign, but to lead a whole community, which to a great extent, possessed an Ulster-Scots identity. He understood the power of that identity and used it to energise them. Speaking just days before Ulster Day, when nearly half a million men and women signed the Ulster Covenant, he made clear that opponents who thought Ulstermen were bluffers and braggarts didn't understand the people they were dealing with. "Was bragging a characteristic of the Ulster Scot? Was it by bragging that they won Derry, Aughrim and the Boyne?" he asked. To ringing cheers, he quoted US President William McKinley's description of the Scotch-Irish as coming from 'mighty stock, descending from those who would fight and would die rather than surrender'.

## **SIR JAMES CRAIG**

Carson was invited to assume the leadership

of Ulster's unionists on the recommendation of James Craig MP, the Ulster-Scot who would eventually become Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister. Craig was born in Belfast on January 8, 1871, the son of James Craig, a millionaire whiskey distiller, and Eleanor Gilmore Browne. He attended Merchiston Castle School in Edinburgh.

A stockbroker and soldier, he fought in the Boer War and in 1906, was elected MP for East Down. He was an energetic parliamentarian, possessing 'in larger measure than most Ulster Unionists a marked administrative ability, ample reserves of determination, energy and patience and, surprisingly, an eye for the dramatic'.

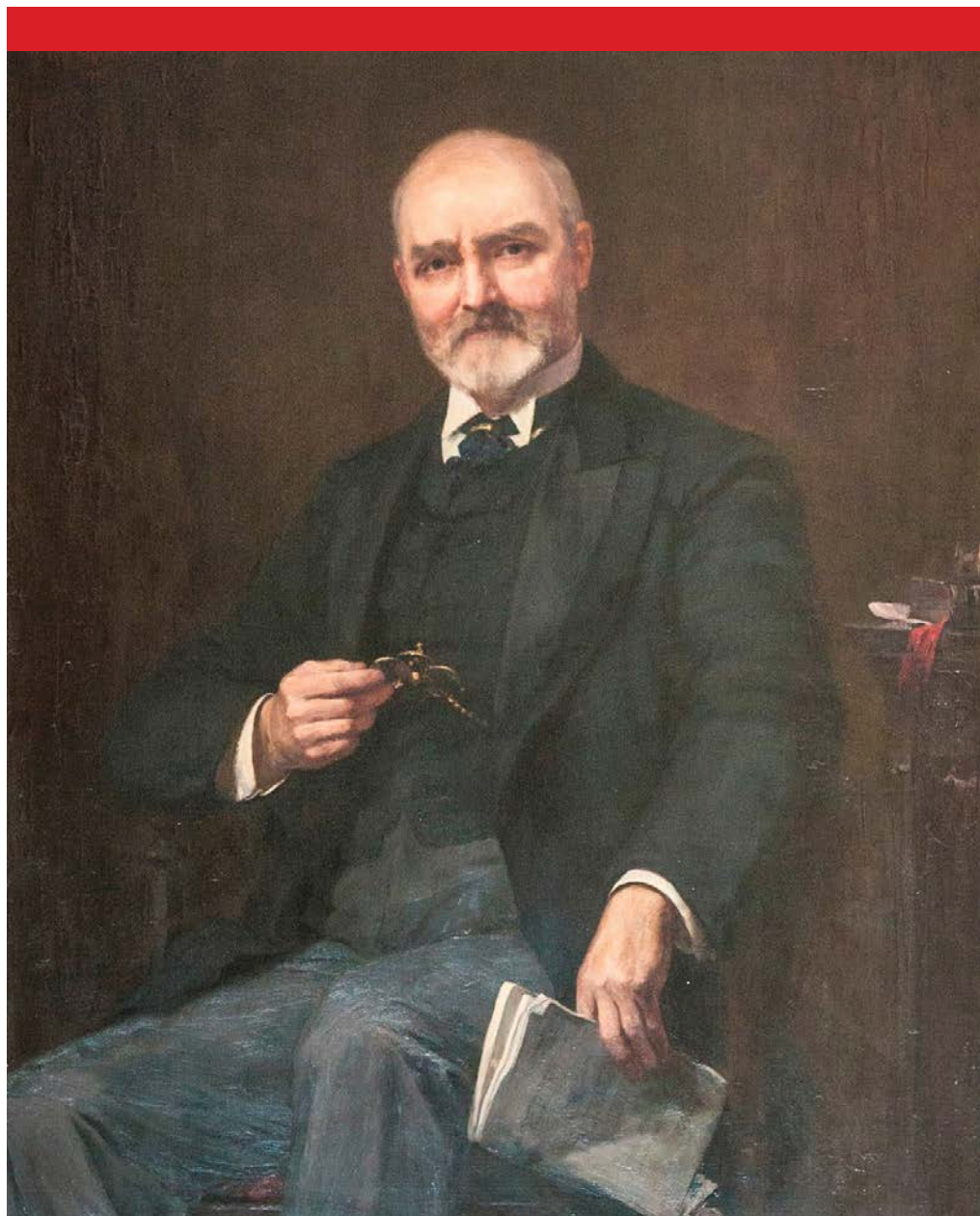
Craig was known for his directness and determination. At the height of the third Home Rule crisis, he told a Unionist rally, "Before the battle is won, Mr Asquith will know the stern stuff of which the Ulster-Scot is made." The Belfast News Letter later described Craig as 'a typical Ulster-Scot'.

During the crisis, he formed a formidable

partnership with Carson to mobilise Ulster. Carson brought charisma and great advocacy to the Unionist cause, while Craig brought formidable organisational skills. In September 1911, Craig organised a giant rally at Craigavon, his home near Belfast, where Carson was introduced to the Ulster people.

Craig masterminded the unionist campaign, organising the Balmoral demonstrations at Easter 1912 and a series of huge rallies, culminating in Ulster Day on September 28. In 1913, he set up the Ulster Volunteers and signed the proclamation declaring Ulster's Provisional Government. He sanctioned the Larne gun-running and on April 23-24, 1914, directed operations at Donaghadee in person. Carson afterwards candidly admitted: "It was James Craig who did most of the work, and I got most of the credit."

During the Great War, Craig was a staff officer with the 36th (Ulster) Division. In February 1921, he succeeded Carson as Unionist Leader. Following elections to the new Northern Ireland



Thomas Sinclair © Royal Belfast Golf Club

Parliament, he became the country's first Prime Minister on June 7.

In those early days, Craig not only had to oversee the creation of the institutions of the state, but also defend it against a range of threats. His foresight in establishing the Ulster Special Constabulary stopped Northern Ireland from sliding into the kind of conflict experienced in the South. As late as November 1921 Lloyd George was pressuring him to agree Ulster's subordination to Dublin. The Anglo-Irish Treaty, signed on December 6, 1921, created the Irish Free State, but gave Northern Ireland's parliament the right to opt out, which it did at the first available opportunity. A boundary commission brought further uncertainty, but Craig successfully saw off that challenge as well. In 1925, his government signed a tripartite agreement with London and Dublin to confirm the border as we know it.

The historian Bryan A. Follis recognised that "the successful birth of Northern Ireland was due to the iron will of the Ulster unionist government and the resolute leadership of Sir James Craig".

### THOMAS SINCLAIR

The centrepiece of the Unionist campaign to oppose Irish Home Rule was the Ulster Covenant, by which the Unionists of Ulster pledged to 'defend for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom'. The text of this document, equivalent to Northern Ireland's declaration of independence, was the work of another Ulster-Scot, Thomas Sinclair.

Born in Belfast on September 23, 1838, he was educated at RBAI and Queen's College, where one of his teachers, James McCosh, the Ayrshire-born future President of Princeton, greatly influenced him. Sinclair graduated with a first in mathematics and a gold medal in 1856, followed by a Master's and another gold medal in 1859. Many regarded him as the best student Queen's had ever seen, prompting the College to award him an honorary doctorate in 1882.

He shunned an academic career to join the family business, J&T Sinclair, Provender

Merchants, becoming one of Belfast's leading businessmen and twice serving as President of the Chamber of Commerce.

Like the rest of his family, Sinclair was a devout Presbyterian, teaching Sunday School from a young age and becoming an elder and Clerk of Session in his twenties. He became the leading Presbyterian layman of his day, hugely influential in both church and community.

Sinclair was also a leading Ulster Liberal and a founding member of the Ulster Reform Club, but when Gladstone came out for Home Rule, he was incensed. He established the Ulster Liberal Unionist Association, which paved the way for the emergence of modern Ulster unionism.

When the third Home Rule crisis came, Sinclair was in his 70s, but remained a towering figure in Ulster politics, despite never having been elected. He was appointed to the Commission of Five to frame a constitution for Ulster. He organised the Presbyterian Anti-Home Rule Convention in 1912, when up to 40,000 men declared: "Our Scottish forefathers, in their struggles for religious freedom and civil rights, cast their burden on the Lord Omnipotent, who gave them signal victory. Facing as we now do dangers similar to theirs, we shall follow in their footsteps and emulate their faith."

Sinclair was a committed Ulster-Scot, considering himself heir to both the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the American Revolution of 1776. He was much in demand as both speaker and writer in Ulster and Scotland.

Speaking alongside Carson and Bonar Law at the Balmoral Demonstration in 1912, he declared: "There is no homogeneous Irish nation... Ireland today consists of two nations." He later wrote: "The Ulster Scot is not in Ireland today upon the conditions of an ordinary immigrant... we are in Ireland as... trustees, having had committed to us... the development of the material resources of Ulster [and] the preservation of its loyalty."

The task of drafting the Ulster Covenant was entrusted to Thomas Sinclair owing to his brilliance as a writer. He founded it on two key Scots Presbyterian texts, the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 and the Scottish National



Frederick Crawford © Felix Features

Covenant of 1638. In just 188 words, he captured the mood of a nation.

Signatories to the Ulster Covenant pledged to use 'all means which may be found necessary to defeat [Home Rule]'. Responsibility for acquiring the 'means' was given to another Ulster-Scot, Frederick Crawford.

### FREDERICK CRAWFORD

Crawford was born on August 21, 1861, into 'a solid Methodist' home and a family with a strong sense of their Ulster-Scots identity. The first member of the family to settle in Ulster, Rev Thomas Crawford, was ordained at Donegore in 1655. The family produced a long line of notable Presbyterian ministers and medical doctors, but Fred's grandfather entered the chemical business in Belfast and became a Methodist.

Later in life, Crawford wrote about his Ulster-Scots identity: "From these settlers sprang a people, the Ulster-Scot, who have made themselves felt in the history of the British Empire and, in no small measure, in that of the United States of America... I belong to this race and claim it with pride."

Like James Craig, he served in the Boer War. He was mentioned in dispatches and became a Lieutenant Colonel. Crawford was a committed Liberal Unionist, but he was long convinced that Unionists would be required to back up their convictions with force. He said: "I predict that Home Rule will never be killed until we show any British Government which brings it forward - that we will resist it to death, even with arms, if necessary."

In November 1910 Crawford was the key mover in the establishing of a secret sub-committee of the Ulster Unionist Council to procure arms.

On Ulster Day, September 28, 1912, Crawford commanded the marshals who escorted Carson and the Unionist leadership to City Hall and maintained security. When the UVF was formally established in January 1913, he became Director of Ordnance.

In January 1914, Carson and the leadership authorised Crawford to procure a huge cache of

arms and land them in Ulster. Only twelve men knew about the mission. Carson told him: "I'll see you through this business, if I should have to go to prison for it."

Those words meant a great deal to Crawford. He always referred to Carson as the leader and was hugely honoured to be invited to be a pall-bearers at Carson's funeral in October 1935.

On April 24-25, 1914, the Clyde Valley's cargo of 35,000 rifles and three million rounds of ammunition was successfully unloaded by moonlight at Larne, Bangor and Donaghadee and swiftly distributed to the UVF throughout Ulster. Through Crawford's meticulous planning, Ulster not only had the will but the means to oppose the imposition of Dublin rule.

Unionist leaders were always clear that the arming of the UVF was purely defensive. As far back as 1892, Sinclair, the framer of the Covenant, had said "...we make no threat of blood or arms... Our kinsmen of the American Revolution have taught us to leave it to those that will force tyranny and injustice upon us to strike the first blow."

Carson issued a notice in February 1914, stating: "Our quarrel is with the Government alone, and we desire that the RELIGIOUS and POLITICAL views of our opponents should everywhere be respected."

He reinforced this personally, telling one UVF regiment: "I recognise some of the cargo of the Mountjoy (Clyde Valley). I rely on you to keep your arms with a view to keeping the peace."

In the end, the UVF never had to fire a shot in anger, but writing in 1937, future Prime Minister Winston Churchill, a Liberal Cabinet Minister during the Home Rule crisis and therefore better informed than most, stated that, "if Ulster had confined herself simply to constitutional agitation, it is extremely improbable that she would have escaped forcible inclusion in a Dublin Parliament".

At a time of great upheaval, these Ulster-Scots, inspired by the example of their ancestors who fought at Bothwell Brig, defended Londonderry and won American independence, led their people and changed the world.



# Northern Ireland's 'Birth Certificate' on display

**O**n September 28, 2021, 109 years to the day after it was signed, a unique Ulster Covenant bearing the signatures of Northern Ireland's founding fathers was placed on public view for the first time, to celebrate the centenary of the country.

The document originally belonged to a Belfast man who wanted a unique memento of Ulster Day, September 28, 1912, and asked the leading men present at the signing of the

Covenant at Belfast City Hall to autograph his personal copy. It is now the most important artefact in the historical collection of the Ulster-Scots Agency and after cleaning and conservation by one of the UK's top experts, can be seen at the Discover Ulster-Scots Centre in Belfast's Victoria Street, a short distance from St. Anne's Cathedral.

Ulster-Scots Agency CEO Ian Crozier said: "The events of Ulster Day, when nearly half a million people signed

the Ulster Covenant, was an unprecedented expression of the will of the people, which laid the foundation for the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921.

"The document we have placed on display is the most important individual Ulster Covenant in existence, bearing as it does, the signatures of the Unionist leaders of the day, Sir Edward Carson and Sir James Craig, along with numerous MPs, Peers and other leading figures from the Ulster movement. It could reasonably be regarded as the birth certificate of Northern Ireland."

The artefact is held inside a secure, specially commissioned case, which then forms part of a wider display telling the story of the document, the people who signed it and its place in Northern Ireland's history.

Ian Crozier added: "Anyone with an interest in the Centenary needs to come and see this document. You will never see anything else like it, because there is nothing else like it. It has a vital place in our country's story and is a unique link to the people who created Northern Ireland."

The Discover Ulster-Scots Centre is open free of charge



to visitors from 10am to 4pm, Monday to Friday, and can also facilitate group visits during those times or evenings by arrangement. Constituted community groups or schools who wish to visit may also be able to access financial support towards the cost of transport.

For further information or to arrange a visit, contact the Ulster-Scots Community Network on 028 9043 6710.

**THE CARSON & CRAIG COVENANT**

NORTHERN IRELAND'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE, A UNIQUE ULSTER COVENANT, SIGNED BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS ON ULSTER DAY, 1912.

**NOW ON DISPLAY FOR THE FIRST TIME.**  
See it at the DISCOVER ULSTER-SCOTS CENTRE, 1-9 Victoria Street, Belfast.  
FREE ENTRY. Open Monday-Friday, 10am-4pm

**2 NORTHERN IRELAND**  
FOUNDED 1921  
OUR FIRST CENTURY

**2 NORTHERN IRELAND**  
FOUNDED 1921  
OUR FIRST CENTURY

Northern Ireland was established in 1921, but its origin is found in Ulster Day, 28 September 1912. The Ulster Covenant may be regarded as our Declaration of Independence

**9 F. W. Finlay**  
Frederick W. Finlay

**A UNIQUE COVENANT**

On Ulster Day at City Hall, John Johnston from 24 William Street South, Belfast, had his commemorative Covenant certificate signed by many illustrious figures who were present.

**1 Charles C. Craig**  
Charles Curtis Craig (1869-1960), the youngest son of James Craig, was a solicitor and a member of the Ulster Club. He was elected MP for Belfast in 1912 and was a regular speaker at the Ulster Day celebrations.

**2 F. E. South**  
Frederick Edward South (1875-1950) was a barrister and a member of the Ulster Club. He was elected MP for Belfast in 1912 and was a regular speaker at the Ulster Day celebrations.

# Golden Thrones back on display at City Hall

**O**n June 22, 2021, exactly 100 years after the State Opening of Northern Ireland's new parliament by King George V, the two ornate golden chairs used by His Majesty and Queen Mary during the historic City Hall ceremony were placed on public display once again, after an extensive restoration project.

The work was commissioned by Belfast City Council as part of its Decade of Centenaries programme which commemorates a decade of key historical moments and events between 1912 and 1922 that shaped Northern Ireland and Ireland. The project was made possible through funding from the Shared History Fund, which the National Lottery Heritage Fund administered on behalf of the Northern Ireland Office.

Research undertaken as part of the project revealed that the highly decorated chairs had been loaned for the occasion by Sir Crawford McCullough, a former (and future) Lord Mayor of Belfast, who had had just been elected to the new Parliament as MP for South Belfast. When his Lismara estate, on the shores of Belfast Lough, was auctioned in 1950, the City Council bought the historic items for the sum of £150 and placed them on display. After over 70 years on open display in City Hall, they were very much in need of restoration.

Examination of the chair used by Queen Mary revealed a Portuguese inventory label on the



underside dated 1910, while beneath layers of later fabric, the conservators discovered the original fabric of the chair backs was a fine deep blue silk.



**From left: A close-up of the restoration work by Fergus Purdy, Conservator. The ornate chairs used by King George V and Queen Mary have been lovingly restored. Images © Belfast City Council**

Enquiries in Portugal led to Maria José Gaivão de Tavares, Curator of Furniture at the Adjuda Palace, who confirmed that the chairs were originally made as part of a suite, including a set of eight armchairs for the Sala Azul (blue room) in the Necessidades Palace in Lisbon.

The chairs can be clearly seen in a period photograph of 1904. King Manuel II of Portugal was dethroned in 1910 and Portugal declared a Republic. The king went into exile to Fulwell Park, Twickenham, until his death in 1932. The Republican government allowed his personal property to be sent to England. How the chairs

passed from King Manuel II to Sir Crawford McCullagh remains unclear.

The Necessidades Palace, now home to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, retains the Sala Azul. It is still painted blue and the Belfast chair backs have been lined in blue silk to recall their Portuguese heritage.

Research into the history of the chairs remains ongoing.

You can find out more about Belfast City Council's Decade of Centenaries Programme at [www.belfastcity.gov.uk/decadeofcentenaries](http://www.belfastcity.gov.uk/decadeofcentenaries).

# Craig's blackthorn stick for public display

**A** blackthorn walking stick that once belonged to Sir James Craig, the Ulster-Scot who became Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister, has become the latest addition to the historic collection of the Ulster-Scots Agency.

The stick, which has an engraved silver collar, was presented to the Ulster Premier on April 1, 1925, on the occasion of his first public visit to Lurgan, Co Armagh. He had called a snap election to demonstrate the strength of Unionist feeling in relation to the Boundary Commission, which threatened to transfer parts of Northern Ireland to the Irish Free State, and was touring the area in support of the two local candidates.

After being greeted by cheering well-wishers, Craig, his wife and daughter were hosted for dinner at the home of a local supporter, before being led to Lurgan Town Hall by a procession of

the B Specials Pipe Band and the Queen Street Apprentice Boys and Hill Street Flute Bands. The Prime Minister addressed a packed hall, making clear that he was in no mood to see Northern Ireland being nibbled round the edges. After receiving the gift from the District Master of Lurgan's Orangemen, he told the audience: "My mother was born here, so with a bit of Lurgan in my bones and in my blood and with a Lurgan staff to carry about, possibly our opponents will feel they have something to go up against if it comes to trouble in the future!"

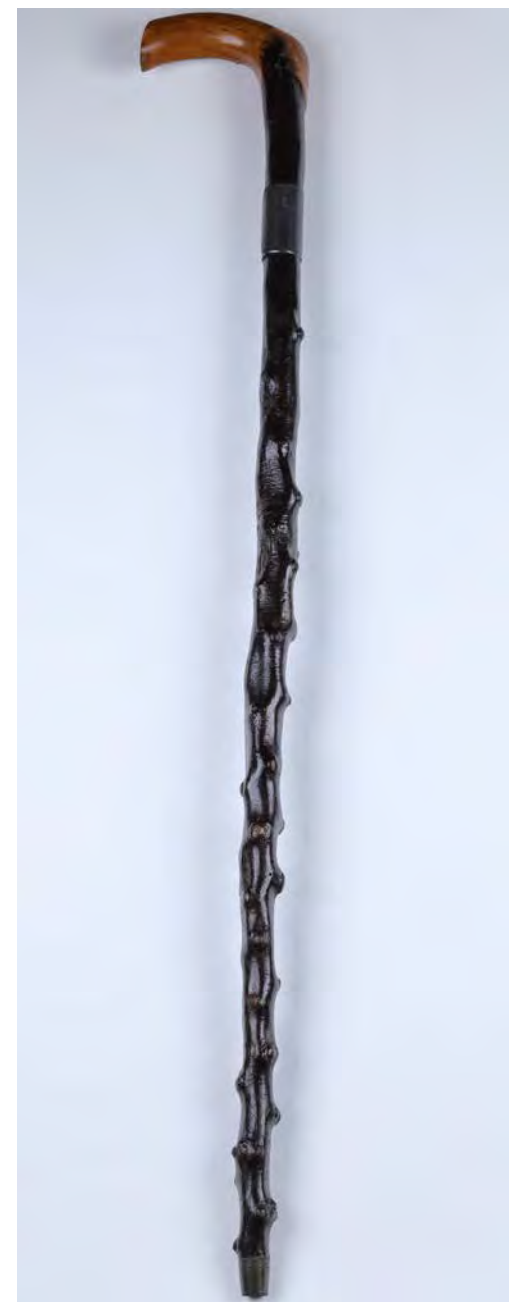
Agency Chief Executive Ian Crozier commented: "We are delighted to have secured this important artefact which was owned by Sir James Craig, the Ulster-Scot who was foremost among the founding fathers of Northern Ireland. Like most of the unionist leaders at that time, he was acutely aware of his Ulster-Scots identity. At

the height of the Home Rule crisis, he exclaimed, 'Before the battle is won, Mr Asquith will know the stern stuff of which the Ulster-Scot is made.' After cleaning and conservation work, it will be placed on public display at the Discover Ulster-Scots Centre in Belfast, alongside Northern Ireland's birth certificate, where it will help people to understand the role of the Ulster-Scots community in bringing about the foundation of Northern Ireland."

The Discover Ulster-Scots Centre is located on Victoria Street, Belfast, a short distance from St. Anne's Cathedral. It is open to visitors from 10am to 4pm, Monday to Friday and can also facilitate group visits by arrangement. For further information or to arrange a visit, contact the Ulster-Scots Community Network on 028 9043 6710.

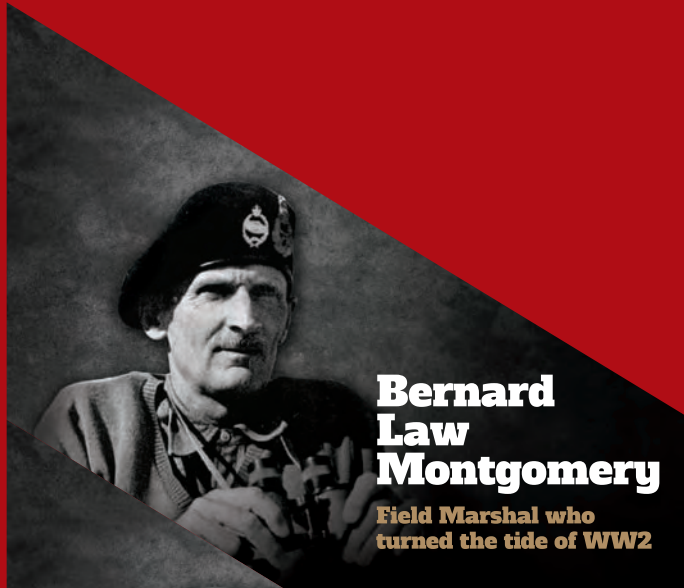


The engraved collar of Sir James Craig's stick



The blackthorn stick was presented to Sir James during his first public visit to Lurgan

# 21 FOR '21



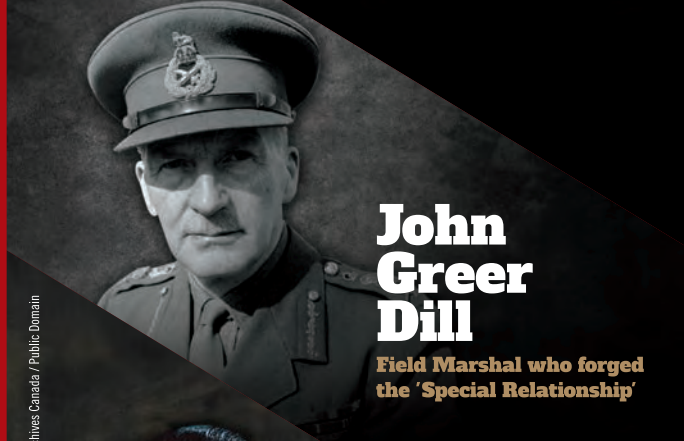
**Bernard Law Montgomery**  
Field Marshal who turned the tide of WW2

© Image copyright Wikipedia / Public Domain



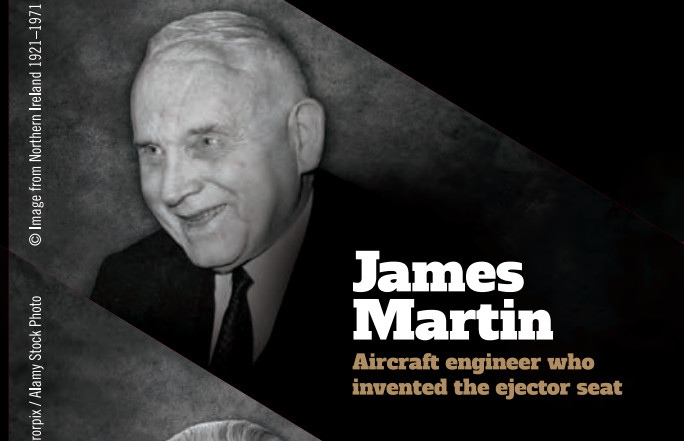
**Ruby Murray**  
Legendary singer with record-breaking chart success

© Image copyright Wikipedia / Public Domain



**John Greer Dill**  
Field Marshal who forged the 'Special Relationship'

© Image from Northern Ireland 1921-1971 (HMGO)



**James Martin**  
Aircraft engineer who invented the ejector seat

© Image copyright Trinity Mirror / Mirrorpix / Alamy Stock Photo



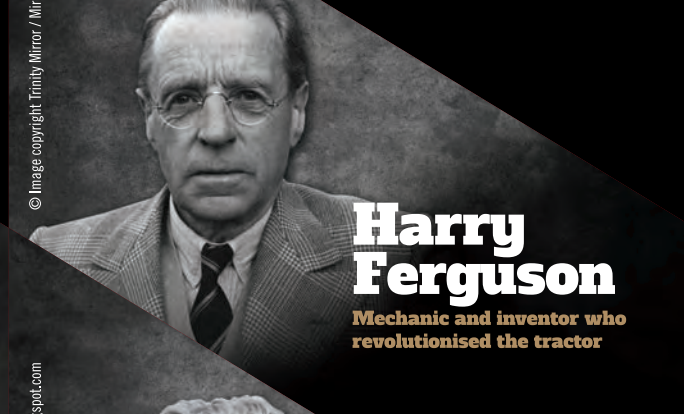
**James Craig**  
Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister

© Image copyright Wikipedia / Library and Archives Canada / Public Domain



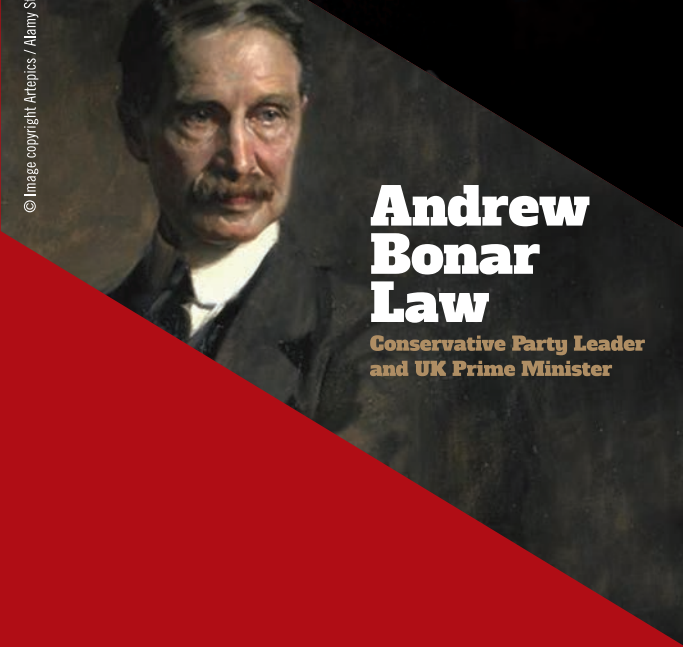
**Harold Alexander**  
Field Marshal who became Governor-General of Canada

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**Harry Ferguson**  
Mechanic and inventor who revolutionised the tractor

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**Andrew Bonar Law**  
Conservative Party Leader and UK Prime Minister

© Image copyright Artempics / Alamy Stock Photo



**Blair Mayne**  
WW2 hero who co-founded the SAS

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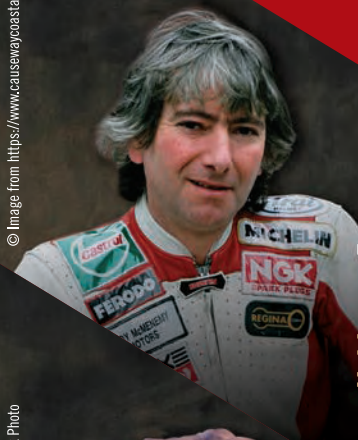
**Rex McCandless**  
TT racer who transformed motorcycle design

© Image from https://webbanogent.blogspot.com

# 21 Ulster-Scots who have made a worldwide impact since 1921



**2**  
**NORTHERN**  
**2** FOUNDED 1921  
OUR FIRST CENTURY  
**IRELAND**



**Joey Dunlop**  
Motorcycle racing legend



**George Best**  
World's greatest footballer



**Alex Higgins**  
'People's Champion' of snooker



**Anne Crawford Acheson**  
Sculptor who invented the plaster cast



**Amy Carmichael**  
Missionary, writer and child welfare activist in India



**John Stewart Bell**  
CERN physicist who proved Einstein wrong



**CS Lewis**  
Scholar and literary giant who created Narnia



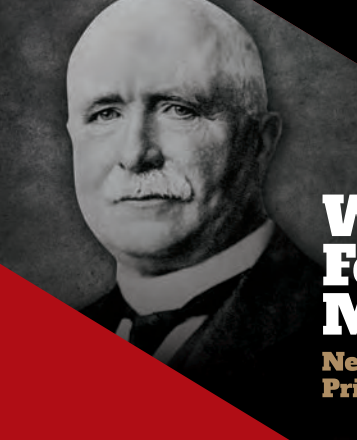
**Jimmy Kennedy**  
Song writing genius with over 200 hits



**Frank Pantridge**  
Medical pioneer who invented the portable defibrillator



**Greer Garson**  
Oscar-winning silver screen icon



**William Ferguson Massey**  
New Zealand Prime Minister

**A STORY TO BE PROUD OF**

The Ulster-Scots played a huge role in the birth of Northern Ireland a century ago and in the hundred years since, people from the Ulster-Scots community have made sure that our wee country has made an impact on the world. Featured here are twenty-one Ulster-Scots who have made global impacts in all walks of life.

**NEW EXHIBITION AVAILABLE**

They are the focus of a new touring exhibition, 21 for 21, developed for the Centenary by the Ulster-Scots Agency. It was first displayed at the 50th British Isles and Mediterranean Region conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, hosted by the Northern Ireland Assembly in September and it is now touring venues around Northern Ireland.

**BOOK THE EXHIBITION**

If you would like to book the exhibition for a community event, contact the Ulster-Scots Agency's Marketing Officer, Jacqueline Purse. email: [jpurse@ulsterscotsagency.org.uk](mailto:jpurse@ulsterscotsagency.org.uk).

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**Schomberg Fife and Drum at Stormont for the Ulster-Scots Agency's Drums for Ulster event**

# World beating drum display for NI 100

The largest gathering of Lambeg drums the world has yet seen was held at Stormont on Saturday, September 18, to celebrate the Centenary of Northern Ireland.

The event – Drums for Ulster – was organised by the Ulster-Scots Agency in partnership with Northern Ireland's five Lambeg Drumming Associations, with drummers of all ages and levels of ability from across the country participating in the unique event.

At least 140 drums were involved in the creation of a giant NI 100 display across the front of Parliament Buildings, creating what is sure to be one of the iconic images of the centenary year.

The celebration also saw the dedication of a suite of eight new Centenary Drums commissioned by the Ulster-Scots Agency, which will be used to develop Lambeg drumming around the country. Each drum depicts a significant person and building associated with the foundation of Northern

Ireland, with an emphasis on those from the Ulster-Scots community, including Sir James Craig, the Ulster-Scot who became Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister, Thomas Sinclair, the Ulster-Scot who wrote the Ulster Covenant and Andrew Bonar Law, the first Ulster-Scots Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Commenting on the event, Ulster-Scots Agency Chief Executive Ian Crozier said: "Drums for Ulster was a brilliant event and it was really fitting to celebrate our country's centenary with the biggest ever display of the only musical instrument that is native to Northern Ireland. It has given a real boost to the Lambeg drumming community, showing what can be achieved when we think big and it will spur us on to bigger and better things in the future."

To find out how you, your school or community group can get involved in Lambeg drumming, email Gary Blair [gblair@ulsterscotsagency.org.uk](mailto:gblair@ulsterscotsagency.org.uk)



**Lambeg drummers in formation in front of Parliament Buildings, Stormont, for the Drums for Ulster event**



**Bannside Fife and Drum at the Stormont gathering**



**William McMaster with his granddaughter, drumming on the 105 year old Dervock LOL 354 lambeg**



**McCusker father and sons with their family drum at Drums for Ulster**



**A family day out at the Drums for Ulster event**



**Smiles all round at Parliament Buildings**



**Beating out a message at Drums for Ulster**



**A young drummer gets ready**



**Members of the new South Ulster Drumming Association at the Drums for Ulster event**



**Jonny Buckley MLA, Joanne Bunting MLA, Agency CEO Ian Crozier, Rev Mervyn Gibson and William Humphrey MLA with the new Centenary Drums**



**A young drummer waits patiently for the action to begin**



**All hands on deck!**



**Encouraging the next generation of players**



The principal participants of 'On These Steps'



Guests in the College Chapel at UTC

# Landmark Centenary Event 'On These Steps'

Union Theological College was the venue for a landmark event to mark the Centenary of Northern Ireland and the partition of Ireland in September, when the Presbyterian Church in Ireland hosted 'On These Steps'.

The event included historical analysis, music and drama, along with a reflective address from the Church's Moderator, before an audience of invited political and civic guests from across the UK and Ireland. It took place nearly 100 years to the day after MPs and Senators ascended the College steps for the first time to meet as the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

Politicians from across Northern Ireland's political spectrum, including First Minister Paul Givan MLA and Junior Minister Declan Kearney MLA, were joined by Northern Ireland Office Minister Conor Burns MP and Irish Foreign Minister Simon Coveney TD.

The Presbyterian Moderator, Rt Rev Dr David Bruce described the event as, "an opportunity at this particular point in our history to create space to hear different perspectives and build an understanding of how the lives of communities across PCI, and this island, have been shaped by the events of 100 years ago..."



The Moderator addresses the meeting



Judith Hill and the panellists

Commons, and the College Chapel, which was home to the Senate, with elements of the event taking place in both locations, streamed within the building and to a wider online audience.

The Moderator's Address was followed by a historic perspective from Ian McBride, the Foster Professor of Irish History at Oxford. Later, actor Jim Allen performed the historic speech of King George V, delivered at the State Opening of Parliament at the City Hall in June 1921; and Belfast indie singer-songwriter Ferna performed a song specially commissioned for the occasion. The event rounded up with a panel discussion of diverse political leaders.

Ulster-Scots Agency Chief Executive Ian Crozier, who was a guest in the Gamble Library, commented: "I have no doubt that this will prove to be one of the most interesting events in Northern Ireland's centenary year. A great deal of effort went into developing an event that was accessible and brought people together from diverse traditions to express their views, which provided much food for thought."

The Moderator's Address and lecture by Professor McBride are reproduced in abridged form in the following pages.

We also have a broader aim beyond the commemorative, as we seek to build relationships by bringing people together to reflect on our shared past, in a way that enables us to look in hope to a shared future."

Guests at the event were seated in both the historic Gamble Library, which was the venue for the House of

Photos:  
Presbyterian  
Church in  
Ireland /  
Press Eye



Sir Jeffrey Donaldson faces the media



Guests in the Gamble Library at UTC



Jim Allen voices King George V's speech



Archbishops Eamon Martin and John McDowell with the Moderator Rt Rev Dr David Bruce



Rev Trevor Gribben, Conor Burns MP, Rt Rev Dr David Bruce and Simon Coveney TD



Union Theological College

All of us know Parliament Buildings, Stormont, as the seat of Northern Ireland's parliament and today, home to the Northern Ireland Assembly. Many will also know, especially after this centenary year, that King George V performed the State Opening of the new Northern Ireland Parliament in June 1921 at Belfast City Hall. What you may not know, is that after sitting for just a few short weeks at the City Hall, the Parliament adjourned and when it next convened, members gathered in the south of the city, at Assembly's College, on Botanic Avenue, a short distance from Queen's University.

Founded in 1853, Assembly's College was designed by the renowned Belfast architect Sir Charles Lanyon. Known since 1978 as Union Theological College, it has served for 168 years as the theological college of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. However, for eleven of those years, it also served as the seat of Northern Ireland's Parliament.

Under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, the six counties of Northern Ireland were constituted with a regional Parliament consisting of a House of Commons and a Senate. The Parliament first met in Belfast City Hall on June 7, 1921. The Nationalists and Sinn Fein members did not attend. The seven-strong Cabinet included: Prime Minister Sir James Craig; Minister of Finance Hugh MacDowell Pollock, DL; Minister of Home Affairs Richard Dawson Bates OBE, and Minister of Education, the Marquess of Londonderry, KG, MVO, HML. The Parliament met in Belfast City

# The College that became home to Northern Ireland's Parliament

Hall until its adjournment on Thursday, June 23.

On May 2, 1921, Sir James Craig wrote to the Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Rev Dr WJ Lowe, asking whether, and on what terms, the College buildings could be made available for 'our new Parliament House during the three years or so which it will take to erect a permanent building'.

At the meeting of the College Trustees on May 6, 1921, it was agreed that College management should meet with Government representatives to ascertain if the College would be a suitable

building for the Parliament to meet in. On June 16, 1921, some of the College Trustees met Sir James Craig in Cabin Hill to discuss the Parliament's renting of the College in more depth. There was some concern that a bar might be opened in the College building, but the Trustees were informed that they would have 'the hearty support of Sir James Craig in opposing any suggestion' of this and that the Cabinet 'would not sanction' the setting up of a bar.

The agreement between the College Trustees and the Parliament was eventually signed and

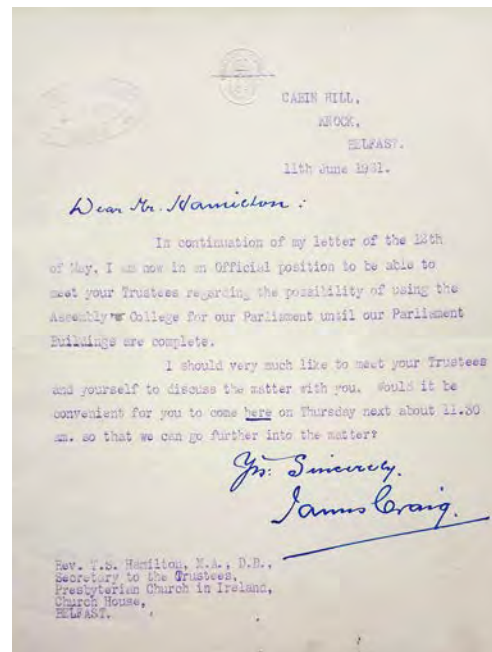


The historic bookplate. Images used with permission from Union Theological College

sealed in January 1922, with the Parliament having officially been in the College since August 1921. The Commons held their debates in the Gamble Library while the Senate met in the College Chapel, an arrangement that lasted until Parliament vacated the College in July 1932 to relocate to the newly completed facilities at Stormont.

Very few artefacts remain in the College from the period when it was the country's seat of power, however an impressive plaque in the entrance foyer commemorates the building's historic role as home to the Northern Ireland Parliament for more than a decade.

One quirky artefact does exist to remind us of the period. The Parliamentary Library in Stormont issued a commemorative bookplate which bears a drawing of the Assembly's College. This can also be seen on a few books in the College. It is thought that the bookplate was used in Library stock in the Parliamentary Library from the 1960s until the final dissolution of the Parliament on July 18, 1973. The shield in the bookplate above the College is the heraldic shield of the historic province of Ulster, below the Imperial Crown. Below the College is the coat of arms of the City of Belfast. The heraldic shields of eight Northern Ireland towns are on either side of the College. In descending order on the left are: Londonderry City, Enniskillen, Carrickfergus and Dungannon. On the right from the top are: Newry, Coleraine, Armagh City and Ballymena.



Sir James Craig's letter

# At the crossroads, true reconciliation requires grit

*The Presbyterian Church in Ireland hosted a landmark event on September 17, 2021, to mark the centenary of the creation of Northern Ireland and the partition of Ireland, and the part played by PCI's Union Theological College in hosting the first Parliament of Northern Ireland 100 years ago. The keynote address was given by Rt Rev Dr David Bruce, Moderator of the General Assembly.*

would like you to imagine a potter sitting at a wheel. They have a job to do – the production of pots. If they are to be successful, some basic things are needed, in addition to their own technical ability in the craft. They need to have the right kind of clay and glaze, just as they need satisfactory equipment – such things go without saying. But at the heart of the potter's skill, before the wheel turns or the clay is thrown; before they get their hands dirty, there needs to be a dream – call it a vision of what they are about to create.

In her whimsical short novel, *The Last Resort*, Jan Carson introduces her readers to a very Northern Irish group of people huddled in their caravans on the north coast, somewhere near Ballycastle. The wind is howling over the cliff tops outside, and the story describes the sometimes-hilarious interactions between the people who hunker down on holiday in such a place.

Among them are religious and irreligious types; an elderly couple including a husband caring for his wife who has dementia and is prone to wander perilously close to the cliff edge; a caravan secretly (and illegally) crammed full of migrants from different countries, for whom the alternative is sleeping rough on the streets; and a man – a former RUC officer – who is consumed with the memory of his daughter who died in an IRA bomb which was meant for him. It doesn't sound like promising material for a holiday read



Our calling is not to repeat the mistakes of imperial hubris, but to live, as the prophet Micah makes plain, in such a way that we would; “...act justly, love mercy and walk humbly with our God.”



– but in the curious way of this place, and despite the awfulness of the lived experience of many of the characters, we chuckle and smile – maybe because we know someone who is just like that, or perhaps find ourselves looking in the mirror. The clay of this place is a unique mix.

On December 9, 1968, Northern Ireland's then Prime Minister Terence O'Neill gave his famous impassioned plea for unity and a foreboding warning about the future, declaring that “Ulster stands at the crossroads”. The context was the civil rights movement, and the package of reforms tabled by O'Neill with backing (or perhaps more likely) pressure from Harold Wilson in London. This package of reforms was welcomed by many but not considered sufficient by some others. The events, including Burntullit Bridge in the following month, are well documented as ‘the spark that lit the prairie fire’.

#### **MANY ROADS TO THIS MEETING POINT**

A literal crossroads is a place of convergence, with numerous pathways leading to it. The many roads or laneways which wend their way to this point of meeting have their own characteristics. They are like little micro-cultures – we usually call them townlands – which discover each other where the six roads end, or the six miles cross.

The Centenary of Northern Ireland and consequently of the United Kingdom in its current

form, is being marked this year in multiple ways. Communities are arriving at the crossroads from different places, and are regarding each other, sometimes with generational suspicion, across the way. There are those who lament the creation of the border on this island, seeing it as an act of political compromise undermining the cause of Irish unity. There are others who will wish to celebrate the partition of Ireland as a triumph of statecraft; a necessary act of political expedience to honour the democratic wishes of the majority in these six counties.

For years, indeed generations, we have lived life in this place at the crossroads, knowing well, these differences of vision, and living with them. We shook hands, did deals and got along fine until we started to talk about ‘this’. When ‘this’ comes to the fore, as it inevitably does, we stand apart from each other, only occasionally summoning up the courage to extend a hand of friendship across the road. When the moment passes, we heave a collective sigh of relief, and retrace our steps back to the safety of our own clan, up the road.

Writing in the *Irish Times* at the end of August, Fintan O'Toole quoted the 19th century French thinker, Ernest Renan, who when asked the question ‘What is a nation?’ answered in part that it is a collective exercise in amnesia. He quotes: “Forgetfulness, and I would even say historical error, are essential in the creation of a nation.”





**Rt Rev Dr David Bruce, Moderator of the General Assembly. Image © Presbyterian Church in Ireland**

Violence and brutality often mark the formation of nations, and Ireland has been no different. The adolescent slap or the thumping of the unwelcome visitors passing through your part of town, all too easily becomes the stuff of automatic weapons and bombs, of institutional hatreds and a DNA of outright rejection of the other. This is no way to do society. That is not what crossroads are for.

#### **WE MUST NOT FORGET**

There are some things we will never be able to forget, and indeed which we must try not to forget. Victims of violence who have lost loved ones still seek justice, however unlikely such recourse through the courts might be. To remove that from them is to remove hope and is antithetical to the gospel which unites both love and justice in the person of Jesus Christ.

Reconciliation – repeatedly affirmed in statements and agreements from both churches and governments in the past – does not suffer from amnesia. Reconciliation is not soft or forgetful. Setting the past aside as if it didn't happen is no basis or foundation for healing. Reconciliation that has the grit and grip to re-write a life is that which names a wrong as the wrong that it is, whether perpetrated by the state or by an agent of terror. Such naming and then acknowledgement of a wrong presents a choice to those at the table.



Reconciliation that grows to fruitfulness in this precious soil produces a brand of person that the world cannot ignore, and the critics cannot answer. Theirs is a deep-seated heroism, at peace not only with themselves, but incredibly, with their enemies.



If they have the courage and good sense and moral backbone to repent of it, to lament that it ever took place, to say so and face the guilt that lies at its heart, then a door is opened to a new future. Reconciliation that grows to fruitfulness in this precious soil produces a brand of person that the world cannot ignore, and the critics cannot answer. Theirs is a deep-seated heroism, at peace not only with themselves, but incredibly, with their enemies. As the Psalmist puts it, "You prepare a table before me, in the presence of my enemies." God's vision for us is that we, friends and enemies alike, can sit together and eat together at the table.

So the potter's wheel is turning. Who are the potters? Our politicians? Unquestionably they need to get their hands dirty in the clay, but I suspect they know this, and that is why they sought office in the first place. But the rest of us are potters too. In a thousand different ways, by our own attitudes and examples, we can model a better way for the next generations to follow. So what is the potter's vision when considering that future?

I contend that we are no more nor less exceptional than the next sinner in line, that our calling is not to repeat the mistakes of imperial hubris, but to live, as the prophet Micah makes plain, in such a way that we would, "...act justly, love mercy and walk humbly with our God". This is not

a manifesto for 'a Protestant State for a Protestant people', but a shared land which belongs to all of us, and to none of us, since in truth we are merely tenants here of the One who made it, and He is a great and just Landlord, and in His hands, this ought to be a land of plenty, not of famine.

#### **OPPORTUNITIES TO GROW**

North, south, east and west on these islands present us with a web of opportunities to grow – economically, culturally, spiritually, if we have the vision for it. In a post-Brexit, Protocol environment, some of this has been made more complicated, but if anything, it has been made more urgent. We must work tirelessly to sort out the new configurations of our cultural, commercial and spiritual connections. No shortcuts. No quick fixes. No buck-passing. Just gritty determination to get it done.

A multi-cultural Ireland, north and south, is a blessing to us, and we need not be fearful of it. The stories of those who have left everything behind in their homelands to be part of our story in this, their new homeland, need to be heard, and they will enrich us, just as we will bless them, whether they learn English to say 'H' or 'Haitech'. I can tell you with confidence from the churches, that we are the better because of the multitude of heart languages spoken when we come to God in prayer.

Whatever a new Ireland resembles, it will not be because someone was victorious, while another was defeated. If it looks like that, it won't be a new Ireland.

We as Presbyterians don't always agree with others. We have a strong dissenting tradition which extends back over four centuries in this place. You could say we're 'thran', and I'll take that as a compliment. But I hope we are not so stubborn that we would wish to exclude anyone; that we are respectful in face of difference; that we recognise the important benefits of a shared space, and that our vision for the future means that a Presbyterian can feel equally at home in the Gaeltacht, as they can in the Braid – and equally (with hope for the future) call both of them 'home' (or perhaps that should be 'hame'?).

*An abridged version is included here, the full version of Rt Rev Doctor David Bruce's speech can be viewed at <https://www.presbyterianireland.org/Resources/Public-Affairs/On-these-Steps.aspx>*

# Historical reflections on the Northern Ireland Centenary

*Armagh-born Professor Ian McBride, Foster Professor of Irish History at Oxford University, has given a historical perspective on the creation of Northern Ireland. This is an abridged version of his speech on September 17, 2021, at a landmark event hosted by the Presbyterian Church in Ireland to mark the centenary and the part played by PCI's Union Theological College in hosting the first Parliament of Northern Ireland 100 years ago.*

When the Northern Ireland parliament was inaugurated in June 1921, and when MPs convened in the Gamble Library on 20 September 1921, the backdrop was grim: guerrilla warfare and state reprisals in the South, vicious intercommunal rioting and sectarian assassinations in the North. A century ago, neither Unionists nor Nationalists could recognise the legitimacy of each other's political allegiances. Each regarded the historical and cultural traditions of the other as invalid. The legacy of violent confrontation and political polarization poisoned the new political structures established in 1921.

On 3 December 1925 Winston Churchill told the British House of Commons: "The Irish question will only be settled when the human question is settled." On that day the tripartite agreement between the three governments of the United Kingdom, the Irish Free State, and Northern Ireland was announced, revoking the powers of the Boundary Commission and confirming the existing border of Northern Ireland. Churchill's cryptic aphorism comes to mind because it encapsulates an important truth: the partition of Ireland was not an anachronism or an anomaly in the Europe that emerged from the cataclysms of the First World War, but part of a very modern political dilemma. The intractability of the Irish question was just one example of the problems created by the rise of nationalism as a global force - by the dangerous fantasy that each sovereign state must be the political embodiment of a homogeneous national population.



One useful function of historians is to remind us that our predicaments are rarely as unique as we think.

## **GREAT WAR IMPACT**

The unprecedented strains created by the Great War not only split apart the union of Britain and Ireland; they also brought about the collapse of the great continental empires ruled over for centuries by the Hapsburgs, the Romanovs and the Ottomans. In the years between 1919 and 1923 the European political landscape was

fundamentally reorganised. The new states of Poland and Czechoslovakia were established, Romania was enlarged, the Saar basin in Germany and the Baltic port of Danzig were internationalised, and the area around Smyrna (modern Izmir) was awarded to the Greeks. In all these cases, as in Ireland, the wishes of the inhabitants collided with strategic interests and with local political and economic circumstances. The European historian Mark Mazower reminds us that the Paris peace settlement of 1919-1923 granted sixty million people a state of their own; but it also turned 25 million people into 'minorities'.

Two contrasts stand out. First, the level and character of violence in the Irish case was relatively low and restrained. Tim Wilson's 2010 book *Frontiers of Violence* presents a magisterial comparison of Ulster with Upper Silesia, the industrialised borderland between Germany and Poland, which was also partitioned in the aftermath of the First World War. Between 1918 and 1922 the number of violent deaths was, in proportion to their populations, three times greater in Upper Silesia: an estimated 2,824 fatalities as compared with 714 in Ulster.

An examination of population displacement reinforces the point. The number of northern Nationalists fleeing south, or to British cities, and of southern Unionists quitting Ireland, amounted to tens of thousands. Their stories have been forgotten, although such migration, sometimes forced, clearly altered the demographic make-up of both islands. These movements were dwarfed,

however, by the population exchange of 1.5 million people between Greece and Turkey agreed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

## **STABILISING FACTORS**

The other stabilising factor operating in the 1920s was hardly more edifying. On both sides of the border the dominant political factions, fortified by emergency legislation and by a swollen security apparatus, found the consolidation of power over their respective territories more than adequate compensation for having to rescale their political ambitions. The UVF gunrunner Fred Crawford produced a leaflet in 1920 entitled *Why I Voted for the Six Counties*, dismissing the protestations of his fellow loyalists and covenanters in Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan. Ireland was a sinking ship, he retorted, and the hard truth was that there was not enough room for all Ulster Protestants on the lifeboat. Southerners could be similarly unsentimental about abandoning their co-religionists to the tyranny of the northern majority. When the Boundary Commission collapsed in 1925, without delivering the expected revision of the border, the republican activist Liam de Róiste noted the indifference of public opinion in his native Cork. The issue of the boundary, he remarked, 'does not enter into our lives in the South'.

The right to self-determination was the most famous phrase to emerge from the post-war settlement. It has subsequently been enshrined in UN declarations as an essential condition for the observance of human rights. It is a fundamental





**Professor Ian McBride, Foster Professor of Irish History at Oxford University (inset), and delivering his address at the On These Steps event. Images © Presbyterian Church in Ireland / Press Eye**

In August 1918 Edward Carson published his own letter to President Wilson, protesting that Ulstermen remained as devoted to the cause of democratic freedom as their eighteenth-century forefathers. Nationalists were welcome to home rule, provided that the Ulster Protestants were left alone. In rejecting this compromise, Carson complained, nationalists were revealed that their goal was not simply self-government for themselves, but a 'coercive domination over us'.

In the decade before 1921 the risk of a civil war in Ireland was taken seriously. The political and social forces working in favour of partition were very powerful. Nobody had a coherent or an obviously workable alternative. Unionists remained stubbornly blind to the logic of their own argument: for if Home Rule was wrong for a divided Ireland, as they insisted, it was surely wrong for a divided 'Ulster' too. Nationalists and Republicans continued to dismiss Ulster Unionism as a phantom created by British imperialists and Belfast industrialists – it was 'purely a product of British party manoeuvring' – to use de Valera's words.

British politicians exhibited their own varieties of myopia and self-delusion. The driving force here was not imperialism, although London naturally sought to protect its geopolitical interests. If anything, the creation of Northern Ireland reflected a kind of psychological decolonization.

Establishing a parliament in Belfast – as opposed to maintaining what we might call 'direct rule' – allowed the government to achieve its overriding aim of removing the Irish question from British politics. Walter Long's committee, which drew up the Government of Ireland Act in October 1919, reasoned that a two-parliament solution would also neutralise the criticism that part of Ireland remained under British control: 'No nationalists would be retained under British rule. All Irishmen would be self-governing.'

#### **DENIAL AND EVASION**

Over the decades, the mechanisms of denial and evasion became habitual, the rationalisations more practiced, and 'whataboutery' became a competitive sport. My hope is that, in this centenary year, we can collectively interrogate some of these self-serving reflexes. My concern is that in remembering the apparent certainties of 1921, we might forget the messy compromises made in the 1990s.

The challenge for historians, among others, is to ensure that the complex realities of the Irish situation a century ago are not ironed out for political, ideological or therapeutic reasons. Writing as the 'decade of commemorations' began, the late David Fitzpatrick encouraged historians to 'raise awkward issues and, above all, seek to broaden the terms of debate'.

As we contemplate the centenary of Northern Ireland, I think Fitzpatrick's advice bears repeating: 'Far from avoiding all forms of judgement', he suggested, historians should try 'to add moral intensity to the ways in which we commemorate and comprehend the past'.

*The full version of Professor McBride's speech can be viewed at <https://www.presbyterianireland.org/Resources/Public-Affairs/On-these-Steps.aspx>*

concept in the Good Friday Agreement. To Woodrow Wilson it simply meant government by consent. But, while the US president claimed that self-determination would make the world 'safe for democracy', his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, worried that this new concept was 'loaded with dynamite'. Historians, political scientists and international lawyers have tended to agree, because the doctrine of self-determination raises more questions than it answers. Before the people determine their own future, someone must first determine who the people are. What territorial boundaries are they entitled to claim as their own? What happens when peoples overlap, where one community's claim to self-government becomes entangled with another?

#### **DEMOCRACY IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY**

Historians have sometimes presented partition as a case study of how physical force can prevail over democracy. But this view is deceptively simple. The actions of Unionists, Nationalists and Republicans were always constrained by their ability to appeal to established principles of legitimacy – not only principles that resonated with their followers at home but those accepted by international opinion. The real issue was not between those who accepted democratic values and those who rejected them. It was an argument about the application of democracy in a divided society.

Sinn Féin claimed that Ireland had a right to nationhood because of its historical continuity, its continuous resistance to British rule, and above



The challenge for historians, among others, is to ensure that the complex realities of the Irish situation a century ago are not ironed out for political, ideological or therapeutic reasons.



all its distinctive cultural personality. Arthur Griffith protested in 1920 that self-determination was a matter for nations and peoples, not for mere 'parishes and shires' (i.e. for the six counties). De Valera said that giving self-determination to the six counties was to reduce the doctrine to a 'tribalistic' level.

The Ulster Protestants were historically, culturally and racially Irish, and they would realise this fact once the lies of British imperialists or Belfast capitalists were exposed. When de Valera addressed President Wilson in 1918, he explained that 'the people of Ireland constitute a distinct and separate nation, ethnically, historically, and tested by every standard of political science'. None of the new states – Czechoslovakia, Finland, even Poland could 'even approach the perfection of nationhood manifested by Ireland'. Ireland had exercised sovereign powers for a thousand years before the invasion of the Danes, he boasted. The Irish nation was 'as homogeneous as any nation upon the earth'. A free Ireland, he asserted without further elaboration, would easily deal with 'its minority problem'.

#### **ONE ISLAND, TWO NATIONS**

The underlying Unionist argument was that the Irish did not form a single national unit, but two antagonistic populations separated by religion, ethnic origin, and political loyalties. As the Ulster Liberal (and prominent Presbyterian) Thomas Sinclair put it: 'There is no national Irish demand for Home Rule, because there never has been and there is no homogeneous Irish nation.'

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# NORTHERN IRELAND CENTENARY ARTWORK

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Portrait of 3rd Duke of Abercorn — John Archibald Alexander Berrie (after), James Albert Edward Hamilton, 3rd Duke of Abercorn (1869-1953) First Governor of Northern Ireland. © Image: Crown Copyright. UK Government Art Collection.  
Portrait of Thomas Sinclair — The Naughton Gallery at Queen's.  
Portrait of Fred Crawford — Felix Features.

**THE BIRTH OF  
NORTHERN  
IRELAND  
EST. 1921**

**THE SIGNING OF THE ULSTER COVENANT**  
at Belfast City Hall, 28 September 1912.

**THE SIGNING OF THE WOMEN'S DECLARATION**  
at Raphoe, 28 September 1912.

**ASSEMBLY BUILDINGS, BELFAST**  
where Presbyterian Ulster-Scots rallied, 1 February 1912.

**THE OLD TOWN HALL, BELFAST**  
headquarters of the Ulster Volunteers.

**BELFAST CITY HALL**  
venue for the State Opening of Parliament, 1921.

**UNION COLLEGE, BELFAST**  
seat of the Northern Ireland Parliament, 1921-1932.

**ULSTER'S SOLEMN LEAGUE & COVENANT**  
28 September 1912

**ULSTER PROCLAMATION**  
24 September 1913

Ulster was always a place apart, unique in these islands as a place cohabited by the English, Scots and Irish. Heavily influenced by the Ulster-Scots, the province developed a character of its own: culturally diverse, philosophically enlightened and economically prosperous.

When others sought to break away, the majority in Ulster, strengthened by their Scots forebears, fought to maintain the Union. In 1912, inspired to defend, by all necessary means, the link with their British homeland. In 1913, their determination was manifest in the raising of the Ulster Volunteers and proclamation of the Ulster Provisional Government.

The Great War saw gallantry from across Ireland, but the heroic exploits of Ulstermen made it unthinkable for them to be cast aside. Later, when world leaders recognised the right of self-determination for small nations like the Irish, it was clear the Ulster-Scots people would have the same right.

The foundation of Northern Ireland in 1921 recognised this. The following year, the Parliament of Northern Ireland exercised the right by voting to opt out of the Irish Free State. For the first time, the Ulster-Scots had a country to call their own.

**THE ARMS OF THE  
NORTHERN IRELAND  
PARLIAMENT**  
from which the Ulster Banner (top)  
is derived include the Scottish Lion Rampant  
to represent the Ulster-Scots.

**FRED CRAWFORD**  
Ulster-Scot who secured arms for the  
Ulster Provisional Government.

**JAMES HAMILTON**  
Duke of Abercorn, first Governor of  
Northern Ireland and Ulster-Scot.

**SIR JAMES CRAIG**  
first Prime Minister of  
Northern Ireland and Ulster-Scot.

**THOMAS SINCLAIR**  
author of the Ulster Covenant  
and Ulster-Scot.

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