



## Unit 4:

### *The Home Rule Crisis, 1912-1914*

#### *Part 1*

SENIOR CYCLE WORKSHEETS

# THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT 1900-1914

1911

**The Parliament Act** is passed reducing the power of the House of Lords. They can no longer stop (veto) a bill. Now they could only delay it for two years.

John Redmond elected leader of reunited Irish Parliamentary Party which wanted Home Rule for Ireland.

General Election. Conservatives replaced by the Liberal party with a large majority in the House of Commons. Campbell Bannerman becomes Prime Minister.

Two General Elections (January and December). The Liberals lost their majority and needed the votes of the Irish nationalists and the Labour party to stay in power

**1904:** The Ulster Unionist Council is formed

**1905:** Arthur Griffith establishes the Sinn Féin movement.

**1908:** H. H. Asquith becomes Prime Minister. Liberals introduce Old Age Pensions

**1909:** The 'Liberals's People's Budget' increasing taxes on the wealthy is rejected by the House of Lords.

**9 April 1912**

New Conservative leader Andrew Bonar Law pledges his party's support at massive anti-Home Rule demonstration at Balmoral show-grounds.

**Formation of an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)** to fight the British government if Home Rule is introduced

**Ulster Day:** Thousands of men sign the 'Solemn League and Covenant' to state their objections to Home Rule. Women's Unionist Council organised a Women's Declaration

**29 April 1912:** In a speech at Blenheim Bonar Law agrees to support Ulster's use of force

Introduction of Third Home Rule Bill. It is likely to become law in two years

**September 1913:**

The Provisional Government of Ulster is set up

**November 1913:**

Formation of the Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) to fight the government if Home Rule was not passed.

**Curragh Mutiny:** British officers threaten to resign if asked by the government to fight against Ulster Unionists. The Government backs down.

Asquith's offer of temporary exclusion for parts of Ulster is rejected by Carson.

Home Rule Bill passed in the Commons for the second time.

**Buckingham Palace**

Conference of 21-24 breaks down when unionists and nationalists cannot agree over what territory to exclude from Home Rule. Threat of Civil war.

**War:** Britain declares war against Germany. Redmond commits the Volunteers to the protection of Irish shores.

**18 Sept 1914**

Home Rule Bill received royal assent but suspended for the duration of the war.

**9 Sept 1914:** Supreme

Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) decide to stage an uprising before the end of

**20 Sept:** Redmond's speech at

Woodenbridge calling on Irishmen to fight for Britain led to a split in the UVF. The minority followed Eoin MacNeill and most would fight in the 1916 Rising.



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## UNIT 4:

### LESSON 1: THE CHANGING FORTUNES OF THE HOME RULE PARTY, 1900-10

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#### Background:

The Irish Parliamentary Party (also known as the Home Rule Party) reunited in 1900 after a bitter, decade-long split between the Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. Wexford-born leader of the Parnellites, John Redmond, was chosen to lead the united Home Rule Party into the new century. While he was widely regarded as a fine speaker, John Redmond lacked Parnell's charisma and struggled to inspire young Irish nationalists to support the long-divided, ineffectual Home Rule Party. New movements such as the Gaelic League, the GAA and Sinn Féin proved more attractive to many.

Redmond's political ambition was Irish self-government as part of the British Empire with the King as head of state (Home Rule). The Conservative Party was in power in 1900, so and there was no prospect of Home Rule in the near future. Nationalists became more optimistic in 1906 when the Liberal Party under Campbell-Bannerman won an overwhelming victory in the general election and returned to power with a majority in the House of Commons.

Unlike 1893 and 1886 - when the first two Home Rule bills were introduced by Prime Minister William Gladstone - the Liberals did not need the votes of the Irish Party to remain in power in 1906. It was impossible for Redmond to get a commitment

from the Liberals to bring in a Home Rule Bill. The Liberals concentrated instead on bringing in the social reforms promised during their election campaign. The Conservative-dominated House of Lords rejected several of these reforms between 1906 and 1909.

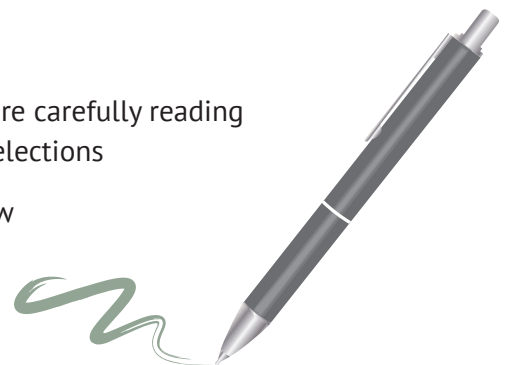
Redmond's opportunity finally came in 1909 when the House of Lords used its power of veto to stop the Liberals' 'People's Budget' of that year. Prime Minister Asquith called a general election, promising to 'clip the wings' of the House of Lords' by getting rid of their veto, thereby allowing for the passing of more progressive social reforms. In December 1909, knowing he might need the support of the Irish Nationalists, Asquith promised to introduce a Home Rule Bill if the Liberals were re-elected. Redmond responded by calling on Irish voters in the UK to support the Liberals. The results of the general election of January 1910 were dramatic: The Irish party won 71 seats and held the balance of power in Parliament.

For the first time since Parnell, the Liberals were dependent on the Irish Party to remain in power. The election of December 1910 again returned a Liberal government dependent on the support of the Irish MPs. Redmond's popularity rose to new heights and Sinn Féin sank back into insignificance.

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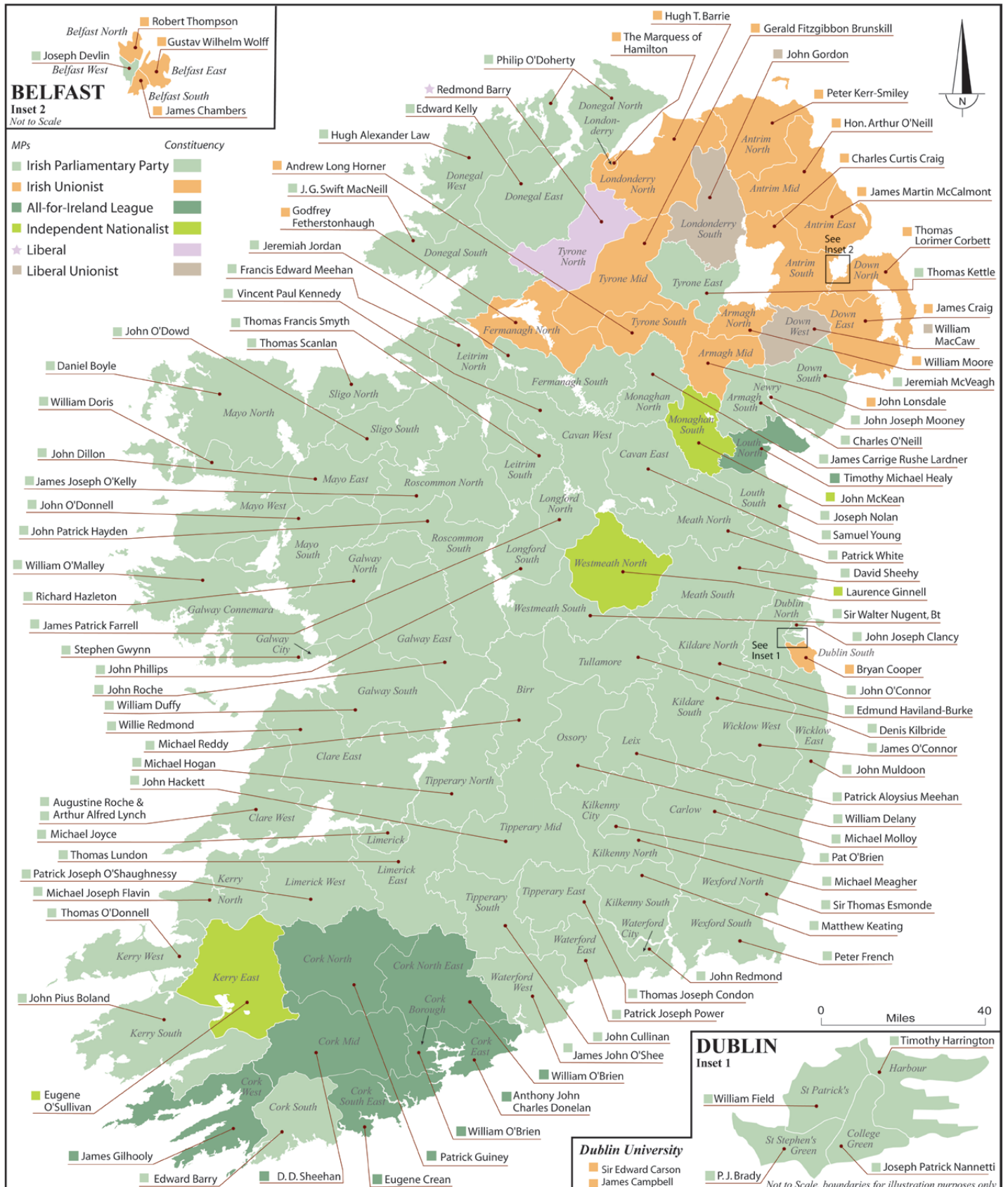
#### YOUR TASK:

- Step 1:* Scan the comprehension questions 1-10 on p. 8 before carefully reading Documents A-D relating below to the 1910 general elections
- Step 2:* Working in pairs, complete questions 1-10 that follow
- Step 3:* Working individually, complete questions 11-13



## - Document A -

Map showing the candidates elected as Members of Parliament in each constituency in Ireland after the General Election in January 1910. The party affiliation of each elected MP is also shown



\*The All-for-Ireland League (AFIL), was founded in 1909 by nationalist MP William O'Brien. Disapproving of the Irish Parliamentary Party's alliance with the Liberals, O'Brien aimed achieve Irish Home Rule through cooperation with unionists.



- Document B -

Disturbed by the commitment of the Liberals under Asquith to re-introduce Home Rule, the Unionists issued a Manifesto to the Electors at the time of the 1910 general elections

# MANIFESTO

TO THE  
ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
1910

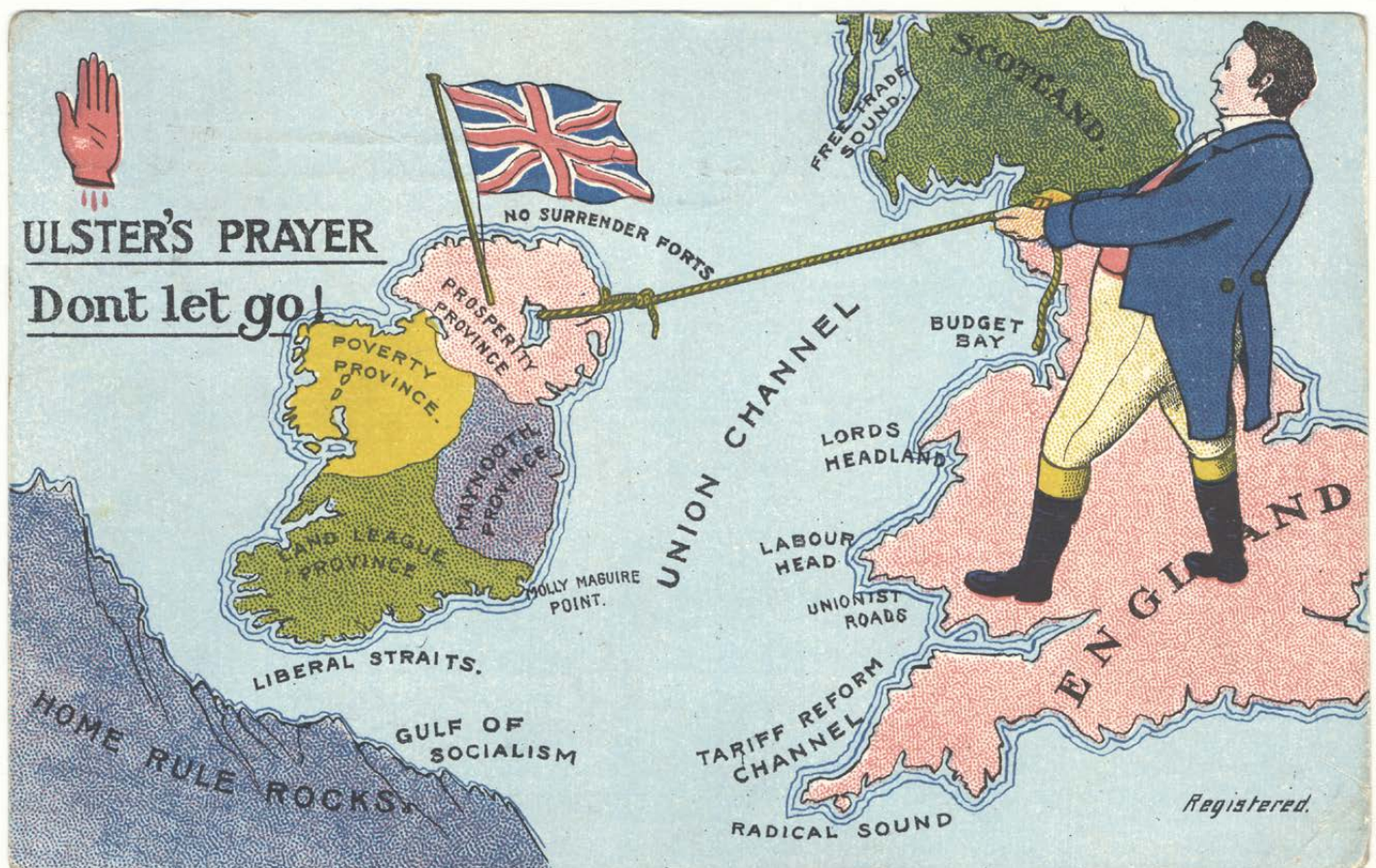
One million five hundred thousand of your fellow subjects in Ireland, that is to say, about one-third of the whole population of the country, call for your help at the polls. They are loyally devoted to the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland under which they have been born and lived. They include, beside many thousands of scattered Royalists in the West and South of Ireland, the overwhelming majority of the most progressive and prosperous parts of Ulster, including the great city of Belfast.

They compromise Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious persuasions including a minority of loyal Roman Catholics. Be assured that they know from experience the danger under Home Rule of religious, social and political tyranny from the men who have been the enemies of Great Britain.

We are convinced that the injury caused by Home Rule to the great industries of the North and other parts of Ireland would send thousands of workmen to your shores competing with you for employment and adding to the existing mass of unemployed ... We are certain that a country within a few miles of you governed by those who have shown their hostility to Great Britain may constitute, especially at the present time, a standing menace to you from a naval and military point of view.

- Document C -

Unionist anti-Home Rule postcard with the caption *Ulster's Prayer. Don't let go!*



- Document D -

**Tables showing the results of the two general elections in 1910**

A party would need to win 336 seats out of a total of 670 to hold a majority in the House of Commons.

**TABLE 1: GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS JANUARY 1910**

NAME OF PARTY	PARTY LEADER	NO OF CANDIDATES STANDING FOR ELECTION	NO OF CANDIDATES ELECTED	INCREASE OR DECREASE IN SEATS	% OF TOTAL SEATS
Conservative	Arthur Balfour	594	272	+ 116	40.6%
Liberal	H. H. Asquith	511	274	- 123	40.9%
Labour	Arthur Henderson	78	40	+11	6%
Irish Parliamentary	John Redmond	85	71	- 11	10.6%
All for Ireland	William O'Brien	10	8	+ 8	1.2%
Independent Nationalist		10	3	+ 2	0.5%
Independent Conservative		4	1	0	0.1%
Independent Labour		6	0	- 1	0
Independent Liberal		3	1	+ 1	0.1%
Others		14	0	0	0

**TABLE 2: GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS DECEMBER 1910**

NAME OF PARTY	PARTY LEADER	NO OF CANDIDATES STANDING FOR ELECTION	ELECTED CANDIDATES	SEATS GAINED OR LOST	% OF TOTAL SEATS
Conservative	Arthur Balfour	548	271	- 1	40.4%
Liberal	H. H. Asquith	467	272	- 2	40.6%
Labour	Arthur Henderson	56	42	+ 2	6.3%
Irish Parliamentary	John Redmond	81	74	+ 3	11%
All for Ireland	William O'Brien	21	8	0	1.2%
Independent Nationalist		4	2	- 1	0.3%
Independent Conservative		4	1	0	0.1%
Independent Labour		1	0	0	0
Independent Liberal		1	0	- 1	0.1%
Others		3	0	0	0





## COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

### Documents A - D

1. How many independent nationalists were elected in January 1910 and what were their names? *(Doc A)*

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2. In what province did Irish Unionists have the strongest support in January 1910? *(Doc A)*

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3. In what constituencies were (a) James Craig and (b) Edward Carson elected in January 1910? *(Doc A)*

(a) ----- (b) -----

4. What was the name of the candidate elected as an MP in the Mayo East constituency? *(Doc A)*

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5. What were the names of the MPs elected in your own county in January 1910? *(Doc A)*

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6. What does Document A suggest about popular support for John Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party in Ireland in January 1910? *(Doc A)*

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7. For what purpose was Document B created in 1910?

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8. List three reasons why voters in Great Britain should reject Home Rule. *(Doc B)*

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9. According to Document C, what are some of the 'dangers' associated Home Rule?

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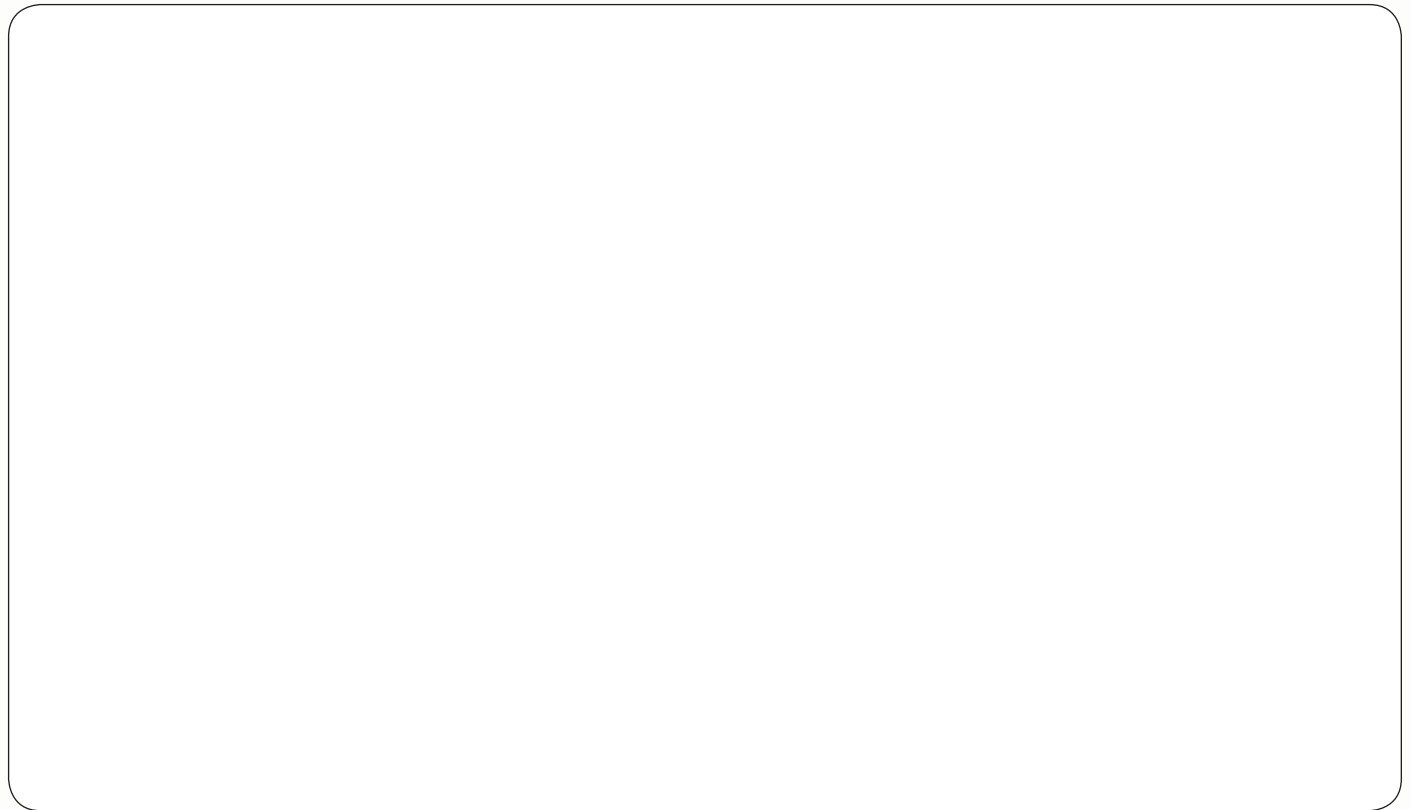
10. Can you explain what is meant by the caption "Ulster's Prayer. Don't let go!" *(Doc C)*

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11. In December 1909, after Asquith promised to introduce a Home Rule Bill if the Liberals were re-elected, Redmond called on Irish voters in the UK to support the Liberals. Create a propaganda postcard to persuade the Irish Voters. Remember, the postcard should have a clear message, a catchy slogan, and simple, persuasive imagery.



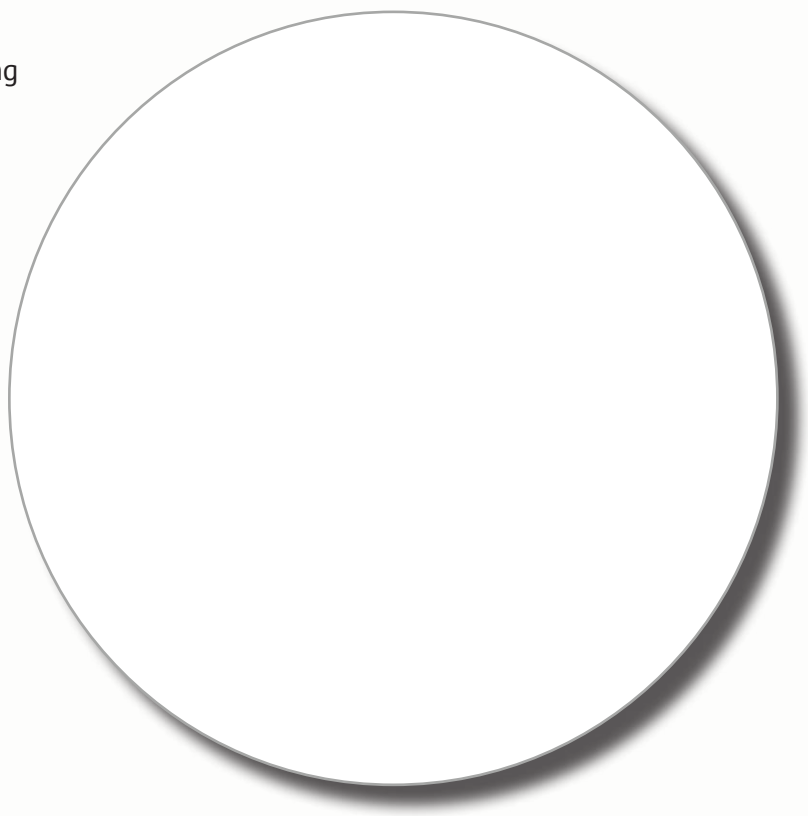
12. Based on the numbers in Table 2, explain how the Irish Parliamentary Party “held the Balance of Power in Westminster” after December 1910. (*Doc D*)

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13. In the circle provided, draw a pie chart showing the percentage of total seats (votes) held by each of the groups below in December 1910



Edited Extract from the *Evening Herald*, March 31st, 1912

Just a few days before the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill, a vast crowd gathered in O'Connell Street to applaud John Redmond's triumph.

# EVENING HERALD

[No. 78 Vol. 21

DUBLIN, SUNDAY, MARCH 31st, 1912

[ONE HALFPENNY]

## HOME RULE MUSTER IN DUBLIN

TO-DAYS'S INSPIRING  
SPECTACLE IN  
DUBLIN

MAMMOTH DEMONSTRATION

SCENES IN THE STREETS OF  
THE IRISH METROPOLIS

"HOME RULE FOR IRELAND", THE  
WATCHWORD FOR  
VAST CROWDS

THE mighty gathering that thronged the proudest thoroughfare of the nation's capital must have numbered considerably over a quarter of a million ...

The platform ... measuring 40 ft by 27 ... on which the Irish party was to speak - situated on the south side of the Parnell monument - was possibly the most elaborate ever created in Dublin ... The other three platforms - at the Father Matthew Statue, the end of Middle Abbey Street and at the O'Connell Monument - were of similar design but somewhat smaller.

From early morning hundreds of street traders were selling 'Home Rule Badges' of many designs and various slogans, also flags, programmes and mementos of the day, and were largely patronised by the public so that the aspect of the street soon gave an unmistakable indication of the motive of the day's excitement.

The accents of North, South, East and West could be heard in the hurrying throng, every man of whom wore a badge indicating the town or district and organisation to which he belonged ...

The muster of the students was a notable one. The University Colleges of Dublin, Cork and Galway, the College of Science, King's Inn and the Solicitor's Apprentices had their meeting place at Earlsfort Terrace at one o'clock and made a brave show as, headed by



A VIEW OF THE GATHERING OVER O'CONNELL BRIDGE TO NELSON'S PILLAR AT YESTERDAY'S DEMONSTRATION

the St James' Band, they marched to their special platform at the O'Connell monument.

At two o'clock at the Mansion House the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress received Messrs. John Redmond, John Dillon, WM Redmond and Joseph Devlin, the principal speakers of the day ...

After the reception the procession was formed to march to the platforms, the whole route being densely packed. Interspersed with the carriages were many representatives of ... the United Irish League, Land and Labour Association members and the Gaelic League ... On a house in O'Connell Street were the words 'Irishwomen want the Vote and the Home Rule Bill' ... Mrs Sheehy Skeffington could be seen distributing suffragette literature ...

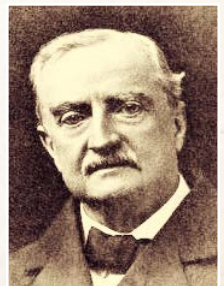
The excitement reached its zenith in College Green when the noble buildings of the old parliament house came in sight of the procession, and the hopes that the near future will see them once more the home of an Irish Legislature found expression in a spontaneous burst of cheering.

The crowd of people was at its thickest around the Parnell Monument where the Irish leader was to speak on the coming Home Rule Bill.

### MR REDMOND'S SPEECH ON IRELAND'S HOUR OF TRIUMPH

'No words of mine', he said 'can add to the splendour, and, I would say, to the solemnity of this occasion ...' "We will have our Parliament sitting in College Green sooner than the most ... man in this crowd believes ... go back, therefore, fellow countrymen, go back after this meeting to your homes with high and confident hearts. ... Amid the applause of the whole world ...

Ireland is about to come into her own again - (cheers) - is about, at long last to receive the reward of a generation of self-sacrifice!





Edited Extract from *The Spectator* - a weekly British conservative magazine first published in 1828.

On 9 April 1912 about 100,000 unionists marched from Belfast with banners and bands to the Balmoral showgrounds.

# The Spectator

No. 4372

WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, APRIL 13<sup>th</sup>, 1912

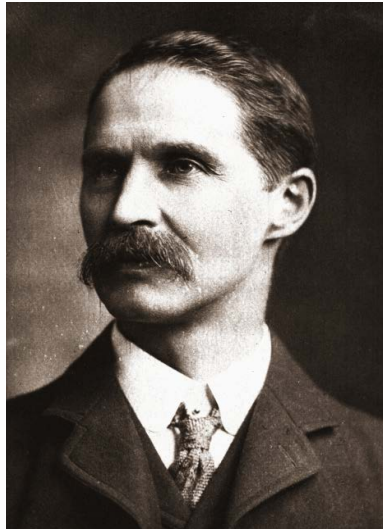
[ONE PENNY]

## THE BELFAST MEETING

The Unionist demonstration held at Balmoral, near Belfast on Tuesday was great, not merely in numbers, but in the temper and purpose of the demonstrators. Contingents from all quarters of Ireland, including Cork, Kerry, and Clare, took part in the procession of 100,000 men, four miles in length, who marched past Mr. Bonar Law, as many more were gathered in the Balmoral ground and as many more, again, lined the route. ... we have been assured by those who were present that no newspaper account has rendered justice to the impressiveness of the scene.

At the recent Home Rule demonstration in Dublin ... the Union Jack was insulted and its presence apologised for. At Belfast the flag was in evidence throughout ... Sir Edward Carson, who presided at the principal platform, invited all present to raise their hands and repeat after him, "Never under any circumstances will we submit to Home Rule," an appeal answered at once in a mighty and unanimous shout.

Mr. Bonar Law said that he came as leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons to assure Ulster that they regarded the cause of Ulster Unionists not as theirs alone, but as the cause of the Empire, and would do all they could to defeat a conspiracy as treacherous as had ever been formed against the life of a great nation ... "Ireland, he continued, was not and never had been a nation - there were two peoples in Ireland - and Ulster made no claim except that it should not be deprived of its birthright ... And when the crisis is over, men will say that you have saved yourselves by your exertions, and you will save the empire by your example."



CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER,  
ANDREW BONAR LAW

## NEWS OF THE WEEK

ON Thursday Mr. Asquith introduced what we do not hesitate to describe as the most unjust, unworkable, insincere [Home Rule Bill] ... We desire to insist here that the Bill is cowardly as well as foolish ... The Government are playing the part of a man entrusted with the work of guarding a door beset by enemies. He refuses to let them in at once, but provides them with a large bag of gold, and at the same time hands them out a crow-bar amply strong enough to break down the door. That is the Government's idea of preserving the Union and safeguarding the integrity of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Asquith must surely know that no sane Unionist has ever declared that the Province of Ulster is determined not to be forced under a Dublin Parliament. What we say is that those counties of North-East Ulster in which the Protestants form the local majority will never submit to the rule of a Dublin Parliament - and a Dublin Executive.

## THE MAIN PROVISIONS OF MR ASQUITH'S HOME RULE BILL

The Irish Parliament is to consist of a Senate of forty members and a House of Commons of 164 members.

The Irish Parliament will have no control over foreign affairs, defence, taxation or overseas trade.

42 Irish MPs are to be present at Westminster to represent Ireland in matters of taxation.

The Lord Lieutenant will be the nominal head of state and have the power either to veto a Bill passed by the Irish Parliament or to postpone assent [and] the Imperial Parliament will be able ... to nullify or amend such an Act to which we might add the words "if it dares, or if the Irish members will allow it."...

Mr. Redmond declared his Party would accept the Bill, which he characterised as "a great measure". ...



LIBERAL PRIME-MINISTER,  
HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH



## COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

### Documents E - F

1. How did the *Evening Herald* reporter know that people from all over Ireland attended the gathering in O'Connell Street on 31 March 1912? (*Doc E*)  
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.....
2. Other than members of the Home Rule party, what other organisations were represented at the O'Connell Street meeting? (*Doc E*)  
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.....
3. What is the tone of the *Evening Herald* article? Explain your answer with reference to the text. (*Doc E*)  
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.....  
.....
4. According to Document F, what was the purpose of Mr Bonar Law's attendance at Balmoral? (*Doc F*)  
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.....
5. Can you find three pieces of evidence in the *Spectator* article that show the writer's bias *against* Home Rule? (*Doc F*)  
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.....  
.....
6. In your own words, summarise the main points of the Third Home Rule Bill ? (*Doc F*)  
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**7a. 'Home Rule Badges of many designs and various slogans'.** Design a badge that might have been sold at either the Home Rule rally or the Unionist Meeting at Balmoral in 1912.

**or**

**7b.** Imagine that you were present at the Home Rule rally in O'Connell Street in March 1912. Based on the evidence in Doc E, write a short diary entry describing the events of the day, and your feelings about what you witnessed.



## THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

In August 1912, newspapers announced that Saturday, 28 September was to be 'Ulster Day' when Unionists would sign a solemn and binding oath to resist Home Rule. Unionist leaders understood that such an oath would help to maintain order and discipline among their followers and convince public opinion of Unionist solidarity and determination.

On 28 September 1912, the workers at Belfast's shipyards and factories abandoned their posts to attend church before congregating with a crowd of up to 250,000 men from all classes of unionism at the City Hall to sign the Covenant. At midday, when the church services finished, Carson and other Unionist leaders walked the short distance between the Ulster Hall and the City Hall where they signed the Covenant. Marshalls then admitted groups of 500 men at a time to sign the copies of the Covenant.

As a demonstration of Ulster Unionist opposition to Home Rule, the Covenant was a clear success. A total of 218,206 Ulstermen, and a further 19,162 Ulstermen living outside the province signed the Covenant. The Ulster Women's Unionist Council developed a declaration to be signed by 234,046 women in support of the Covenant, in this they pledged 'to associate ourselves with the men of Ulster in their uncompromising opposition to the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament'.



## SATURDAY HERALD

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1912

### ULSTER DAY

#### Signing of the Covenant

#### TO-DAY'S SCENES

The Northern capital up to noon presented the appearance of the Sabbath Day ... There had been some misgivings as to the weather, but the streets were flooded with sunshine, and there was a sufficiently fresh wind to rustle the decorative displays, of which there were long and charming vistas. From the facade of the City Hall an enormous Union Jack spread its ample folds, the fine dome forming an imposing background.

All the Unionist business houses were closed down ... and church bells were chiming from 9 o'clock in the morning, calling loyalists to pray before they commit themselves to the signing of the "Solemn League and Covenant". The principal service of the day was held at the Ulster Hall. Sir Edward Carson came on the platform with his standard bearers, who carried the flag ... which is supposed to be 222 years old [and] carried at the Battle of the Boyne.

Sir Edward's appearance was greeted with applause from the gallery, which was immediately suppressed, those on the platform calling for silence ... They were face to face, he said, with a great religious and political issue which might involve the destruction of their liberties and the peace of Ireland. Headed by the Boyne flag, and accompanied by a bodyguard of 200, Sir Edward Carson, marched from the Ulster Hall to the City Hall through the streets filled with cheering crowds.

On arrival at the City Hall shortly after noon, Sir Edward Carson was received by the Lord Mayor and the Unionist members of the Corporation, all garbed in their robes of office ... In the marble, pillared hall, the central position was occupied by a round table draped with crimson and covered by the Union Jack, while the corridors, right and left, had long lines of wooden desks where copies of the Covenant forms were placed for signature.

Sir Edward, approaching it with an air of dramatic solemnity, signed the document at 12.15 p.m. with the silver fountain pen presented to him at last night's remarkable anti-Home Rule gathering. From the centre of the dome hung a huge electric lamp, which enabled the photographers to snapshot each of the Unionist leaders as they came to the table ...

From this onward the main thoroughfares were densely crowded. Bands paraded Royal Avenue and the majority of those abroad sported Union Jacks and Orange badges. The procession marched four deep, with military precision. The various sections were under the charge of a marshal, who shouted his orders in military language. The tram traffic in the centre of the city was entirely suspended. Hundreds of people watched the march from windows and housetops.

*Belfast, Saturday.*





## Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant.

**B**eing convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V., humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn Covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. ¶ And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority. ¶ In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names. ¶ And further, we individually declare that we have not already signed this Covenant.

The above was signed by me at *The City Hall, Belfast.*  
"Ulster Day," Saturday, 28th September, 1912.

*James Craig*  
(Captain).

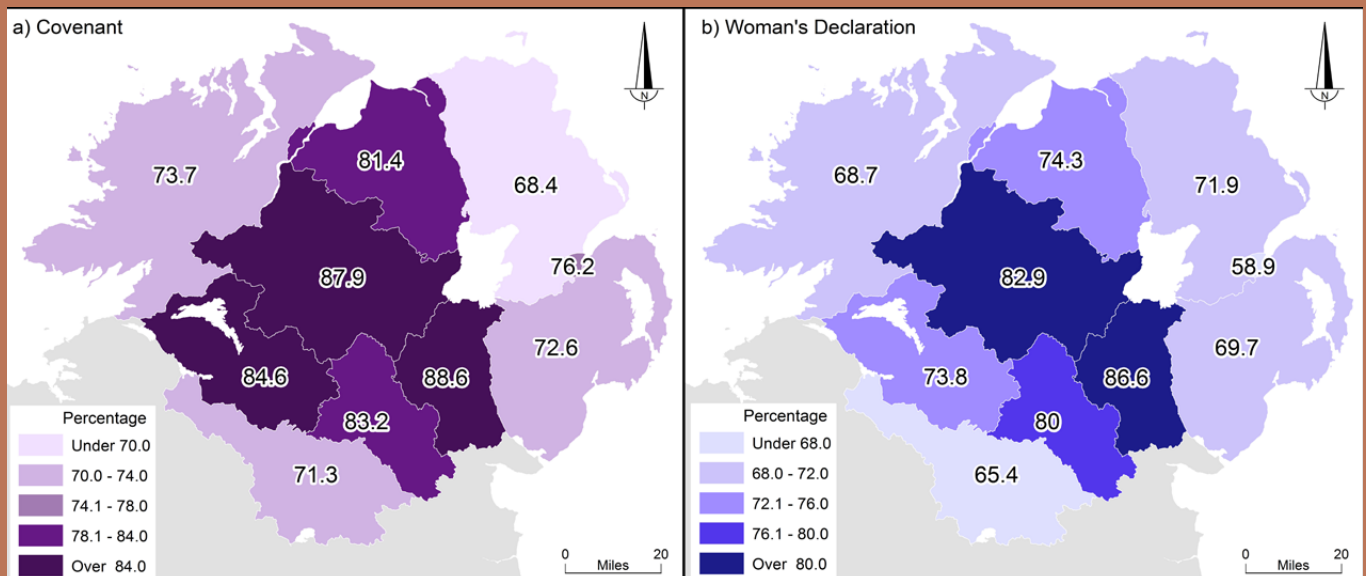
God Save the King.

[Photo: Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, D1496/3]



## - Document I -

Maps showing the percentage of non-Catholic adults (over sixteen) in each of the Ulster counties that signed the (a) Solemn League and Covenant, (b) the Women's Declaration on 28 September 1912



**CAPTION:** This map shows that those who signed the Covenant and the Women's Declaration came from all nine counties in Ulster including Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan, which had large Catholic majorities. Over 5,000 Monaghan men signed the Covenant, 4,600 signed in Cavan and an estimated 3,000 Donegal men added their signatures.

## - Document J -

**Edited Extract from a sermon delivered by John Frederick MacNeice, Connemara-born Church of Ireland rector at Carrickfergus in County Antrim in October 1912.** In his sermon, reproduced in the *Carrickfergus Examiner* of 4 October 1912, MacNeice sets out his reasons for not signing the Covenant.

### ON REFUSING TO SIGN THE ULSTER COVENANT

Four views seem to be taken of it [the Covenant]. First, there is the view of those who take it to mean a policy of physical force, and who are persuaded that the circumstances justify such a policy. Secondly, there's the view of those who say it does not mean a policy of physical force, and who sign it in the belief that it does not. Thirdly, there's the attitude of those who look at it simply as a resolution against Home Rule, and a demand for an appeal to the nation. Those who view it in any of these three ways can, of course, sign it with a clear conscience.

And, lastly, there's the attitude of those who try to study the Covenant primarily from the Church's standpoint. Amongst these there are some who think that it means a call to arms, and who also think that [because] the Church of Christ is in this land to exhibit the mind of Christ, she cannot sound that call ... Furthermore, they think that Ireland's greatest interest is peace, and they shrink from a policy which ... in the last resort, means war, and worse still, civil war. This is the attitude of a minority, possibly a small minority. This is my own attitude ....

May, God be with us, may He give to us all and to all our fellow-countrymen, the blessing of peace, may He ... help us, wherever we live, north, south, east, west - to hear the voice - "Sirs, ye are brethren".

## COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

### Documents G-I

1. According to the Covenant, in what ways would Home Rule prove 'disastrous' to Unionists? *(Doc H)*

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2. Is there any evidence in Document H of the strong links between religion and Unionism? *(Doc H)*

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3. What pledges (promises) did the men of Ulster make when they signed the Covenant? *(Doc H)*

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5. Identify 4 pieces of evidence in the *Saturday Herald* article that prove the Unionist leaders were aware of the importance of symbolism during the Ulster Day events. *(Doc G)*

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6. Calculate the average percentage of non-Catholic males to sign the Ulster Covenant in 1912? *(Doc I)*

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7. In what Ulster county was support for the Covenant at its highest? *(Doc I)*

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8. In what Ulster counties did more women than men pledge their opposition to Home Rule? *(Doc I)*

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9. Can you suggest why support for the Covenant was high in counties with Catholic majorities? *(Doc I)*

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10. What reasons does Rector MacNeice give for not signing the Covenant? *(Doc J)*

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# THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

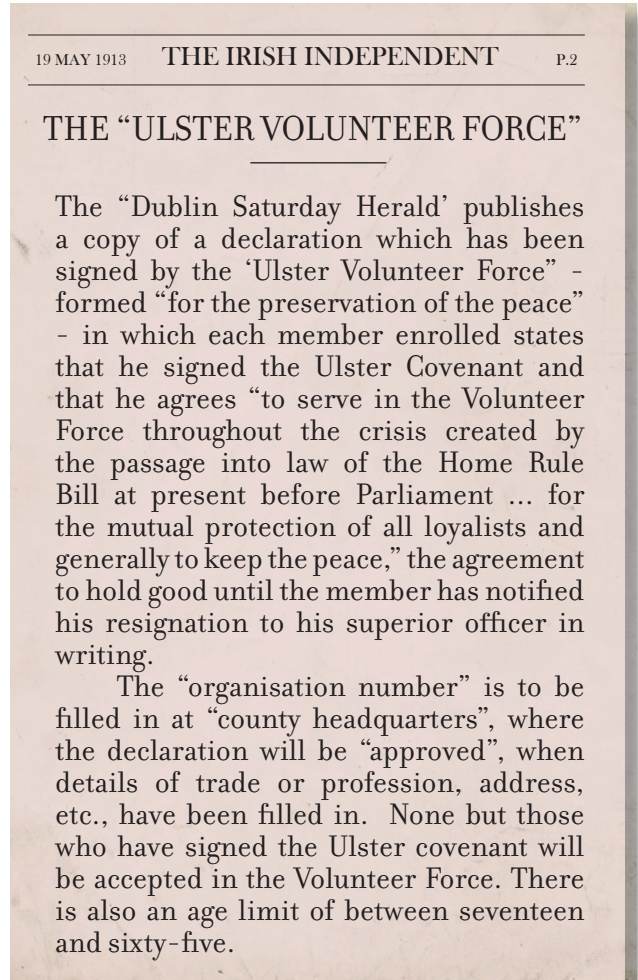
From January 1913, Ulster Unionist resistance to Home Rule entered a more militant phase with the establishment of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The movement, which grew out of the Orange lodges and Unionist clubs in the nine Ulster counties, would initially consist of 100,000 men. UVF units were formed slowly in many parts of Ulster during the early part of 1913.

In June retired British army officer, Lieutenant General Sir George Richardson, established a UVF headquarters at the Old Town Hall in Belfast to organise the different units into companies, battalions and regiments along British Army lines.

By the end of February 1914 approximately 90,000 men had enrolled, 30,000 of whom belonged to the twenty battalions organised in Belfast. County Down and County Antrim provided the next largest contingents both with around 11,000 men, while the smallest regiments were from Cavan and Monaghan where each had little over 2,000. The UVF reached its peak strength of 100,000 in the summer of 1914.

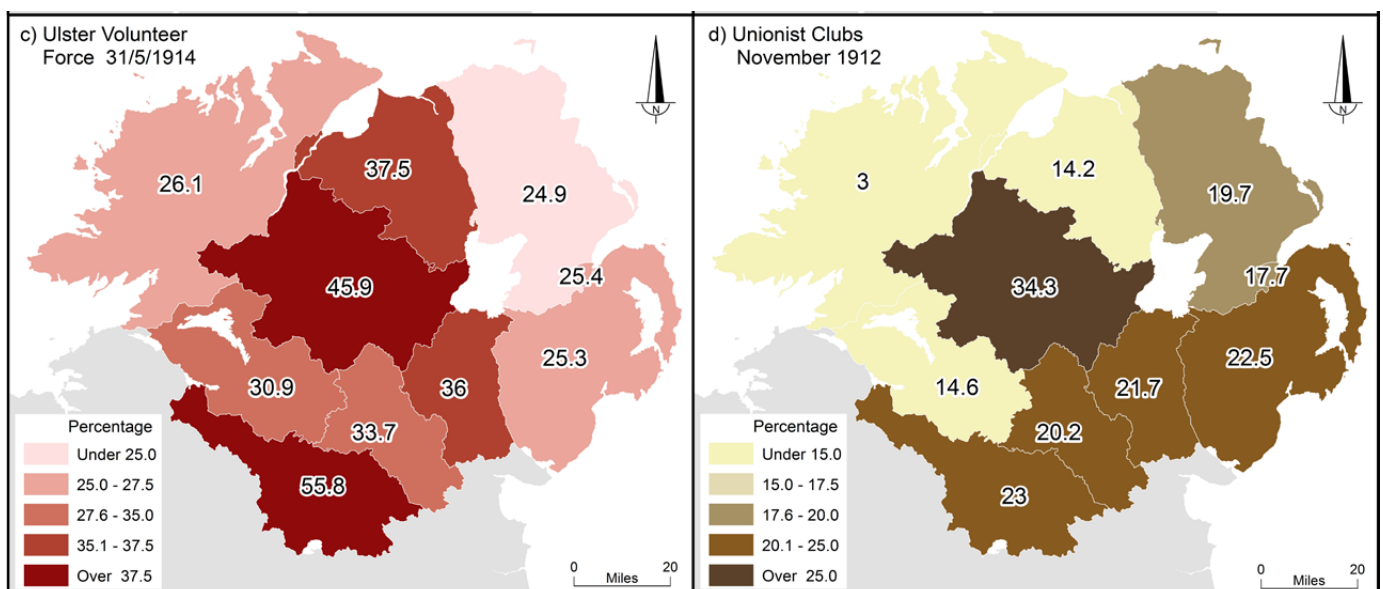
Initially, guns were purchased fairly openly as it was not illegal to bear arms. Fairly large-scale gunrunning was clearly going on in June 1913 when the Metropolitan Police in Hammersmith, seized 4,500 Italian rifles destined for the UVF. In February 1914 the inspector general reported, 'there was evidence that the volunteers are being instructed and trained in the use of arms in drill halls and private grounds to which the police have no access'. The UVF was an impressive force by the summer of 1914, and, following the Larne gunrunning of April 1914, it possessed a large number of relatively modern military rifles.

## - Document K -



## - Document L -

**Maps showing the membership of (c) The Ulster Volunteer Force in May 1914 and (d) the Unionist Clubs in November 1912 as percentage of the non-Catholic population of each county in Ulster**



- Document M -

Extract from memorandum written by  
Lord Dunleath of Ballywalter Park, Co Down to  
Edward Carson on 9 March 1915

He recalls the reasons for the foundation of the Ulster  
Volunteer Force in 1913.

*We felt that it was the plain duty of those of us who were possessed of influence to take some step, which would convince the government of the reality of our determination to resist this policy by every means in our power...*

*We commenced by drilling our Orangemen and our Unionist Clubs, wherever drill instructors could be obtained, and suitable halls and lodges were available. Later on, we amalgamated these forces, organised them into companies and battalions, appointed officers and section leaders, and gradually equipped and trained them into a very fairly efficient force of volunteer infantry. Finally, we succeeded in providing them with a good supply of arms and ammunition. We can certainly claim that we have succeeded in turning the attention of Englishmen and Scotchmen towards Ulster and its inhabitants; we can also claim that the existence of this large armed force of Volunteers has materially assisted our political leaders.*

[Source: Memo by Lord Dunleath to Edward Carson, 9 March 1915. (PRONI Carson papers, D1507/1/1915)]

- Document N -

Edited extract from an article in the moderate  
Irish nationalist newspaper, *The Freeman's Journal*  
on 6 October 1913

## *The Freeman's Journal*

DUBLIN, 6 OCTOBER, 1913

### THE CARSON CIRCUS

The last review of the season of members of the "Ulster Volunteer Force" took place on Saturday in Armagh. Sir Edward Carson was at the saluting base ... and the official order of the day states that some 5,000 took part in the parade. A demonstration subsequently took place at Dean's Hill at 3:30 o'clock and in the evening 'King' Carson and his attendants left for London.

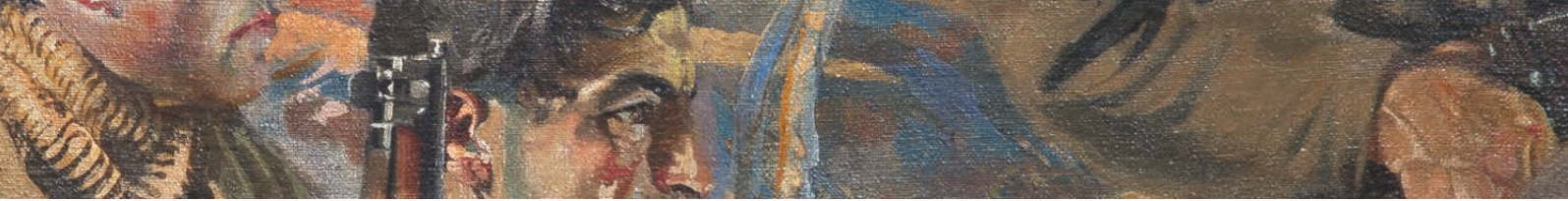
Plenty of special trains has been engaged to bring the different 'corps' from the eleven districts into which Armagh is divided by the Provisional Government, and during the morning the narrow streets of the old city were ablaze with Orange music.

#### PLAYING AT SOLDIERS

The contingents as they filed out of the of the railway station, formed up in processional order, but the casual observer could scarcely suspect that it was their intention to ape a military display ... Mainly the processionists were young men and boys, but now and again a grey-bearded elder chose to take his place in the ranks. They were, generally speaking, a very plain up-and-down, rather sad-looking lot ... There was some attempt at uniformity in that most of the demonstrators wore bowler hats and here and there a member had taken pains to fold his waterproof in military fashion ... otherwise, it was a drab and lack-lustre turn out.

The centre piece of the decorations was a shield showing the Red Hand surmounted with the motto 'to God and Ulster True'. The 'army' marched past at the salute and the leader chose to look as if he were deeply impressed at the display. .... [Speaking] of his tour, Sir Edward Carson said that looking back on it and the many regiments of Volunteers he had inspected and addressed, he could not but think that the dominant note which they had sounded from day to day in his ear was the old cry, 'No Surrender' ...





## COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

### Documents K-N

1. What reason does Lord Dunleath give for setting up an Ulster Volunteer force? (*Doc M*)

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2. According to Lord Dunleath what were the steps involved in creating a fairly efficient force of Volunteer Infantry? (*Doc M*)

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3. How does Document L support the claim that the Volunteers developed out of the Unionist Clubs in Ulster?

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4. What is the (a) the tone and (b) the viewpoint of the *Freeman's Journal* article? (*Doc N*)

(a) -----

Evidence:-----

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(b) -----

Evidence:-----

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5. Using the information in Documents K-N, design a propaganda poster encouraging the men of Ulster to join the Volunteers in May 1914.

**The poster should include the following elements:**

- ☐ At least 1 image (*this may be a relevant photograph, drawing or symbol*)
- ☐ A strong statement/slogan in large font
- ☐ At least 3 persuasive reasons to join the Ulster Volunteers
- ☐ At least 2 examples of persuasive language:  
(*rhetorical questions, lists, undermining the opposing view, exaggeration, repetition, addressing your audience directly, metaphors, adjectives etc.*)







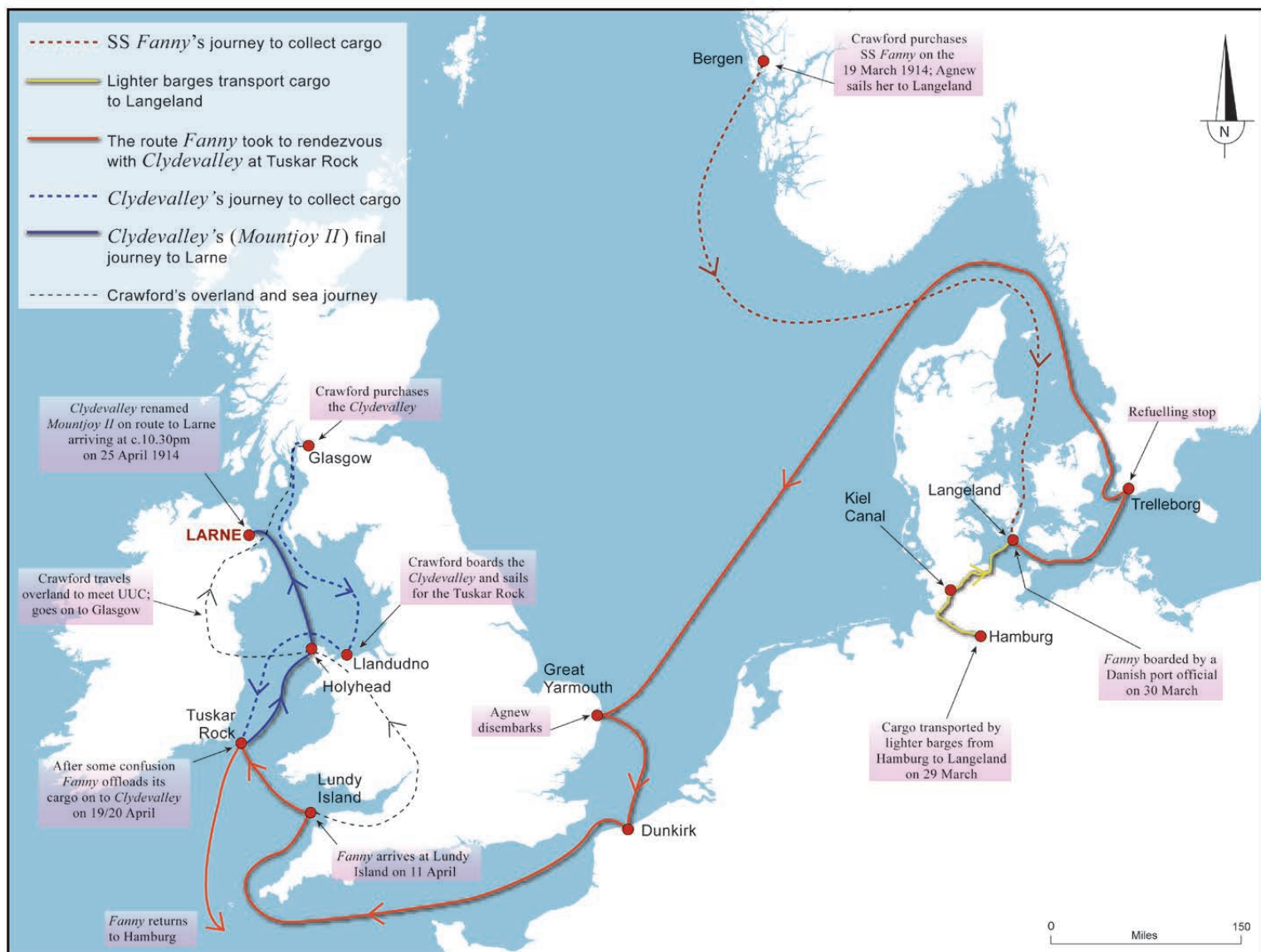
## UVF GUNRUNNING

The arming of the Ulster Volunteer Force in the spring of 1914 escalated the Irish Home Rule Crisis. With the approval of Carson and the Ulster Unionist Council, UVF Director of Ordnance, Major F. H. Crawford purchased 25,000 rifles and 3 million rounds of ammunition from an arms dealer in Hamburg. These were loaded onto a Norwegian vessel the *SS Fanny* on 2 April 1914 and the cargo was transferred to a British registered ship, the *SS Clyde Valley* on 20 April.

On the night of 24 April 1914, the disguised arms ship *SS Clyde Valley* docked in the small port of Larne, north of Belfast. Hundreds of Ulster Volunteers were mobilised for the meticulously-planned operation. They sealed off the harbour and moving quickly before daylight, they removed the arms to pre-arranged dumps around Ulster. Their speed prevented any interference from police if the government had decided to act.

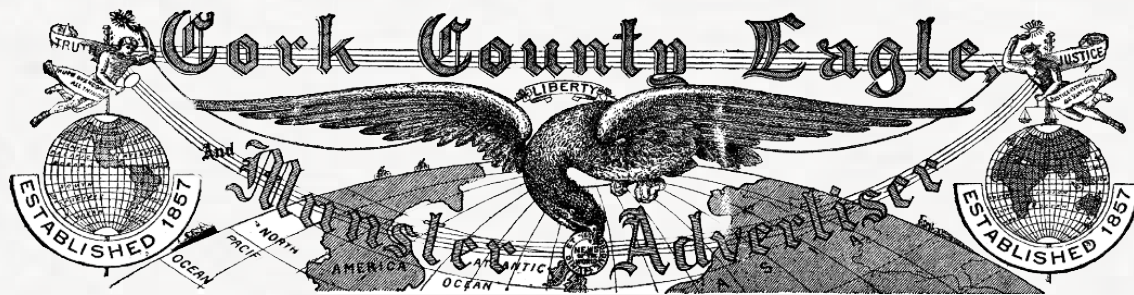
### - Document O -

Map showing the routes of the ships used to transport arms for the UVF from Germany to Larne in 1914





Edited extracts from an article published in the conservative and loyalist *Cork County Eagle* (*Skibbereen Eagle*) after the successful gunrunning operation by Ulster Volunteers in April 1914.



Vol. LII No. 2982

SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1914

PRICE ONE PENNY

## ARMING ULSTER

AN ASTOUNDING STORY.

GUN RUNNING

35,000 RIFLES AND AMMUNITION  
DELIVERED

800 MOTOR CARS ENGAGED

AUTHORITIES OUTWITTED AND  
HELPLESS

A remarkable scheme of wholesale gun-running was successfully carried out by the Ulster Volunteer Force between 9 o'clock on Friday morning and 6 o'clock on Saturday morning. It was estimated that between 35,000 and 40,000 rifles and about a million rounds of ammunition were landed at Larne, Bangor, Donaghadee and other places on the coasts of Antrim and County Down ...

The seaport town of Larne, about 20 miles from Belfast on the Irish Sea, and north of Belfast Lough, was the main centre of operations ... The local Volunteers were mobilized shortly before 8 o'clock on Friday night, and were speedily [reinforced] by detachments from outlying districts. Within half an hour sentries had been posted at the principal roads leading into the town in order to prevent any but those engaged in the expedition from leaving the place ... The telephone and telegraph wires were temporarily put out of working order. In short, strict military discipline was imposed ... The arrival of a procession of motor-cars and motor lorries almost three miles long, from the direction of Belfast increased speculation as to what was on foot.

The identity of the ship that brought the cargo was disguised. A large piece of canvas fastened round her bows had printed upon it the name 'Mountjoy', and this canvas covered the real name of the vessel, which is believed to be the *Fanny*, the mysterious ship which has recently aroused so much suspicion in the North Sea ...



ARMS ARE UNLOADED AND TRANSPORTED FROM LARNE TO SAFEHOUSES UNDER THE COVER OF DARKNESS.  
Source: *Illustrated London News* [London, England], 2 May 1914

During the night two ships came alongside with the *Mountjoy* and were loaded with about 10,000 rifles and a large quantity of ammunition. These vessels afterwards left for the County Down coast where their cargoes were safely landed.

Throughout the province, the wildly scattered police force was engaged in small batches watching companies of Volunteers marching about while the work of loading the arms at Larne, Bangor and Donaghadee went on undisturbed.

The *Mountjoy*, having been emptied of her cargo, steamed out of the harbour for an unknown destination. As she glided past the quay the crew raised three lusty cheers for the King and three for the Volunteers. The army of volunteers heartily responded. Then they formed up in procession again and marched to their headquarters where they were dismissed.

... When day had broken there was not to be found in Larne a trace of a cargo of munitions of war which had been brought ashore. By this time, indeed, the greater part of it had been distributed throughout the country, some of it being taken as far as County Tyrone and County Londonderry.

## HOAX ON CUSTOMS OFFICERS

The arms were landed without the knowledge of the authorities, who were completely mystified regarding the movements ... There was a vague suspicion, not only in official quarters, but also among others in Belfast, that an attempt might be made to land arms, but the time, place, and circumstances were altogether unknown.

At Belfast the interest of the police appears to have been diverted to the Musgrave channel, where it was generally expected that a steamer carrying arms would arrive. About 10 o'clock a large force of Volunteers was marched down to the quay and remained there until 4 o'clock in the morning, when the hatches of a steamer were removed in the presence of the Customs and police officers. To their astonishment, and even to the surprise of some of the Volunteer officers who were not in on the secret, the cargo was found to contain nothing more dangerous than 60 tons of bunker coal, lumps of which were carried off by those present as souvenirs ... The attention of the authorities had been successfully occupied while the arms were being unloaded elsewhere.



Edited Extract from Bureau of Military History Witness Statement submitted on 25 March 1959  
by northern nationalist and champion of Home Rule, Kevin O'Sheil who was a student in Trinity College in 1912

CRIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21  
6-180 STATE OF MILITARY HISTORY

W.D. 111111

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY  
STATEMENT  
DOCUMENT NO.

Commissioner Kevin R. O'Sheil, B.L.

Judicial Committee  
Commissioner, J.

National Activ

Condition

In 1912, the year of the Asquith Home Rule Bill, Irish Nationalists were full of optimism ... John Redmond's prestige never stood higher. He was regarded as the Irish Moses who had led his people out of bondage and was about to lead them into the promised land ... The gun, as a means of obtaining the national objective, was almost, but not quite as dead as the dodo ... Yes, we were all Home Rulers in Ireland in those days, and nothing more than Home Rulers. It was a strange paradox that, at the very point in history when Irish nationalism appeared to have turned its back on physical force forever, Irish Unionism had wholeheartedly embraced it and clasped it to his bosom....

In the beginning, however, the general attitude of Nationalists to [the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF)] was one of ridicule, if not of contempt. They felt it would soon fizzle out, and, anyhow, that if it, by any stretch of imagination, became serious, the Liberal Government would not tolerate it but would promptly suppress it. The ridicule was understandable, for I confess it was rather amusing and fantastic to see adult men, so consciously "grim and dour" tramping along the Ulster roads and lanes, garbed in solemn bowler hats and "Sunday-go-to-meeting" blue serge suits (the original uniform), carrying ridiculous wooden guns across their shoulders ...

[By the summer of 1912] the U.V.F. had grown considerably in numbers. In my small town of Omagh, as soon as the shops closed, one would see groups of men making their way to yards, squares and greens and fields whereon to undergo instruction in drill and "the arts of war" ... As the days and months rolled by and the U.V.F., under virtually protected conditions, continued to expand and develop and, above all, to acquire considerable supplies of arms and ammunition ... Also, they were being, bit by bit, got into uniform - a kind of brown material cut like the British tunic with brown trousers and puttees. ...Side by side with the progress of that force, there were clear signs of weakening by the Government on the Home Rule issue, with much talking about partition and the need for compromise ... Irish Nationalism, especially young Irish Nationalism, began to grow uneasy and restless ...

By September [1913], the original feeling of contempt for the U.V.F. "playboys" was passing, or, rather, being transferred to the Government, and their own Nationalist leaders, whilst something very like admiration was taking its place. Whether it was a colossal bluff or not, the fact was becoming clearer and clearer to the young Nationalists that those U.V.F. fellows were achieving things, and that the Nationalists were losing what little they had achieved. .... Unquestionably, those U.V.F. fellows were giving them a real example of how to put Griffith's Sinn Féin preaching into practice.

[Source: Bureau of Military History W.S. 1770, Part 3: (Commissioner Kevin R. O'Sheil, B.L.)]



## COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

### Documents O-Q

1. Based on the evidence in the map, where did Major Crawford purchase the *SS Fanny* in March 1914?  
(Doc O)  
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2. At what location was the cargo of arms and ammunition transferred from the *SS Fanny* to the *Clydevalley*?  
(Doc O)  
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3. By comparing the map and its caption with Document P, can you find inaccuracies in the newspaper article?  
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4. Identify 3 pieces of evidence in the newspaper article and/or the map that proves that the UVF gun running was carefully planned. (Doc P)  
(1) -----  
(2) -----  
(3) -----  
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5. According to Kevin O'Sheil, why did Irish nationalists not take the Ulster Volunteers seriously in the beginning? (Doc Q)  
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6. Give three reasons why Kevin O'Sheil had changed his mind by September 1913. (Doc Q)  
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7. YOUR TASK:

UVF Director of Ordnance, Major F. H. Crawford has employed you and one other researcher to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the strategy for the gunrunning mission in April 1914. Working in pairs, use the evidence in Documents O and P to complete the S.W.O.T Analysis template on the next page.

A SWOT analysis is a structured planning method that evaluates the **Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats** of a project.





