BACKGROUND TO THE COVENANT

he strong social, economic, religious and cultural ties that existed between Ulster and Scotland led to an increasing consciousness of an Ulster-Scots identity in the course of the nineteenth century.

This was reinforced through the publication of histories of Presbyterianism and books such as John Harrison's The Scot in Ulster (1888) and J.B. Woodburn's The Ulster Scot (1914). In 1912 the US Ambassador, Whitelaw Reid, whose ancestors had come from County Tyrone, delivered a lecture in both Belfast (at the Presbyterian Assembly Buildings) and Edinburgh entitled 'The Scot in America and the Ulster-Scot', which was later published as a book. The Unionist leaders drew on the distinctiveness of Ulster-Scots identity in justifying their opposition to Home Rule. For example, Thomas Sinclair argued that 'there is no homogenous Irish nation', pointing out that 'Ireland today consists of two nations'

Sinclair was one of the organisers of the Presbyterian Convention that met in Belfast on I February 1912. The purpose of this gathering was to make clear to the people of England and Scotland, especially Nonconformists like themselves, that the Presbyterians of Ireland were overwhelmingly opposed to Home Rule. This was to counter the false impression being given by Home Rulers that opposition to their



plans was really only to be found among the Anglican landlords. While the organisers would have liked to have had one single venue where everyone could gather, this was not possible because of the numbers expected to attend. There were a reported 47,000 applications for tickets and in the end meetings were held at several locations in Belfast.

An editorial that appeared in the Presbyterian newspaper, The Witness, prior to the Convention set out very clearly the basis of their actions:

The Irish Presbyterians desire to appeal in the first instance to Scottish Presbyterians. One of the resolutions makes a special reference to the Scottish Settlement and a special appeal to the Scottish Presbyterians not to desert the descendants of those who were sent over to plant Ulster, and leave them to the uncovenanted mercies of Mr Redmond and the Irish Romanists who threaten them with the strong arm because they are true to Scottish traditions, Scottish religion, and Scottish associations.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that episodes in Scottish history should have provided the inspiration for the Ulster



ORIGINS OF THE COVENANT

he strength of the popular opposition to Home Rule led some to put forward the idea of an solemn oath or pledge that would be taken by all Unionists. James Craig was given the task of producing this. In his book, Ulster's Stand for the Union (1922), Ronald McNeill, an Ulsterman who was MP for a Kent constituency, recounts how the idea for a covenant came about:

Captain James Craig happened to be occupying himself one day at the Constitutional Club in London with pencil and paper, making experimental drafts that might do for the proposed purpose, when he was joined by Mr B.W.D. Montgomery, Secretary of the Ulster Club in Belfast, who asked what he was doing. "Trying to draft an oath for our people at home," replied Craig, and it's no easy matter to get at what will suit." "You couldn't do better," said Montgomery, "than take the old Scotch Covenant. It is a fine old document, full of grand phrases, and thoroughly characteristic of the Ulster tone of mind at this day." Thereupon the two men went to the library, where, with the help of the club librarian, they found a History of Scotland containing the full text of the celebrated bond of the Covenanters ...

Was bragging a characteristic of the Ulster Scot? Was it by bragging that they won Derry Aughrim and the Boyne? SIR EDWARD CARSON. PORTADOWN, 25 SEPTEMBER 1912 The initial idea was simply to adapt the wording of this covenant, but it was soon realised that its language and length made it unsuitable for the present situation. Nonetheless, the idea for a covenant persisted and the task of preparing the text was taken up by Thomas Sinclair. After widespread consultation and input from the Protestant churches, the final wording was agreed and on 19 September 1912 Carson read the text of the Covenant from the steps of Craigavon House.

By this time, it had been agreed that 28 September would be 'Ulster Day' and preparations for marking it were well underway. Throughout Ulster (and beyond) venues for signing the Covenant (and the accompanying Women's Declaration) were identified. In Belfast the Covenant would be signed in the magnificent surroundings of City Hall. In order to raise heighten interest in Ulster Day, an extensive Covenant Campaign was undertaken, starting in Enniskillen and culminating eleven days later in a massive rally at the Ulster Hall in Belfast on the eve of Ulster Day.

You couldn't do better than take the old Scotch Covenant. It is a fine old document B.W.D. MONTGOMERY



ULSTER'S SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT & WOMEN'S DECLARATION

BELFAST COVENANT TRAIL





ULSTER SIGNALLING CORPS MESSAGE READ ALOUD AT SIR EDWARD CARSON'S MEETING IN GLASGOW

This pocket history and trail highlights the role of Belfast in Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant of 1912.

Postcards courtesy of the Desmond Rainey Collection and National Museum of Northern Ireland. Researched & written by the Ulster Historical Foundation.



ULSTER DAY IN BELFAST

he inhabitants of Belfast awoke on 28 September to find a crisp, bright autumn morning. J.L. Garvin, the editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, reported:

It was like another Sabbath. All shops were shut. All work was stopped. From early morning the streets began to fill, and through the surrounding crowds the Orange and other Unionist clubs marched with measured tramping: Belfast democracy had sacrificed its day's pay as a beginning.

Throughout Belfast religious services were held in the morning. The moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. Dr Montgomery, delivered an address at the Assembly Hall, in which he spoke of the roots of most of his listeners: 'The large majority of us here today look back to a Scottish ancestry; we cherish the same faith and hold the same doctrines'. Carson and Craig attended the service in the Ulster Hall and afterwards made their way to City Hall. Here a circular table draped with a Union flag had been set up in the main entrance foyer.

The large majority of us here today look back to a Scottish ancestry REV HENRY MONTGOMERY PRESBYTERIAN MODERATOR

Shortly after noon, flanked by leading Unionists, many of them prominent Belfast citizens, Carson was the first to sign the Covenant, an image that has become one of the most iconic of the day. He was followed by Lord Londonderry and his son Lord Castlereagh and by the leaders of the Protestant churches. Modestly, Craig let others go before him and his is not one of the signatures on the first page.

Carson was the first of some 35,000 men to sign the Covenant in City Hall that day. Positioned along the corridors in the building were enough desks, pens, ink and forms for 540 men to have signed simultaneously. Photographs of the day show huge crowds massed around City Hall in Donegall Square and in the streets leading off it. City Hall remained open until IIpm and afterwards the signed forms were taken to the Old Town Hall, the headquarters of the Unionist campaign.

While the men of Belfast made their way to the City Hall, the women signed the Declaration at a number of venues around the city. During the service at Westbourne Presbyterian Church, 'an earnest appeal was made to the women present to sign the Women's Declaration, with the result that at the close of the service, over 1,300 women appended their signatures to the document'.



n September 1912 Belfast was the epicentre of a massive popular novement determined to challenge the introduction of Home Rule for Ireland. How had this come about?

The beginnings of modern Belfast can be traced to the early 1600s when, under the direction of Sir Arthur Chichester, an urban settlement began to emerge. In the course of the seventeenth century it became largely Scottish in character and strong trading links were established with Scotland. By the middle of the 1600s Belfast had overtaken Carrickfergus as the most important town in east Ulster.

Belfast's growth continued in the 1700s, though steadily rather than spectacularly. One historian has written: 'In the eighteenth century Belfast was a small, predominantly Presbyterian town, not unlike one of the neat burghs of the Scottish lowlands'.

The Scottish character of the town was obvious to newcomers. For example, when a new Surveyor of Excise was appointed to Belfast in 1780 he observed that 'the common people speak broad Scotch, and the better sort differ vastly from us, both in accent and language'. A French visitor in 1797 noted: 'Belfast has almost entirely the look of a Scotch town, and the character of the inhabitants has considerable resemblance to that of the people of Glasgow.'

BELFAST AND SCOTLAND

As Belfast became increasingly industrialised in the nineteenth century so its commercial links with Glasgow and the Clyde became even stronger. When, in 1886, the Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Party, William Gladstone introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons, it sent shockwaves through Belfast's business community. One of the strongest arguments that they put forward against Home Rule was that it would be disastrous for the trade and commerce that her prosperity depended on.

In making good the common history and civil and religious aspirations of the peoples of Scotland and Ulster Sir Edward Carson had a congenial task... the progress of Ulster's capital city has emulated the municipal enterprise of Glasgow itself, and between which so many mutual interests subsist ... GLASGOW HERALD 2 OCTOBER 1912

THE AFTERMATH

n the two weeks after Ulster Day there were further opportunities to sign the Covenant and Declaration at almost 100 locations across Belfast. Among the venues where men unable to take part in Ulster Day were able to sign the Covenant was the Old Town Hall which was open from 9am to 8pm daily until 14 October (except Sunday). On 4 October it was reckoned that another 1,300 men had signed on that day alone. By the end of that fortnight around 130,000 men and women had signed the Covenant and Declaration in Belfast.

Those who signed represented the full spectrum of Unionist society from the aristocrats and business magnates, to the mill workers and shipyard labourers. Even the Belfast rabbi's daughter, Jennie Rosenzweig, signed the Declaration. Some signed in beautiful handwriting, while others simply made their mark. Every signatory was offered a souvenir parchmen containing the words of the Covenant of Declaration. Many of the descendents of these men and women still proudly display these mementos

In Ulster as a whole, the Covenant was signed by 218,206 men and the Declaration by 228,991 women. In addition another 19,162 men and 5,055 women born in Ulster, but living elsewhere signed at various locations throughout Ireland and Great Britain and also in the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa.



Some 17,000 people signed in Scotland, including the iconic Kirkyard of Greyfriars in Edinburgh. Two days after Ulster Day Carson spoke in Glasgow in front of a huge crowd and declared 'Our people in Ulster are your people'. Six Belfast men signed on board HMS Monmouth which was then at Nanking in China, while double that number from Belfast signed on board the Canadian Pacific Liner SS Lake Champlain which was carrying emigrants to Canada.

The huge public support among the Unionists of Ulster for the Covenant did little to dissuade the government from continuing with its policy of Home Rule Realising this, Unionists began to take ever more radical steps and in January 1913 the Ulster Volunteer Force was formed with membership open to those aged between 17 and 65 who had signed the Covenant.

One of the founders of the UVF, Fred Crawford (right), had himself played a prominent role in organising Ulster Day. Proud of his Scottish heritage, he claimed to have signed the Ulster Covenant in his own blood in imitation of an ancestor who had done so on Scotland's National Covenant in 1638.

I belong to this race and claim it with pride. One of my ancestors, the Rev Thomas Crawford, came from Kilbirnie in Scotland FRED CRAWFORD



CRAIG, SINCLAIR & CARSON

he introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1886 split the Liberal Party and the Bill was defeated. In Ulster, the Presbyterians, who were traditionally Liberal, became Liberal Unionists and found common cause with the Anglican gentry with whom they had often disagreed, laying the foundations for modern Unionism Gladstone tried again in 1892-3; this time the Bill was passed by the Commons but was defeated by the Lords.

In 1910, a new Liberal government came to power under H.H. Asquith, but it was dependent on the votes of Irish Nationalists who demanded a third Home Rule Bill as the price for their support. As a result of the 1911 Parliament Act, the Lords could only delay any legislation passed by the House of Commons and the passage of the Third Home Rule Bill seemed inevitable. Unionist opposition to Home Rule was mobilised like never before.

By this time the leadership of Unionism had shifted decisively towards the self-made commercial and professional classes of Belfast and away from the landed gentry. Aristocrats like the Duke of Abercorn and Marquess of Londonderry remained important figureheads, but those who now ran Unionism had honed their leadership skills in business - and, quite often, the army. Exemplifying this new breed of leader was James Craig. A man with great organisational ability, he was a director of the Dunville distillery, had served in the Boer War, and had been the MP for East Down since 1906.

Another key figure in the Unionist leadership is a man now largely forgotten in the public consciousness. Thomas Sinclair was born in Belfast in 1838 and was an outstanding student at RBAI and Queen's. A leading figure in Belfast's business community, he was a generous philanthropist and one of the most prominent lay members of the Presbyterian Church. A well-respected member of the Liberal Party, he declined electoral office, but played a key role as an organiser and thinker. After the party split, he was a leader of the Liberal Unionists and was instrumental in bringing Unionism. He also organised the Great Unionist Convention of 1892. He set forth very clearly the position of Unionism is his essay for the 1912 publication Against Home Rule. More so than perhaps any of his contemporaries, Sinclair was conscious of his Ulster-Scots heritage.

While Craig and Sinclair brought organisational flair and intellectual force to the movement, Unionism's greatest asset was to have a charismatic leader who held an unrivalled place in the hearts and minds of the people. Sir Edward Carson was not from Ulster, though like Craig and Sinclair, he was of Scottish ancestry. A brilliant lawyer and MP for Trinity College Dublin, he had been leader of the Irish Unionist MPs at Westminster since February 1910 and in June 1911 he accepted the leadership of Unionism. An inspirational figure, he brought real gravitas to the role.

1 : CITY HALL DONEGALL SQUARE

Completed in 1906, the City Hall was intended as a monument to the great things that Belfast had achieved and the achievements yet to come. On Ulster Day, it was the focal point of a campaign that had been fought across the British Isles and beyond. Shortly after noon, Carson was the first to sign, followed by the political, religious and commercial leaders of Ulster. Altogether more than 35,000 men and nearly 6,000 women signed in the City Hall. Postcode BTI 5GS | www.belfastcity.gov.uk/cityhall Public tours are available, see website for details

2: ULSTER HALL 34 BEDFORD STREET

The Ulster Hall was opened in 1862. On the eve of Ulster Day, it was the venue for a massive Unionist rally, the culmination of a provincewide campaign of events. At this rally Sir Edward Carson was presented with a silk standard purportedly carried before King William III at the Battle of the Boyne. The next morning, Carson and the Unionist leadership returned to the Hall for a united religious service, before walking the short distance to the City Hall to sign the Covenant. Postcode BT2 7FF | www.belfastcity.gov.uk/ulsterhall Open to the public

3: OLD TOWN HALL **80 VICTORIA STREET**

The Town Hall on Victoria Street was completed in 1871, but within two decades it no longer matched the aspirations of the growing city and it was replaced by the much grander City Hall. The Old Town Hall as it became known acted as the headquarters of Unionism throughout the Ulster Crisis and subsequently became the headquarters of the UVF. On Ulster Day and the two weeks following, more than 11,000 people signed the Covenant and Declaration there. Postcode BTI 3GN | No access for visitors (now part of the Belfast combined courts buildings)

4: ULSTER REFORM CLUB **4 ROYAL AVENUE**

The Ulster Reform Club opened its doors at 4 Royal Avenue on 1st January 1885. Its membership was largely drawn from Belfast's Presbyterian merchant class and the ethos of the club reflected their Liberal Unionist outlook. Thomas Sinclair was a founder member of the Club and Fred Crawford served as Club Secretary. On Ulster Day, after signing the Covenant, the Unionist leaders had lunch at the Reform Club. Later Crawford, Carson and Craig would be made honorary members of the Club. Postcode BTI IDA | www.ulsterreformclub.com A members-only club with no public access

5: ST ANNE'S CATHEDRAL DONEGALL STREET

Standing on the site of the earlier parish church of St Ann, work on the Church of Ireland Cathedral began in 1899. It was eventually completed in 1981. On Ulster Day, a service was conducted by the Bishop of Down and Dromore with the assistance of ministers of other denominations. Lord Carson was the first and only burial in the Cathedral following his death in 1935. He remains the only person in the history of Northern Ireland to receive a State Funeral. Postcode BT12 2HB | www.belfastcathedral.org See website for accessibility details

6: PRESBYTERIAN ASSEMBLY BUILDINGS 2-10 FISHERWICK PLACE

The headquarters of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland was opened in 1905. It's tower is modelled on that of St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh. On the morning of Ulster Day the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. Dr Montgomery, led a service in which he noted: 'The large majority of us here today look back to a Scottish ancestry; we cherish the same faith and hold the same doctrines.' The main Assembly Hall contains a memorial to Thomas Sinclair. Postcode BTI 6DW | www.assemblybuildings.co.uk See website for accessibility details

7 : MUNICIPAL TECHNICAL COLLEGE COLLEGE SQUARE EAST

Popularly known as the 'Belfast Tech', the Institute was opened in 1907 to train local people in the technical skills needed to support the city's great industries. Built in the Baroque Revival style, it bears a striking resemblance to the Old War Office in Whitehall. Following the establishment of the Young Citizen Volunteers (YCV) in 1912, the Tech was used as a venue for the instruction of the recruits, many of whom later fell on the battlefields of France. Postcode BTI 6DL No public access

8: BELFAST CITY CEMETERY FALLS ROAD

Opened in 1869, the City Cemetery was Belfast's first municipal burial ground. Over 225,000 people have been buried there and it contains the last resting places of many of Belfast's most notable citizens. Thomas Sinclair, the man who drafted the Ulster Covenant was buried here in 1914 (section D-9, shown right). His funeral cortege included an escort of 1,000 Belfast UVF men. Gunrunning mastermind Fred Crawford, who is reputed to have signed the Covenant in his own blood, is buried at K-73/4.

Postcode BT12 6EQ | www.belfastcity.gov.uk/citycemetery See website for accessibility details



Ballynafeigh Orange Hall (274;1379) Sinclair Seamen's Presb. (263;586) Mountpottinger Presb. (0;483) Bloomfield Presb. (87;487) Westbourne Presb. (853;2518) Strandtown Presb. (100;100) Kirkpatrick Memorial Presb. (4;0) Ravenhill Presb. (55;80) Knock Presb. (0;70) St Clement's CoI. (126;913) St Columba's Col. (39:108) Ballymacarrett CoI. (0;339) St Mark's CoI. (200;200) St John's CoI. (0;96) M'pottinger Non Sub. Presb. (0;59) Bloomfield Ave Congregational (195;0) Megain Memorial (823;1263) Connsbrook Ave Congregational (200;100) Strandtown Hall (499;691) Sydenham Methodist (130;0) Campbell College (100;0) Craigavon House (0;24) Willowfield Unionist Club (1458;1784)





ULSTER'S SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT & WOMEN'S DECLARATION

BELFAST COVENANT TRAIL





COVENANT: 35.116

COVENANT: 8744 DECLARATION: 5978 DECLARATION: 16,880

COVENANT: 7376 DECLARATION: 14,730

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Castleton Presb. (616;1188) Fortwilliam Presb. (266;700) St Matthew's CoI., Shankill (90;490) St Michael's CoI., Shankill (305;1000) St Mary's Institute CoI. (729;1644) Cliftonpark Baptist (100;200)

BELFAST SOUTH

Sandy Row Orange Hall (2100;1138) Fisherwick Presb. (226;718) Donegall Pass Presb. (49;132) May Street Presb. (0;200) Malone Presb. (0;200) Broadway Presb. (0;700) St Aidan's CoI. (0;2141) St Thomas' CoI. (0;1166) St Nicholas' CoI. (0;277) All Saints School (0;1458) Crescent Church (160;519) Stranmillis (10;0) Old Town Hall (8576; 2634) Reform Club (97;0)

BELFAST WEST

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West Belfast Orange Hall (1047;1557) Woodvale Presb. (0;10) Ballygomartin Presb. (0;200)

Richmond Lo.

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9: CLIFTON STREET ORANGE HALL CLIFTON STREET

The Orange Order was a key element of the anti-Home Rule movement. Halls all over Ulster were used as venues to sign the Covenant and Declaration, including six in Belfast. The hall at Clifton Street, which was erected in 1889, was used as a signing venue on Ulster Day and in the weeks that followed. Altogether 1,144 men signed the Covenant there, while 1,983 women signed the Declaration.

Postcode BT13 IAD No public access

10: SINCLAIR SEAMEN'S PRESBYTERIAN CORPORATION SQUARE

Sinclair Seamen's was founded in 1857 and named in memory of John Sinclair, a well-known Belfast businessman of Ulster-Scots descent. He was a benefactor of the Seaman's Friend Society and the interior of the church is known for its many nautical features. His nephew, Thomas Sinclair, who penned the Ulster Covenant, was the leading Presbyterian layman of his day and treasurer of the congregation for 47 years. 849 people signed Sinclair's document there. Postcode BTI 3AJ | www.presbyterianireland.org Open for church services weekly

11 : PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS STORMONT

Following partition, the first Parliament of Northern Ireland was opened in the City Hall, later moving to the Union Theological College. The Parliament's permanent home was opened on 16 November 1932 by the then Prince of Wales. Lord Carson is immortalised by a bronze statue on the approach to Parliament Buildings. Sir James Craig, who became Northern Ireland's first Prime Minister, is commemorated by a bronze statute in the Great Hall. He was entombed outside the East Entrance following his death in 1940. Postcode BT₄ 3XX

www.niassembly.gov.uk/Visit-and-Learning/Stormont-Estate

12: WESTBOURNE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH 149a NEWTOWNARDS ROAD

Following calls to establish a congregation at the east end of Ballymacarrett, a new congregation called Westbourne was formed. A meeting house was built on the Newtownards Road and opened in 1880. It was known as the 'Shipvard Church' because many of its members worked in the nearby Harland and Wolff shipyard. This was one of the venues for signing the Women's Declaration and after a religious service on Ulster Day over 1,300 women appended their signatures to the document.

Postcode BT4 IAB | www.titanic-people.co.uk Open for church services weekly

13: CRAIGAVON HOUSE 121 CIRCULAR ROAD

Built in 1870 for his father, Craigavon House in east Belfast was the home of James Craig. It was the venue for many gatherings and meetings during the third Home Rule crisis. On 23 September 1911 a massive demonstration was held in its grounds, attracting tens of thousands of Unionists. Almost exactly a year later, on 19 September 1912, Carson revealed the terms of the Ulster Covenant from its steps. Today the building is owned by the Somme Association. Postcode BT4 2NA | No public access www.irishsoldier.org/welcome_craigavon_house.htm

14: FISHERWICK PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH 4 CHLORINE GARDENS

Fisherwick congregation is one of the oldest in Belfast, founded in 1823. Originally in Fisherwick Place, it moved to accommodate the building of Church House. The present building fronting the Malone Road was opened in 1901. To mark the occasion. Fred Crawford. who lived at nearby Cloreen, presented the church with a Bible dating to 1568, which is still on display. A total of 944 people signed the Covenant and Declaration there. Postcode BT9 5DJ | www.fisherwick.net See website for accessibility details

15: BALMORAL SHOWGROUNDS LISBURN ROAD

A huge unionist demonstration was held at the Balmoral Showgrounds on Easter Tuesday 1912, during which the crowd were asked to repeat that 'never under any circumstances will we submit to Home Rule'. More than 100,000 men marched in review past Sir Edward Carson and the Conservative leader and future Prime Minister Andrew Bonar Law, an Ulster-Scot whose father was a Presbyterian minister. The King's Hall was later built at the site, in memory of King George VI. Postcode BT9 6GW | www.kingshall.co.uk See website for accessibility details

16: ST AIDAN'S PAROCHIAL HALL 116 DONEGALL ROAD

The anti-Home Rule movement attracted support from across the Protestant denominations. Around 140 Anglican churches and parish halls were used as signing venues. St Aidan's Church was founded in 1894 following a gospel mission at the Linfield ground and with the support of William Coates, director of the Linfield Weaving Company. On Ulster Day, the parochial hall was used as a venue for women to show their support and more than 2,100 signed the Declaration there. Postcode BT12 5II



Map of Belfast in 1912

COVENANT: 4/66







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