

PRICE 50p
(where sold)



1905 - 2005

Celebrating 100 years of the
Ulster Unionist Council

Brought to you by the

News Letter 

CONTENTS

- **PAGE 3**
Foreword from
UUP leader David Trimble
- **PAGES 4 & 5**
Formation of the UUC
- **PAGES 6 & 7**
Structure of the UUP
- **PAGE 8**
UUP links to Orangeism
- **PAGE 9**
UUP connections to the
Conservative Party
- **PAGE 10**
Home Rule battles
- **PAGE 11**
War and partition
- **PAGES 12 & 13**
War on two fronts
- **PAGES 14 & 15**
Growth and conflagration
- **PAGES 16 & 17**
Talks, protests and a truce
- **PAGE 18**
Fight for peace continues
- **PAGES 19, 20 & 21**
Portraits of leaders
- **PAGES 22 & 23**
Events that changed the
world during the UUP's
first 100 years

News Letter

Editor
Words
Design

**Austin Hunter
Stephen Dempster
Christine Porter**

On March 4, 1905, the News Letter reported the formation of the Ulster Unionist Council

The Belfast News-Letter

VOL. CLXVIII.—NO. 25,923. BELFAST, SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1905. [TWELVE PAGES, ONE PENNY.]

ULSTER UNIONIST COUNCIL

FIRST PUBLIC MEETING.

IRISH ADMINISTRATION CRITICISED.

UNDER SECRETARY'S POLICY.

INDICTMENT OF THE GOVERN- MENT.

THE ULSTER REVOLT.

EVEN-HANDED JUSTICE DEMANDED.

The Ulster Minor Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity yesterday, when the inaugural meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council was held under most auspicious circumstances. Most of the Ulster Unionist members travelled from London to be present; but the Right Honourable Colonel Sanderson, M.P., who is on his way to the Continent, was, of course, unable to aid his colleagues at the initiation of what is certain to be a most useful and important organisation. The delegates met at noon, when the principal business was the election, by ballot, of twenty members of the Standing Committee. Colonel James M. McCalmont, M.P., presided, and the various constitutional associations in the premier province of Ireland were well represented. The following members of Parliament were present—Sir James H. Baskett, Messrs. William Moore, K.C.; John Gordon, K.C.; J. B. Lonsdale, G. W. Wolff, Charles C. Craig, T. L. Corbett, and Thomas R. Sloan. On the motion of Mr. Wm. Moore, the following Unionist candidates for Ulster constituencies were co-opted on the council—Captain James Craig (East Down), Mr. H. Lidwell (West Down), Mr. D. Henry, K.C. (North Tyrone); Mr. G. Featherstonhaugh, K.C. (North Fermanagh); Mr. A. L. Horner, K.C. (South Tyrone); Captain J. R. Smiley (West Belfast), and Mr. W. MacGeagh M'Caw (East Tyrone).

OPEN ASSEMBLY.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS.

INTERESTING SPEECHES.

At half-past two o'clock the public meeting of the council was held—Colonel McCalmont presiding. Several ladies occupied seats in the gallery, and the attendance was so large and representative that the resources of the hall were taxed to their utmost capacity. In addition to the members of Parliament already mentioned, there were present—Right Honourable Thomas Sinclair, D.L.; Right Honourable Thomas Andrews, D.L.; Sir William Quinlan Ewart, Bart., D.L.; Sir James Henderson, D.L.; Sir Robert Anderson, J.P.; Messrs. R. H. Reade, D.L.; R. G. McCrum, D.L.; J. B. Gunning-Moore, D.L.; J. Porter Porter, D.L.; Wm. Chaine, D.L.; E. M. Archdale, D.L.; Anketell Montray, D.L.; Colonel R. H. Wallace, C.B. (Grand Master of the Orangemen of Belfast); Colonel R. G. Sharman-Crawford, D.L.; Colonel R. T. G. Lowry, D.L.; Colonel McNeill, J.P.; Captain Armstrong, D.L.; Captain Cunningham, J.P.; Major McCammond, J.P.; Captain Craig, Rev. R. T. Simpson, Dr. King Kerr, J.P.; Dr. McHarry, Dr. J. J. Adams, J.P.; Dr. George Gibson, J.P.; Messrs. Denis Henry, K.C.; Henry B. Murray, J.P.; G. Herbert Ewart, Wm. Weir, J.P.; John Laird, J.P.; W. T. Braithwaite, F. W. Ewart, Vincent Craig, James N. McCammond, W. G. Anderson, Marshall Coulter, John Boyd, Thomas Henderson, Robert Johnson, Robert Dunlop, John Dugan, John H. Gault, Job Cherry, James Gamble, R. B. Forbes, C. J. Allison, John McCormick, E. Fittis, Robert Tougher, Edward Leach, John Cooke, Samuel Mercer, Wm. Creighton, Jas. Magill, Henry Robertson, Robert McCammond, Jas. Kerr, G. Allen, George A. Condlin, John M. Andrews, George D. Jenkins, Samuel Rainey, William Heasley, William T. Adair, Thomas Mitchell, Alexander Tougher, Thos. Magowan, Charles Robinson, James Hollywood, Arthur W. Stevenson, R. G. Moffet, David Adams, James Young, James Bennett, William Gray, Hugh Martin, Wm. Cavan, Robert Findlater, Wm. J. Stokes, John Donnelly, William Armstrong, Richard Wylie, John M. Johnston, James Maxwell, Samuel Fryer, J. M. Russell, Wm. McLarnon, David Craig, E. S. Jones, J. M. Hagan, J. A. Firth, C. H. Heron, Robert Parsons, John Moore, C. S. Calwell, James M'Mordie, R. H. Kyle, and David Stewart.

The following is a list of the delegates elected as members of the council, and most of them were in attendance:—

Antrim—Right Honourable John Young, D.L.; Captain Armstrong, D.L., Killea; Messrs. R. H. Reade, D.L.; J. Theodore Richardson, D.L.; William Chaine, D.L., Larne; W. H. H. Lyons, D.L.; Robert McKendry, Clough; Hugh McKerrill, Ballymoney; James Morgan, Stroom, Der-voek; Alexander Caruth, son, Ballymena; John Houston, Broughshane; Robert Hanna, Bally-

"For us, Britishness is not just a flag too often waved to annoy others. It is a living, organic relationship with our fellow citizens elsewhere in the kingdom. We are for a big United Kingdom, not just a little Ulster. We embrace British values; we do not hold our national parliament in contempt – even if we do not support all the policies of the government of the day. We want to see Northern Ireland fully involved in all aspects of the life of the nation."

David Trimble



Foreword

from UUP leader David Trimble

WELCOME to this special supplement that marks and celebrates 100 years since the formation of the Ulster Unionist Council, a key event in British and Irish history. Were it not for the UUC, it is no exaggeration to say that there would be no Northern Ireland.

It remains the governing body of the Ulster Unionist Party today, drawing together men and women from all social backgrounds and from every part of Northern Ireland.

Over the course of a century, tactics obviously change but Ulster Unionist objectives remain the same: to secure for the people of this Province the benefits of being part of the United Kingdom and to spread British values among our people.

Our values are important to us. They reflect the best instincts of the Ulster-British people. We prize democracy, in our own party structures and in our governance.

We believe in pluralism and civil liberty too. For us Unionism is not the same thing as Protestantism. We know the Union is in the best interests of all. But we accept difference and understand the need to work in partnership with those from other backgrounds. We want a Northern Ireland where everyone irrespective of religion, gender, race or lifestyle, can feel comfortable and secure and be proud to call home.

Being British is a living, organic relationship with our fellow citizens. We are for a big United Kingdom, not just a little Ulster. We embrace British values and we want to see Northern Ireland fully involved in all aspects of the life of the nation. And that means putting something back in, not just taking what we want out of the Union. At no time has that been more evident than when our country has been at war. Over the last 100 years, Ulster has faced many challenges and turbulent times. At every turn, the Ulster Unionist Council has sought to give leadership.

In the last decade we have had to face Unionism's

greatest political challenge since 1912. Had republicanism succeeded in focusing the pan-nationalist front on the British government – with Unionism marginalised, outside the door and regarded as the problem – then the outlook would have been very bleak. The very Union itself would have been in grave danger.

Today neither Unionism, nor society as a whole, can be content with continued direct rule. For a moment, though, it is worth outlining some of Ulster Unionism's achievements.

From uniting Unionism together into an organised body we spearheaded and successfully mobilised opposition to Home Rule. Had that campaign not been successful, we would now be incorporated in an independent united Ireland run according to values that we do not share.

In 1923, Ulster Unionists established non-denominational state schools and our education act in 1947 revolutionised access to secondary and further education for everyone in Northern Ireland regardless of economic or social background.

We established a Ministry of Health and Local Government in 1944 to clear slums, build new houses and improve health and education.

The annual rate of construction by the Northern Ireland Housing Trust more than doubled in the 20 years after the Ministry was established.

Above all, we faithfully extended the Welfare State to this part of the UK to ensure that no man, woman or child was left behind at times of unemployment, family breakdown or ill-health.

In the 1950s, we provided inducements for the expansion of industrial firms and businesses and improved Northern Ireland's infrastructure.

We successfully attracted outside firms and new opportunities resulting in 3,000 new jobs per year for most of that decade.

At the end of 1960s the Troubles began. So much of the good work to modernise Northern Ireland was undone. The current crisis in our infrastructure is due to the neglect under direct rule.

Many paid the ultimate price for opposing terrorism. Throughout those wasted years, the Ulster Unionist Council remained steadfast, seeking to provide responsible leadership to society when others were only inflaming the situation with their words and actions.

With our security forces, we resisted the onslaught of republican terrorism, just as we had in the 1920s. The republican terror campaign was defeated, not because they themselves had some Damascus Road conversion, but because it was brought home to them that a campaign against the Ulster-British people could not win.

That cessation created new challenges – challenges Ulster Unionists could not run away from. Only by testing the process to destruction were we able to establish that republicans have not been capable of making the necessary transition to peaceful and democratic ways.

It takes responsibility, yes, but also moral and political courage to do all this.

But what of the next century? What of the future of the Ulster Unionist Party? While none of us can see into the future there is one thing of which I can be certain.

The Ulster Unionist Party will, as throughout its history, be ready to meet the challenges it faces. The recent polarisation of Northern Ireland politics has proved to be an unmitigated disaster. The sensible, pragmatic, responsible and persistent Ulster Unionist Party offers the best vehicle to safeguard our place as an integral part of the Union.

Today, next week, in May and long after it Ulster Unionism will continue to seek the best for Northern Ireland.

We have one hundred years of service behind us. The next century before us. We shall go forward together with pride. It is, indeed, a privilege to lead the Ulster Unionist Party in this, our centenary year.

We welcome you and invite you to join us in celebrating our centenary.

Enjoy this very special supplement.

Home Rule and the founding of the UUC

"That an Ulster Unionist Council be formed, and that its objects shall be to form an Ulster union for bringing into line all local unionist associations in the Province of Ulster with a view to consistent and continuous political action, to act as a further connecting link between Ulster Unionists and their parliamentary representatives; to settle in consultation with them the parliamentary policy, and to be the medium of expressing Ulster Unionist opinion as current events may from time to time require, and generally to advance and defend the interests of Ulster Unionism in the Unionist Party."

The resolution which created the Ulster Unionist Council on March 3, 1905.

"Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right."

Conservative Lord Randolph Churchill's speech to an anti-Home Rule rally at the Ulster Hall, Belfast, in 1886.

After the second Home Rule Bill failed, divisions between those who supported the Union resurfaced. The leaders of Unionism wanted to create a strong, united, disciplined movement to ensure the British Government did not go down the Home Rule route again.

The organisers of a meeting to propose founding the Ulster Unionist Council wanted to place unionism on a "war footing".



PROPOSED JOINT WAY FORWARD: William Moore KC MP JP DL

THE Ulster Unionist Party was created 100 years ago, in reaction to the Home Rule crisis which threatened the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

Officially, it was not a party that was founded but a council – the Ulster Unionist Council from which the UUP grew. The actual political party – structured on normal political lines – was in reality not founded until January 1 this year when a series of new rules changed the internal structures of the UUP. The original UUC was constituted as a means of bringing together the many disparate elements of unionism under one umbrella – Orangemen, politicians, Unionist associations, different classes and religious denominations – to strengthen the opposition to the bid to extract Ireland from the Union via the Home Rule movement.

It was also, ironically, established to oppose devolution. Only after partition in 1921 would the UUC truly become a devolutionist party. Home Rule was the dominant British political debate of the second half of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century, before World War One. To Irish Unionists, and Ulster Protestants especially, it threatened the Act of Union of 1801 which put a political stamp on the economic, cultural and ancestral links that existed between the peoples of the British Isles.

Irish MPs led the Home Rule charge in Parliament and 1886 was a pivotal year for the movement – when William Gladstone's Liberals were returned to power and introduced the First Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons. The demands of the Irish Parliamentary Party under Isaac Butt, William Shaw and Charles Stewart Parnell differed from earlier demands for repeal by Daniel O'Connell in the first half of the 19th century. Whereas repeal meant the repeal of the 1801 Act of Union and the creation of an entirely independent Irish state, separated from the United Kingdom,

Home Rule meant a subsidiary parliament under Westminster. The watered-down demands of the Home Rule movement gathered new momentum.

Unionists argued against the idea on a number of grounds, including for economic and historical reasons. But they were ill-prepared for the constitutional battle and their organisation throughout Ireland was basic. That said, in 1886 the Irish Unionist Party was formed in Parliament to oppose Home Rule and was to some extent a precursor to the UUC, as it was the first formal binding together of unionists.

In this period, Unionist became the catch-all name for Conservatives, Liberal Unionists and Irish Unionists. Indeed from the late 1880s through to 1920, Conservatives were more popularly known as Unionists. However both Unionist MPs and associations were divided in a range of ways, including along geographic, class, economic and strategic lines. Though their splits – at a time when Tory Lord Randolph Churchill made his famous "Ulster will fight; Ulster will be right" speech at the Ulster Hall, Belfast – were not disastrous as the first Home Rule Bill never made it through a divided Commons.

There was, however, widespread sectarian rioting in Ulster and 31 people were killed in Belfast during July and August – an indicator of difficult days ahead.

The Second Home Rule Bill

IN 1893, Unionists were better prepared when the second Home Rule Bill was being debated. Following the 1892 Convention, Unionist Clubs were formed all over Ireland but mostly in Northern Ireland. The Liberals passed the Bill in the House of Commons, providing a legislature for purely local matters and Irish representation at Westminster to vote on Irish taxation.



LEADER: the Duke of Abercorn KG PC CB, first President of the Ulster Unionist Council

This was unsatisfactory to Home Rule advocates though and eventually the Bill was defeated in the House of Lords anyway.

Meanwhile, advocates of a constitutional means to Irish Home Rule began to lose ground to the republicans and revolutionaries in the Gaelic League and Irish Ireland, culminating in the founding of Sinn Féin.

After the apparent threat of Home Rule seemed to pass, the Unionist initiatives lapsed and the divisions between those who supported the Union resurfaced.

Indeed, unionists were deeply divided – by past political affiliation (Conservative or Liberal), by social class (landlord and tenant, middle and working class,) and by religious denomination (Church of Ireland, Presbyterian or Methodist). The leaders of Unionism wanted to create a strong, united, disciplined movement in the Province to ensure the Government did not go down the Home Rule route a third time – especially when in 1904 a number of southern Irish landlords suggested another limited form of self-governance for Ireland.

Irish Reform Association

IT was Lord Dunraven, a southern Unionist and landlord, and William O'Brien, a nationalist MP who formed the Irish Reform Association and, along with Sir Anthony MacDonnell, the most senior civil servant in Ireland, devised a "middle way" between the desire for Home Rule and the demand for maintaining the Union. The association's proposals were published in September, 1904. In brief, the idea was that local government powers in Ireland should be increased in order to improve the quality of its administration, particularly by allowing control over expenditure and the creation of a legislative assembly. The scheme was derided in Ulster –

Subordinating minor differences for cause

The UUC was to be spectacularly successful in harnessing and mobilising popular support for the Union, especially during the third Home Rule crisis. It was to become the means of defending the Union for decades to come.

THE Ulster Unionist Council was founded on March 3, 1905, at an historic meeting in the Ulster Hall, Belfast. The new organisation was to be structured in a way which reflected the fact that it was a coming together of a range of Unionist associations, the Orange Order and others. The UUC, it was agreed, would have 200 members:

- 100 members representing the local Unionist associations across Ulster. There were around three dozen associations divided among the nine counties of Ulster. The associations were an amalgam of different groups, such as: Conservative, Liberal Unionist, Loyalist and Constitutional associations, as well as parliamentary committee groups. For example, in Belfast there were six different associations: Belfast Conservative Association, North Belfast Parliamentary Committee, South Belfast Parliamentary Committee, East Belfast Parliamentary Committee, West Belfast Unionist Association, The Ulster Liberal Unionist Association. These groups now banded together under the UUC umbrella.
 - 50 members representing the Orange Institution.
 - 50 members provided by MPs, peers and others.
- The Council was to be headed by the

Unionist Parliamentary Party chairman, Colonel Edward Sanderson – effectively the first Ulster Unionist leader. The day-to-day running of the Council was to be handled by a Standing Committee (and staff), made up of 30 members: 10 members nominated by the Parliamentary Chairman and 20 members from the UUC.

Colonel James McCalmont, MP for East Antrim, chaired the event in the absence of Colonel Sanderson, who was an MP for Armagh. He was recuperating from illness in Bordeaux, France, and sent a message "wishing the proceedings every success".

The Duke of Abercorn was elected President of the Council. Sanderson was named Vice-President.

Dr T H Gibson, BL, was elected Secretary. The Standing Committee included the Duke of Abercorn, Lord Londonderry, the Earls of Erne and Ranfurly, G Wolff MP; the eminent Liberals, Thomas Sinclair and Thomas Andrews (who was later to design the Titanic); the leading Orangemen: Colonel R H Wallace, W H H Lyons and Sir James Stronge; and Colonel Sharran-Crawford, E M Archdale, R H Reade, Sir William Ewart and W J Allen, leaders of industry and commerce.

Landowner and former Fermanagh MP, Archdale became chair of the Standing Committee. A notable absentee was Edward Carson, who was, of course, not from Ulster but was MP for Dublin

notably by the News Letter and the Northern Whig newspapers – but at this point a number of the younger northern Unionist leaders were alarmed, regarding the proposals as "Home Rule by instalments".

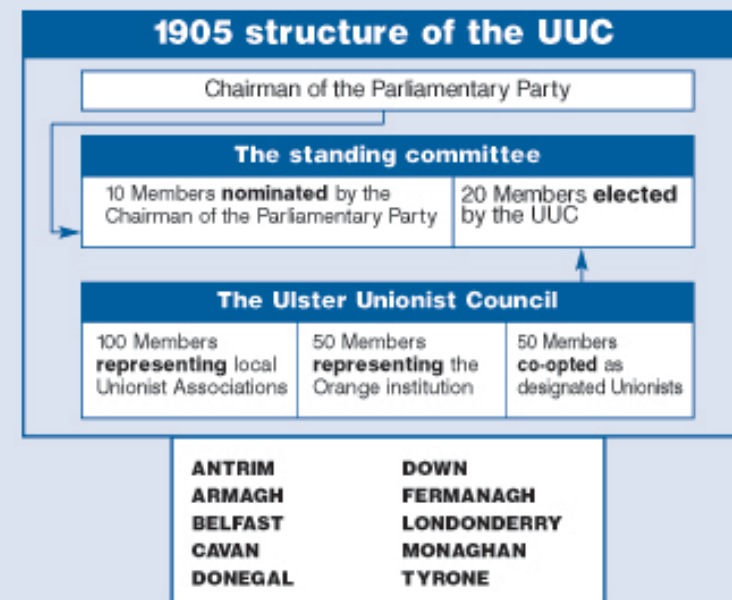
In Dublin, the Irish Unionist Alliance called the initiative "the gravest danger to the Unionist cause". In a statement, the Alliance urged unionists "not to adopt a weak or vacillating attitude on the question of the Union," in the face of this latest plan.

A storm of protest followed and, significantly, the Unionist MPs for North and South Antrim, William Moore and Charles Curtis Craig, had letters published in the News Letter calling for the different elements of unionism to establish a joint way forward. Though they were relatively new and

young MPs, their call did not go unheeded. And it was mainly due to a deep-rooted and shared fear of Home Rule that the differences within Unionism began to be overcome.

Uniting Unionism

THE News Letter welcomed Craig and Moore's letters and, with its support, a conference of Unionist MPs was convened on October 22, 1904, at the Central Hotel, Belfast. The organisers wanted to place unionism on a "war footing" and the plan was to reform the Unionist family so that it would be capable of "continuous political action" and "advancing and defending the interests of Ulster Unionism" at any given moment.



University. Though he was unionist in Parliament, he did not join the UUC until 1910, when he was Chairman of the Parliamentary Party. The stated purpose of the UUC was to draw together all unionist party branches throughout Ulster, help bond Ulster Unionist MPs and their constituents, contribute to the debate over future policy and to provide greater opportunity for the opinion of the broader movement to be expressed.

This body was to direct the policy of Ulster Unionism during the next 15 years – through the Home Rule crisis and the foundation of the State of Northern Ireland.

Speeches at the event were dominated by condemnation of the plans for a diluted form of Home Rule which were emanating from the south of Ireland, through the Dublin Castle administration and even some Irish Unionists – as a compromise designed to appease Home Rulers and Unionists.

But in his look at the inaugural UUC gathering, Ulster Unionist historian Gordon Lucy recently said, "the

establishment of the UUC was of much greater import" than any condemnation of the devolution crisis. He noted that the UUC "overhauled and revitalised" the Unionist organisation – consisting of the Ulster Clubs, Ulster Convention League and Ulster Defence Union – which had generally lapsed after 1895 and the fall of the second Home Rule Bill. Old divisions had resurfaced after 1895, partly on the back of a tenants' rights campaign that disrupted the Unionist movement.

But the UUC passed a motion at the first meeting calling all unionists to close ranks and subordinate "all minor differences to the all-important question of the maintenance of the Union".

Lucy said: "This was something that the UUC was spectacularly successful in achieving."

"Popular support for the Union was harnessed and effectively mobilised, especially during the third Home Rule crisis." The UUC was to become the means of defending the Union for decades to come.

The leader of the Unionists in Parliament, MP Colonel Edward Sanderson, could not be present due to illness. In his absence, East Antrim MP Colonel JM McCalmont took the chair. A resolution was passed condemning Lord Dunraven's plan as "a step, however disguised, towards Home Rule".

More significantly, plans for a second meeting were hatched with a view to forming a central Ulster Unionist Association. The meeting, principally organised by Moore and Craig, took place on December 2, 1904, at the YMCA Minor Hall in Belfast.

The two MPs, it is believed, spent the time before the gathering drafting an outline plan of action, resolution and ideas for a new united Unionist grouping.

Moore made a presentation to the meeting and an all-important resolution was proposed by Sir Daniel Dixon, who was soon to become Conservative MP for North Belfast. The following historic resolution was passed: "That an Ulster Unionist Council be formed, and that its objects shall be to form an Ulster union for bringing into line all local Unionist associations in the Province of Ulster with a view to consistent and continuous political action, to act as a further connecting link between Ulster Unionists and their parliamentary representatives; to settle in consultation with them the parliamentary policy, and to be the medium of expressing Ulster Unionist opinion as current events may from time to time require, and generally to advance and defend the interests of Ulster Unionism in the Unionist Party."

The unique 100-year structure of the UUP

It was a curiosity of the last 100 years that the Ulster Unionist Party did not officially exist. Indeed, until January 1, 2005, there was not even an actual party constitution. And those who have been known as members of the Ulster Unionist Party have really belonged to one of a number of other bodies which were bonded by an affiliation to the real organisation – the Ulster Unionist Council.

The UUP grew out of the UUC for electoral purposes but was never legally created.

Technically, Ulster Unionism was "a movement rather than a party", as Co Antrim writer David Hume put it in his book: *The Ulster Unionist Party 1972-1992*.

The UUC or Ulster Unionism, therefore, has been to a large extent an umbrella under which the different elements of Unionist culture have co-operated over the past century. Among the affiliates have been the various constituency associations, the Orange Order and the Young Unionists.

Until this year, the constituency associations and the other affiliations had a very large degree of autonomy within the UUC.

In 2005, the rules have changed and the party is now centrally controlled from the top – in keeping with normal party political structures.

Among the key changes are that, to be a member of the UUC you must also be a member of the Ulster Unionist Party.

Ironically, under the old system, UUC delegates did not have to be UUP members – for example, a person could be a senior Orangeman, sent to the UUC to represent the Orange Institution but not officially an Ulster Unionist.

Now, rather than being affiliated to the UUP the groups which make up the UUC are becoming "representative bodies" – meaning they will no longer be autonomous and will be under greater control of the UUP leadership. Because of the nature of the historic divisions of Unionism, by necessity the Ulster Unionist Council or Party was for 100 years a more loose and democratic amalgamation.

In 1905, the original council consisted of 200 members – 100 from the associations, 50 from the Orange Order and 50 other MPs, peers and "distinguished Unionists".

In short, all the groups under the umbrella had a say and an input. A Standing Committee of 30 – two-thirds nominated out of the UUC membership – ran the party day-to-day and the chairman of the Parliamentary party was at the head of the organisation – effectively the leader.

This structure was to be remodelled and expanded on a number of occasions over the last 100 years into the shape which is outlined below – though that is also being modified at present.

After 1922 Unionist leaders felt it desirable to demonstrate the unity of all the Protestant people in supporting the link with Britain and the composition of the Council changed again; by 1925, it had a membership of 508.

Each of the 28 divisional associations sent 10 Unionist and four Orange representatives, as did associations in Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan. Queen's University Unionist Association sent 10; the Apprentice



FACING THE FACTS: Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble takes questions at a Press conference after an Ulster Unionist Council meeting debated whether to end power-sharing with Sinn Féin

Boys four and the Ulster Liberal Unionist Association, Unionist Clubs Ireland, the Ulster Unionist Labour Association and the Ulster Women's Unionist Council 12 each. In 1911, the elected membership of the UUC was raised to 370 and included representatives from the Unionist Clubs and the Apprentice Boys of Derry.

In 1918, representatives of the women's associations were added, bringing the total membership to 432.

In 1929, when proportional representation for Northern Ireland parliamentary elections was abolished, representation on the Council was again reorganised to give six members for each of the 48 constituency associations and a further six each for the three counties outside Northern Ireland.

For the most part, despite internal tensions and divisions which exist in any political grouping, the UUC model worked.

However, splits after the Belfast Agreement which led to policy debates, leadership challenges and a string of impromptu UUC crisis meetings, highlighted the flaws in the system – and, in particular, the lack of a central party control.

Running the UUP

WHILE the UUC had until recently been the Ulster Unionist Party in name, the day-to-day running has been handled by UUP headquarters, the leader, the party executive and the party officers for many years.

The revised constitution has been designed to simply make the structure more efficient.

The UUC meets annually and elects the leader of the party and party officers.

The Party Leader

UNLIKE in 1905, when the leader was effectively the head of the Parliamentary Party at Westminster and the Chairman of the UUC, today's leader is elected as just that: the leader of the overall party. He leads the party at Westminster and Stormont and sits on all the decision-making bodies in the organisation.

Party Officers

THE 13 party officers include President of the Council, Chairman, Vice-Chairman, four Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer and four Honorary Secretaries.

Meetings take place regularly in party headquarters with the party leader. The officers are effectively the UUC's or UUP's board of directors. They make sure that the party is running efficiently and that Ulster Unionist Council and executive committee decisions are being adhered to.

They also deal with operational matters, fund-raising, membership and day-to-day internal party management.

Party Executive

THE Executive Committee is the main policy-making body within the party.

It endorses and confirms party policy, which is formulated under the authority of the party leader.

The Executive has around 120 members and meets approximately six times a year.

The membership, which is drawn exclusively from delegates to the UUC, includes elected representatives, peers

and delegates from all the Constituency Associations and affiliated bodies.

The Executive's Chairman, who is, in effect, party chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Assistant Honorary Treasurer are elected annually at the Annual General Meeting of the Executive Committee and are members of the officer team.

UUP headquarters

THE Ulster Unionist Council has employed a full-time professional organisation since 1905.

Today, the UUP's headquarters are at Cunningham House, east Belfast – the base for its main operations, administration and clerical staff. The party moved to the premises in May, 2002.

Prior to that, the headquarters had been based in Glengall Street, Belfast since July 1926.

The old HQ in the heart of the city survived many bombings during the Troubles.

It was also the venue for many historic meetings and key occasions in Northern Ireland's short lifetime.

There are also UUP offices in Westminster, Stormont, Brussels and Washington.

The UUP's elected representatives have offices in all 18 constituencies.

The UUC

FOR a century, the UUC was at the heart of the Ulster Unionist structure – the ultimate judge on policy and decision making.

In recent times, the UUC has consisted of approximately 900 delegates (a figure which sometimes is quoted as 858 or 860-plus).

The members or delegates have been

selected or reselected annually by the UUP constituency associations and affiliated bodies who send their representatives to the UUC. The greatest number of UUC delegates come from the delegates of the 18 Westminster Parliamentary Constituency Associations.

Delegates have also come from affiliated groups: the Orange Order, the Ulster Young Unionist Council, the Ulster Women's Unionist Council and the Ulster Unionist Councillors Association.

During the last century, other groups also sent members to the UUC – the Queen's University Ulster Unionist Association, the Ulster Unionist Labour Association and the Apprentice Boys, ties which have since been broken.

Elected representatives are also council members.

As of March, 2005, there were five MPs, one MEP, 24 MLAs and 148 Councillors, as well as eight Peers in the House of Lords.

Affiliated bodies

The Orange Order

THE Orange Institution has arguably been the most contentious grouping within the UUC over the last 100 years and its affiliation has been under review in recent years – to the point where it could be broken soon.

Discussions have been going on with a view to creating an Ulster Unionist grouping within the Orange Order, rather than having the Institution as a whole affiliated to the UUC. This would mean the Orangemen concerned would have to be UUP members.

There are those within the UUP and the Orange, however, who argue that the Institution does not or should not have a role to play in any modern political party.

It has also been noted that many Orange members may actually vote for other political parties, like the DUP. And there are UUP members who have been concerned that the relationship does not promote a proper image of the party.

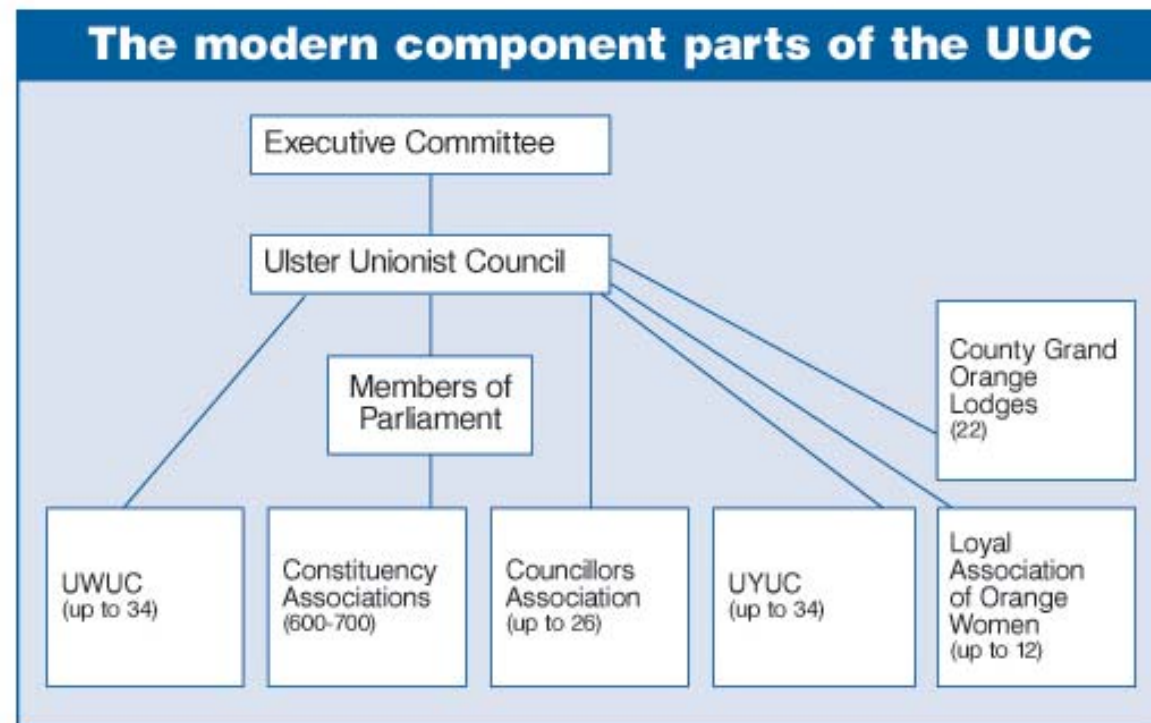
That said, the cultural and historic ties between Orangemen and Ulster Unionism are deep.

When the UUC was formed, it was partly with the intent of harnessing the Orange Institution's power and influence and it was leading Orange figures who became the hierarchy of the UUC, including first party leader Colonel Edward Sanderson.

To this day, indeed, many of the UUP MPs, MLAs, Councillors, Officers and Executive are members of the Orange Order, including leader David Trimble. The Order has in recent years had 14 places on the UUP Executive and 134 places on the UUC, though its representation could be argued to be much larger, given that many members not selected as Orangemen or women are also members of the Order.

The Ulster Young Unionist Council

THE Young Unionists have for decades been influential within the UUP/UUC and a breeding ground for many of Northern Ireland's leading unionist figures and new thinking in the ranks.



Well before the Young Unionists, there were other attempts at establishing a youth wing.

As far back as 1924, the Junior Imperial Constitutional League came into the UUC.

It did not last, however, and there were other failed initiatives until, in 1944, it was agreed to establish youth branches of the local Unionist associations.

This move then led to the founding of a permanent youth wing, the UYUC in 1946.

Brian Faulkner, later UUP leader and Prime Minister, was the first UYUC chairman.

Unionist writer Dr David Hume noted that, from 1946 until the mid-1960s, the UYUC was the "forward-looking section of the party".

The UYUC has been allowed to send members to the Executive and the UUC.

More importantly, perhaps, the UYUC has been an apprenticeship for many who have gone on to be prominent UUP figures in local politics and at Westminster.

It was also at the forefront of the battle against the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

In 1986, the group staged a march from Londonderry to the Maryfield complex in east Belfast (home to the Anglo-Irish governmental secretariat) – reminiscent of an old civil rights march – and attempted to storm the gates.

It also published the New Agenda policy document, arguing that mainland political parties should organise in the Province, as in the rest of the UK.

In this period, now Lagan Valley MP Jeffrey Donaldson was chairman. Not unlike the senior ranks of the UUP, the UYUC has also in the past formed links with the Young Conservatives – though Tory links were the subject of heated debate in the youth ranks in the mid-1980s and the UYUC

disaffiliated from the Federation of Conservative Students. In the late 1990s, after a settled period, the UYUC was again in the spotlight, this time in opposition to the Belfast Agreement.

Taking a much more hardline approach than the UUP leadership, its members were largely anti-Agreement in nature.

A series of internal disputes on the matter and defections to the DUP or simply out of politics eventually led to the UYUC being wound up for a short time.

However, last year it was resurrected with new members and a new leader, 23-year-old Down Councillor Peter Bowles, and has shown signs of a resurgence.

The Ulster Unionist Councillors' Association

THE Councillors' Association was established to "provide a collective voice for Ulster Unionist Councillors and Councils".

This voice could convey thoughts and concerns from the lower tier of local government to the party leadership. It could also promote the principles and aims of the party and advise its members.

Between 1972 and 1998, councillors were the only locally elected politicians – aside from the MPs at Westminster – and, therefore, a critical point of contact with the people, as well as a crucial voice of Unionist opinion.

In the absence of an Assembly, for many years local council chambers provided a platform for UUP members (often in alliance with DUP colleagues) to voice their concerns and indeed protest.

This was at no time more evident than during the Ulster Says No campaign of the mid to late 1980s, when unionist-dominated councils staged

adjournment protests or erected No banners at council offices.

Officially, the Councillors' Association has only sent a very small figure to the UUC but, in truth, fairly large numbers are UUC delegates, sent by their respective constituency associations.

The Ulster Women's Unionist Council

THE Ulster Women's Unionist Council remains an active part of the UUC, with regular meetings at the party's Cunningham House headquarters, though its role is principally as a fund-raiser.

However, there are those who would argue that the UWUC is outmoded, in an era where women are supposed to compete with men on an equal basis – though female representation has not always been high in the UUP ranks.

The UWUC was formed in 1911, though women had an input within unionism in a variety of ways prior to that time.

United We Stood, The Story of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council, by Nancy Kington, notes that the UWUC was "destined to have considerable influence on the Unionist Party, was to play an important role in the activities of the Ulster Volunteer Force (1912-1914) and was to provide comfort and help for thousands of servicemen and their families in World War One".

Indeed, it was in the early years that the UWUC seemed most overtly active, even sending women to mainland Britain in the years 1912-14 to promote the unionist cause at hundreds of meetings.

The UWUC also published a monthly magazine, the Ulsterwoman, for a time which at its height sold 11,000 copies per edition.

In 1972, the UWUC was responsible for collecting 95,000 signatures for a peace petition.

Beneficial strength of Orange connections

"I have always said I am an Orangeman first and a politician and Member of Parliament afterwards"

Sir James Craig, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, in 1934

"I am delighted to have behind me the great Orange Order"

John M Andrews, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, in 1941

"Indeed, I am proud to be in the (Orange) Order and those criticising it know nothing about it"

Major James D Chichester-Clark, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, in 1969

"The Orange Institution is simply a pressure group which is concerned to see that the Ulster Unionist Party remains firm on the Constitution"

Rev Martin Smyth, Grand Master of Ireland (1972-1996)

"There are a few Orange brethren who feel that we are exclusively a religious Order. While I agree that we are mainly a religious body, the Order has been in the front rank for generations in preserving our constitutional position. The Orange ritual lays it down that it is the duty of Orangemen to support and maintain the laws and constitution. It is fundamentally important that we should continue to do so for, if we lost our constitutional position within the United Kingdom, 'civil and religious liberty for all', which we are also pledged to support would be endangered."

John M Andrews, Grand Master of Ireland, in 1950

"The Orange Order took on a distinctively Unionist flavour when Home Rule threatened in the 1880s. The effective beginning of the Ulster Unionist Party was a meeting of seven Orangemen, elected as MPs at Westminster in 1886"

WD Flackes and Sydney Elliot (From Northern Ireland. A Political Diary)

BILLY KENNEDY traces the distinctive Orange links which have characterised Ulster Unionism in the 100 years of its existence. He also looks back at Ulster Unionist connections with the Conservative Party

THE Orange Institution's links with the Ulster Unionist Council date back to the Council's inception in 1905 and at times of crisis for unionism in Northern Ireland they have proved beneficial. There is now considerable debate within both unionism and Orangeism about the relationship between the Orange Institution and the Ulster Unionist Council and there is current speculation that the link may be broken, or loosened to provide both organisations with the space to develop their separate agendas. However, both the Ulster Unionist Council and the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland hold totally compatible views on the absolute need to maintain the Union and preserve Northern Ireland's position within the United Kingdom. Many of the key figures at the meeting to constitute the Ulster Unionist Council were also senior Orangemen.

The March 3, 1905, meeting was under the chairmanship of Colonel James McCalmont, MP for East Antrim and a Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. And 50 members of the 200-strong UUC were nominated from the Orange Institution.

The first leader of the party, Sir Edward Sanderson, whose statue stands in the centre of Portadown, was also a Deputy Grand Master of Ireland and the Deputy County Grand Master of Cavan. This first UUC included Orangemen of the day such as: The Earl of Erne (Grand Master of Ireland and County Master of Fermanagh); Colonel Robert H. Wallace, D. L. (Deputy Grand Master), Walter H. H. Lyons, D. L. (Deputy Grand Master), Edward M. Archdale (Deputy Grand Master), Sir James Stronge (Deputy Grand Master and County Master of Armagh) and William J. Allen (Deputy Grand Master of Armagh). Unionist clubs, formed in 1893 by Viscount Templeton, Castle Upton, Templepatrick, spread with great rapidity across Ulster and were in existence even in the southern Irish counties and on the British mainland. More than 100 clubs existed. By the 1920s, the representation of Orange lodges was provided for



HONOURING FALLEN: former Grand Master and UUP MP Martin Smyth (centre) with Orange Grand Treasurer Mervyn Bishop (left) and Belfast Grand Master Dawson Baile

separately on a county basis, according to membership: Belfast 36, Down 20, Antrim 16, Armagh 12, Tyrone 12, Fermanagh 8, Londonderry 8, City of Londonderry 4, Monaghan 4, Cavan 4 and Donegal 4. Total 128. During the period of the Stormont Parliament (1921-72), the representation on the Ulster Unionist Council from the loyal orders was as high as 138 - 122 from the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, 10 from the Association of Loyal Orangewomen and six from the Apprentice Boys of Derry. The vast majority of Unionist MPs during the 51-year period of the Stormont Parliament were members of the Orange Order. Of the 95 who never received cabinet rank until 1969-87 (including one woman) were members of the Order. The remaining eight were women and three were elected for the first time in 1969. Only three members of the cabinet during this period were not Orangemen and three others who left

the Institution later. Every Stormont senator during the 1921-68 period was an Orangeman, except the one woman senator. Of the 56 members of the Westminster parliament in the same period, all but two (both women) were lodge members. Every Prime Minister of Northern Ireland during the period 1921-72 was an Orangeman. An estimated 35 of the 60 unionist members returned to the Northern Ireland Assembly in June 1996 were Orange Order members. More than 40 of the 59 MLAs (UUP and DUP) elected in November, 2003, are lodge members. Eight of the 11 current unionist MPs also have Orange affiliations. Of the present executive of the Ulster Unionist Party, an estimated 80 per cent are understood to have direct or indirect links to the Orange Order. On the present Ulster Unionist Council, there is a similar Orange membership percentage.

Unionist/Orange tradition

- The Orange hall has traditionally been the meeting place for the constituency Ulster Unionist associations and branches across Northern Ireland.
- Under the rules of the Ulster Unionist Council from 1905, the Orange Order is entitled to representation on the Council and on the party's executive committee. All Orange delegates must
- also be members of local constituency associations.
- The rules of the Ulster Unionist Council can only be changed by consent of two-thirds of its membership.
- Resolution from County Armagh Grand Lodge approved by Grand Lodge of Ireland in December, 1921: "Returning thanks to Sir James Craig and his colleagues for the firm

- stand they are making for the liberties of Northern Ireland. That we are quite unable to believe that any concession on our part could make Sinn Féiners into loyal men, and we refuse to sell or surrender our British nationality."
- From minutes of Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland 1901-1910: nine delegates were annually elected from the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland to the general

- committee of the Irish Unionist Alliance, with three on the Alliance's audit and finance committee.
- Minute from meeting of Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland December 7, 1910: "That the Grand Lodge of Ireland give every assistance to the sub-committee for practical purposes, recently formed by the Ulster Unionist Council."

Official link with Tories fades out

THE Conservative Party in the United Kingdom carries the title of Conservative and Unionist Party but, for the past 30 years, Ulster Unionism has not had an official link to the Tories.

From its formation in 1905, the Ulster Unionist Party was an affiliated body to the British Conservative Party, just like unionists in Scotland. But the first signs of real tension between the parties came in 1970 when the Edward Heath-led Tory Government was pursuing policies which were totally at variance with those of the Ulster Unionist MPs. The influence of the late Enoch Powell on Ulster Unionism of the mid-1970s was another factor which moved the party away from mainland Conservative thinking. Powell had distanced from the Tories over fundamental policy differences and, joining the Ulster Unionist Party, he became South Down MP in 1974.

The UUP MPs relinquished the Tory whip at Westminster in 1972, largely due to Edward Heath's hostility to their interests, and the final break came in 1975 when the Ulster Unionist Council ceased its affiliation to the National Union of Conservatives.

Hitherto, the dozen or so Ulster Unionist MPs had loyally taken the Conservative whip in votes in the Commons and in the Lords and UUP delegates attended Tory party conferences. But there were other strains, none the least the fact that several Ulster politicians, notably the late Harold McCusker and John Carson, had much more in common with Labour than with the Tories. Ulster Unionism's historic links with the Conservative Party were first given impetus with a memorable appearance by Tory grandee Lord Randolph Churchill, father of Sir Winston, at an enthusiastic anti-Home Rule rally in the Ulster Hall, Belfast on February 22, 1886.

On that occasion, Churchill was accused of playing the "Orange card", but he was unrepentant, telling cheering Ulster Protestants that they should go beyond the "lines of what we are accustomed to look upon as constitutional action". Later, in May of that year, Churchill even more defiantly proclaimed that "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right".

The Tory leader at the time, the Marquis of Salisbury (Lord Cranbourne), a deeply committed unionist, lauded Randolph Churchill to an audience of Conservatives for his "brilliantly successful effort to raise the Protestants of Ulster to a sense of their danger". These were dangerous times for unionism with the advent of the Gladstone-led Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, but



HOSTILITY: Edward Heath



INFLUENCE: the late Enoch Powell



NON-TORY: the late Harold McCusker



STRAINS: John Carson



CREDENTIALS: Margaret Thatcher



POST: the late Harold Macmillan

the Ulster people had friends in high places, particularly in the Conservative Party, as events would unfold over the several decades leading to the formation of Northern Ireland as a state in 1921. Prime Minister in the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher considered herself a unionist, but the majority population in Northern Ireland strongly disputed her credentials on this score when she signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement along with Irish premier Dr Garret FitzGerald at Hillsborough Castle in November, 1985. To many unionists, Margaret Thatcher was no different from Edward Heath when it came to Northern Ireland and, although she

lost close party colleagues - Airey Neave and Ian Gow, murdered by republican terrorists, Thatcher lost the confidence of the Protestant and unionist people. A number of leading Conservatives down the years had direct Ulster family links. Andrew Bonar Law (1858-1923), son of a Presbyterian minister with Coleraine connections, was of Canadian-Ulster stock and served as Prime Minister for a short time from 1922-23. Conservative Party chairman for two years in 1995-97 was Belfast-born Sir Brian Mawhinney, who was at the Northern Ireland Office for a spell. Several occupants of hereditary Ulster titles, Lord Londonderry and

Lord Castlereagh, occupied cabinet posts in Conservative governments in the early part of the 20th century. In the 1960s/1970s, two Ulster Unionist MPs Sir Knox Cunningham (South Antrim) and Sir Robin Chichester-Clark (Londonderry) held posts in Conservative governments. Sir Robin Chichester-Clark, younger brother of Northern Ireland Prime Minister James Chichester-Clark, was minister of state for employment in 1972-74, while Sir Knox Cunningham was a parliamentary secretary in the Harold Macmillan government of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

1905-1921: the time for battle arrives...

Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant Being 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

Ulster Day, Saturday 28th, September, 1912.

GOD SAVE THE KING

THE Ulster Unionist Council's first challenge came in 1910, when plans for a third Irish Home Rule campaign were hatched. The problem for unionism was that Hubert Asquith's Liberal Party had retained power but with a narrowed majority which required the support of the Irish Parliamentary Party, led by John Redmond, in order to establish a government.

As in the late 1800s, when Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone was dependent on nationalist support for his government, the price Asquith was to pay was the introduction of a third Home Rule bill to the House of Commons.

In the past, unionists had depended on the House of Lords to reject Home Rule but a change to the law, under the 1911 Parliamentary Act, meant that the Lords could no longer simply veto proposed legislation.

With their rights threatened as never before, Ulster Unionists warned they would be forced to resort to extra-Parliamentary means to express their relentless opposition to Home Rule. It did not appease Unionists in any way to know that Asquith himself was not even a Home Rule supporter and was only bowing to nationalist pressure to maintain his own position. Indeed, in 1902, Asquith had said: "Is it to be part of the policy and programme of our party that, if returned to power, it will introduce into the House of Commons a bill for Irish Home Rule? The answer, in my judgment, is no."

This view was echoed by colleagues like Winston Churchill but the Liberals were in no position to bargain.

Ironically, with so many Liberals lukewarm towards Home Rule and Unionists and Conservatives opposed, it could be argued that the Commons – in a free vote, without party interference – would stop Home Rule. But Redmond, who knew exactly where he stood with the Liberals, used his position cannily.

By 1911, tension was building. In Parliament, the Ulster Unionists were led by Sir Edward Carson; overall, the Unionists (who as a group included the Conservative Party) were led by Tory leader Arthur Balfour. In April, 1912, they were put on red alert by the introduction of the new Home Rule Bill to Parliament. It proposed that purely Irish questions would be dealt with by an Irish Parliament.

It also proposed an Irish police force. Unionists viewed it as the first step towards ending the Union.

Some Unionists, like George Wyndham, believed that they had every reason to use every means at their disposal to stop Home Rule in its tracks – including using the Army to stop Asquith! He said: "(The Tories and the King) have the money, the Army and the Navy and the Territorials, all down to the Boy Scouts."

"Why then should they consent to a change in the constitution without fighting?"

Within the ranks of the Ulster Unionists, his words were being acted on.

The UUC had been constituted in March, 1905, as a means of bonding the different elements together for any potential threat to the Union. The time for battle had arrived.

Ulster Resistance

AT home in Ulster, the red alert had been flashing since 1910 and active resistance was being mobilised by the UUC.

In January, 1912, Unionists had even begun to openly raise and train a military force which became known as the Ulster Volunteers.

Ulster Unionists Carson and James Craig (the Unionist MP for East Down) were the political figureheads of the movement.

Carson had reservations about the military training but Craig was a strong proponent of the need for maintaining discipline among their followers – partly for propaganda value, to convince public opinion at home and abroad of the solidarity, determination and self-control of unionism in the face of the Home Rule threat.

In April, 1912, as the Bill came into Parliament, a huge demonstration involving around 200,000 people was held in Belfast, with a march to Balmoral.

Among the massive contingent were members of the groups which made up the UUC, including the Orange Order and the Unionist Clubs.

Ulster Unionism was boosted that day by the presence of a large body of English and Scottish Tory MPs – including the Tory leader, Bonar Law. Carson told the demonstration: "We have one object in view, and that is the object of victory, and we are going to win."

He warned the Government that "you have treated us with fraud, if necessary we will treat you with force".

In a nod to the future, Ulster Unionists ensured that full propaganda value was obtained from Bonar Law's presence and the whole demonstration: newspaper reporters were given telegraph facilities; a special observation platform gave photographers an uninterrupted view of the leaders and of the crowd. However the most famous outpouring of Unionist opinion came in September 1912.

IN August local newspapers had announced that September 28 would be Ulster Day – a day when unionists would dedicate themselves to a Covenant or pact to defend the Union.

Over 11 days in September, James Craig masterminded a series of meetings across Ulster to organise the event.

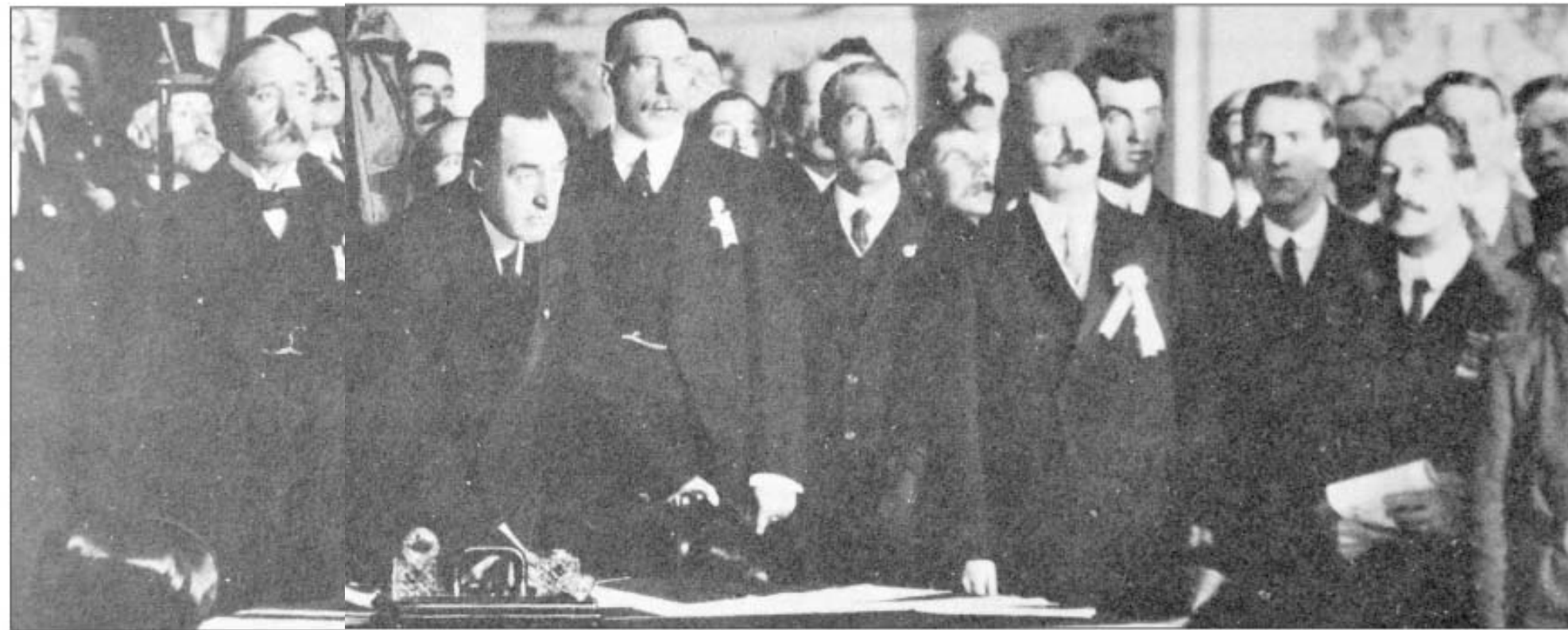
They began in the west, in Enniskillen – sweeping east across the country.

On 23 September, the UUC passed a resolution pledging itself to the Covenant – a solemn and binding oath of resistance to Home Rule and dedication to the Union.

It was decided that the Covenant should be presented to the public, to sign, and a central Ulster Day Committee was appointed to organise the task of obtaining as many signatures as possible at various centres throughout Ulster.

The Committee was headed by Dawson Bates, Secretary of the UUC, Colonel TWP McCammon of the Orange Order and Captain Frank Hall representing the Unionist Clubs. More than 500 halls across the Province were made available.

On September 25, 700 large cardboard boxes containing copies of the



ULSTER DAY: signing the covenant

is Edward Carson and fellow Ulster unionists sign the Ulster Covenant

Pictures: Public Records Office NI

Covenant and the Declaration, for display in halls, along with forms for signing, were sent out from Belfast's Old Town Hall.

By the end of September 28, more than 450,000 people in Ulster had signed the Covenant.

The oath was drafted by Thomas Sinclair, a Belfast merchant and leader of Ulster Liberal Unionism, which had broken with the Liberal Party on the Home Rule issue.

THE wording of the bond was based on the Scottish National Covenant of 1638.

Those who signed pledged "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 Dublin".

Ulster Volunteer Force

IN January, 1913, the Ulster Volunteer Force – an illegal militia – was officially established, consisting of 100,000 men who had signed the Covenant.

Bonar Law pledged his support. And Ulster Unionist leader, Carson became the founding father and figurehead of the UVF though he had his reservations.

James Craig, however, actively encouraged the UVF. However, in November, 1913, the Irish Volunteers, supporting Home Rule, were set-up in the south.

In 1914, with the Home Rule Bill still proceeding, the UVF smuggled rifles into Larnie.

As tension in Ulster threatened to boil over, the Commons passed the Bill. The Lords, unable to stop it, modified the legislation by excluding Ulster from its provisions.

The Commons then voted to allow Ulster to vote itself out of Home Rule for six years.

There was by now the beginnings of acceptance by Carson and others that maintaining Ulster's place in the Union may have to be the best the resistance could hope for.

But whether it was to be compromise or civil war would never be known because, as the Bill was given Royal Assent, World War One broke out and the law was suspended until such times as the global conflict had ended.

World War One

THE men who were formed into the UVF, with the assent of the UUC, suddenly found themselves jettisoned towards another type of war. They included the 36th (Ulster) Division, comprised of UVF, Ulster Covenant signatories.

They showed extraordinary bravery on July 1, 1916, when they attacked the German lines at the start of the Battle of the Somme.

Thousands died. Many Irish volunteers also fought and died – including Home Rulers who believed they had a patriotic duty.

But at home, while attention was on foreign lands, at Easter 1916 republicans led a rising in Dublin which cost 450 lives and resulted in the execution of 15 of their leaders.

Prime Minister Lloyd George was minded to appease republicanism at this time but was opposed by, among

other in his government, former UUC leader Walter H Long. And when the war was over, the Irish question returned, almost as if nothing had happened.

Partition of Ireland

THE Irish Volunteers (soon to be renamed the Irish Republican Army) started a violent campaign for independence in 1919.

And it could be argued that at this stage, after four years of war and heavy losses, Unionism had lost some of its momentum.

But there was also growing acceptance or belief in Unionism that Ulster would remain in the Union and Ireland would be partitioned.

The Government responded to new Irish pressure by admitting that the 1912 bill was out-of-date and devised a new Home Rule Bill for 1919. This stated that Ireland would govern itself within the Empire but in two separate parts – the south, and the six counties of the north (which was most, though not all, of the old province of Ulster). The idea of Ulster being subjected to Home Rule in six years was dropped. A compromise was being reached.

A committee, chaired by Walter H Long, drafted the Government of Ireland Bill which was passed in 1920. Carson, still the Unionist leader, condemned the Act but accepted that Ulster had been "saved".

In 1921, he stepped down as UUP leader and proposed James Craig as his obvious successor.

The new Unionist leader was to face the mighty task of governing a new country.



MASS OPPOSITION: the Ulster Day rally at Belfast City Hall – September 28, 1912

1921-60: growth - but a war on two fronts

THE Government and Parliament of Northern Ireland was opened by King George V and Queen Mary on June 22, 1921, in Belfast City Hall.

Owing to the Government's reluctance to consolidate the new state, however, it was unable to act independently, in accordance with the Government of Ireland Act, until February, 1922.

In the interim, there seems little doubt that London was attempting to reach accommodation with Sinn Féin, amid an IRA onslaught on Northern Ireland which - with the connivance of Michael Collins and other republican leaders - resulted in severe inter-communal violence and a rise in the killing rate in the first half of 1922.

Meanwhile, Ulster Unionists' distrust of the Boundary Commission strained relationships with the Conservatives who, in coalition with the Liberals under Lloyd George, had allowed the changes of recent times to occur.

The coming to power of the old ally, Tory leader Bonar Law, in 1922, did not radically alter the situation either, as he was more concerned with maintaining his own party's integrity and appeasing public opinion in Britain.

In 1923, Bonar Law gave way to Stanley Baldwin and life under Labour became more difficult for the unionists.

Aside from the link with the rest of the UK, Ulster was now looking internally. Among the early challenges, the Unionist government battled to maintain the level of social services such as unemployment benefit, old age pensions and health insurance in line with Britain.

Meanwhile, the first Minister of Education, Lord Londonderry - a passionate advocate of integrated schooling - tried to overhaul the old system of clerically-managed schools. The resultant Education Act of 1923 thus bore a secular stamp. However, the anomaly of the continuation of Catholic schools, which received state aid while retaining control of their property in the educational system, aroused Protestant Church and Orange Order opposition resulting in an amendment Act in March, 1925.

The first level of anxiety among the Unionist leadership was of the dangers of splits and factions within the party. The threat of independent Unionists splitting the vote, resulting in control by the nationalists, was ever present.

The 1930s' depression

Unemployment took a stronger grip. The Ulster Unionist Labour Association pressurised the government, as the Poor Law Guardian, to increase payments, which were the lowest in the United Kingdom.

John Miller Andrews' leadership role in the Ulster Unionist Labour Association was instrumental in keeping working-class unionists within the party.

But, by the 1930s, the Northern Ireland Labour Party, led by Harry Midgley, was modelling itself on British Labour and fastening itself on the practical details of social and economic reform. The Unionist government of Lord Craigavon (Sir James Craig), spanning the years from the foundation of the State in 1921 to his death in 1940, adopted a step-by-step approach to



LATE 1950s: Lord Brookeborough presides at a Cabinet meeting

administrative devolution and attempted as far as possible to promote the British identity of the state.

British loyalty was combined with a celebration of the distinctiveness of Ulster and its local achievements. This was exemplified by the opening of Parliament Buildings at Stormont in 1932, the unveiling of Carson's statue there and his state funeral in 1935.

The close relationship between the Ulster Unionist Party and the Belfast Press was also central to the maintenance of a communal self-image and emphasised the development of Southern Ireland as a Roman Catholic state to which Protestants could never fully belong.

In 1937 Eamon De Valera produced a new Irish constitution. The name of the Irish Free State was changed to Eire and, in Articles Two and Three, placed a territorial claim on Northern Ireland.

World War Two

The Ulster Unionist Council report for 1940 paid tribute to Craigavon, who died that year, as "a great Ulsterman, a great Irishman and a great Imperialist". Ulster saw in him an epitome of itself.

There was a warm welcome for new party leader and Prime Minister John M Andrews. The report also contained a resolution to refrain from political activities for the duration of the war, as well as condemnation of the neutral position adopted by Eire in the fight against the Nazis.

In 1939, the IRA had embarked on a bombing campaign in England as they tried to gain assistance from Nazi Germany. Eamon de Valera also continued his economic, social and cultural offensive against Northern Ireland.

In April and May, 1941, as the price of its loyalty to the British Empire, Belfast endured the severest ordeal in



LASTING SLOGAN: displayed on an Ulster Unionist Council poster

its history as the Luftwaffe fire-bombed the city, described as the most unprotected major city in the United Kingdom. Almost 1,000 people perished, 2,500 were injured, many of them seriously.

Meanwhile, there was a lack of confidence in the government, reflected in poor labour relations. In the by-election for 1941, the Northern Ireland Labour Party's victory by 7,209 votes to 2,435 over Unionist councillor Fred Lavery constituted the biggest electoral upset in Northern Ireland's political history.

As a result, the UUC underwent changes during the next three years, including alterations to its constitution and more frequent meetings of its Standing Committee and its business and propaganda

committees.

The attraction of female members, whose organisational skills were widely appreciated, also led the women's associations to be granted equal representation to that of the constituency associations affiliated to the UUC.

The arrival of Basil Brooke as Prime Minister in April, 1943, marked a change in style.

Younger ministers were promoted: Maynard Sinclair to Finance, William Lowry to Home Affairs, the Reverends Corkey and Moore to Education and Agriculture, and Labour's Harry Midgley to the Ministry of Public Security, the first non-Unionist to sit on the government of Northern Ireland.

Buoyed up by better news on the war front, Brooke established good working relations with the Civil Service and presided over increased production.

A start was made on the acute housing problem with the creation of the Northern Ireland Housing Trust in February, 1945.

He also created plans for the Northern Ireland equivalent of the Border Education Act of 1944 in Britain by which secondary school education was made a right for all schoolchildren. In April, 1945, Maynard Sinclair announced a comprehensive free insurance agreement covering the whole field of social security, which was a total commitment to allow the Unionist Party to fulfil its pledges to take Northern Ireland into a new socially transformed area. This was crucial to its continued dominance in Northern Ireland politics.

The UUC conducted a further reorganisation after the war, realising the energies and idealism of such young members as Brian Faulkner. The UUC annual report of 1946 established that the organisation had been put on a much more democratic basis. There was an unbroken line of communication directly from the members of the association to the leader.



WAR: the Ulster Unionist Government decides to black out Stormont buildings to protect it from German bombers

Picture: Public Records Office NI

Resecuring the Union

Against the background of Eire's withdrawal from the Commonwealth and the formal institution of a Republic of Ireland on Easter Monday, 1941, the Unionist Party showed a remarkably solid degree of unity. Negotiations in London over the coming legislation to redefine Britain's relationship with both parts of Ireland resulted in a Bill which stated: "Northern Ireland remains part of His Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom and it is hereby affirmed that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of His Majesty's dominions or of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland."

Brian Maginness, the Minister of Home

Affairs from 1949 to 1953, promoted the case for a more independent Stormont administration with greater sophistication and well-intentioned references to the interests of the minority - though Brooke was viewed by Catholics as wholly anti-nationalist (a view which seemed to be borne out on occasion by his actions).

That said, Brooke's government, in the light of difficult circumstances, was extremely successful in keeping discontentment at bay. Sympathetic to the liberal line pursued by Brian Maginness and Morris May, the leader listened closely at the same time to the views of veteran Joseph Cunningham and the young Brian Faulkner, who stressed the importance of the Orange Order as the glue which held the Unionist Party together.

In the face of anti-partition

propaganda, Viscount Brookeborough (as he became in 1952) undertook speaking tours of the United States of America and Australia to counter it in his own inimitable style. He skillfully exploited the Cold War by claiming that Ulster was vital not only to the British Commonwealth but also to America itself in the fight against Communism.

During the 1950s the nationalist Anti-Partition League began to splinter and more radical republicans began to prepare for a return to physical force. Relatively high-profile Sinn Féin candidates in the 1955 General Election maintained that there was much popular support for such a bombing and murder campaign, which was duly launched in 1956 and continued until 1962.

It was to end in failure, however, as the

level of support from the Roman Catholic community did not materialise.

That said, the specific grievances of Roman Catholics towards the Stormont administration remained - concerning discrimination in employment and educational facilities, as well as the issue of control of local councils and housing.

Ulster Unionists made counter arguments and noted that some blame must fall on those who behaved as though they were not citizens at all and conspired against institutions cherished by the vast majority. The counter-arguments were on course for a terrible battle in the years ahead.

■ Thank you to Ulster Unionist historian Dr Ian Adamson for his assistance in compiling this article.

1960-80: change and then conflagration

FOR many, the 1960s are a magical era but, for Ulster Unionists, the memories are of the beginning of a hugely difficult time in their history. While it was still the party of government and state, the UUP had to face down fresh nationalist unrest in the early 60s.

In 1963, party leader and Prime Minister Lord Brookeborough resigned.

To many Roman Catholics he was the personification of right-wing unionism, which was holding them back.

His replacement, Captain Terence O'Neill, was viewed as a moderate and nationalist hopes of reform in electoral law, housing and employment were raised.

Early in his tenure, it appeared that a new political and social climate was about to evolve.

In 1964, O'Neill declared: "My principal aims are to make Northern Ireland prosperous and to build bridges between the two traditions."

The new PM was also concentrating on the economy, with some success.

Then, in one of the most significant gestures towards reconciliation, he and Irish premier Sean Lemass held meetings in Belfast and Dublin in 1965, discussing cross-border relations and co-operation on trade, tourism and electricity.

In 1967, polls were still showing support for O'Neill's leadership from both sides of the community. Nationalists had also agreed to become the official opposition party at Stormont.

But the steady progress was to come unstuck – too much for some unionists and too little for many nationalists. The signs had been there in the mid-60s.

The nationalist Campaign for Social Justice, formed in Dungannon in 1964, raised tensions with Protestants. Ian Paisley also emerged as a popular voice for unionists and Protestants opposed to political and religious reconciliation – fearing that it would be the route to a final push to end Ulster's place in the Union.

Problems were increasing across Belfast, with the UVF carrying out its first murder of a Roman Catholic at the Malvern Arms on the Shankill Road.

Now, there was a loyalist equivalent to the IRA.

Then, nationalists began to protest that O'Neill's administration was failing to translate its intentions into practice.

Civil Rights Movement

In 1967, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) was formed – a huge turning point for the history of Northern Ireland and the UUP.

The NICRA's demands were for a fair voting system ("one man one vote"), an end to gerrymandering and religious discrimination, disbandment of the B-Specials and general equality for all.

O'Neill responded in the shape of new housing reforms and other measures and the NICRA was prepared to step back.

But the People's Democracy, part of the civil rights movement, continued the campaign and decided to march from Belfast to Derry in January, 1969 –



O'NEILL AND LEMASS: Captain Terence O'Neill shakes hands with Irish Premier Sean Lemass

a walk that was attacked by loyalists at Burntollet Bridge – and repolarised the two communities in the Province. The NICRA renewed its marching campaign.

Splits had long since begun to develop in the UUP ranks over the best way to handle the mounting problems. O'Neill's position was shaky as a dozen of his MPs opposed him over plans for an inquiry into the Burntollet riot and Brian Faulkner resigned from his government.

In February, 1969, he called a surprise election in a bid to strengthen his and the party's position.

The electorate was faced with a simple choice: pro- or anti-O'Neill.

The gamble failed, as the polls were inconclusive.

He resigned as Prime Minister, replaced by new UUP leader James Chichester-Clark.

O'Neill's fall was also to lead some of the UUP's liberal wing to leave and help form the Alliance Party. Meanwhile, marches and riots characterised the era and the Provisional IRA emerged to wreak bloody mayhem.

Troops-in and Internment

James Chichester-Clark was in unprecedented position as party leader and PM and he took unprecedented measures, asking the Government to send troops onto the streets.

Some argued he had no choice, others said that once he made the call his position as Prime Minister was irrevocably weakened, having virtually admitted he could not retain control.

Even with the troops in, violence continued. Chichester-Clark was urged by the party to take a tough security line with the IRA.

But, when the Government would not meet his call for a clampdown, he responded to the failure by resigning as Prime Minister and UUP leader in March, 1971.

He was replaced by Brian Faulkner who, in August that year, managed what his predecessor had not – the introduction of imprisonment without trial (internment) as the security response to the violence.

In hindsight, the tactic backfired, acting as a recruitment boost for the IRA.

For the UUP and government, the problems were deepening. The DUP had formed a new unionist option, taking away right-wing and working-class votes.

Alliance had taken some liberals. Then, in 1972, the death toll in the Troubles soared and Bloody Sunday further enraged nationalists and influenced world opinion.

The Government of Edward Heath decided to remove security powers from the UUP-led Stormont government in the face of the grave situation.

Ulster Unionists decided to resign from government rather than hand over security.

Heath then announced that the Stormont Parliament was to be prorogued, and Direct Rule from Westminster imposed on Northern Ireland on March 30, 1972.

The days of Unionist – or, in particular, Ulster Unionist – government were over.

The Government then embarked on

their crusade to find an Ulster solution.

In October, 1972, they published a discussion paper, *The Future of Northern Ireland*.

There was an element of Ulster Unionist political opinion which was opposed to the idea of power-sharing and still favoured majority rule as the only basis for government.

But it soon dawned that an even bigger issue would be the threat of closer links with the Republic of Ireland through a proposed Council of Ireland.

In March, 1973, a devolved, power-sharing 78-member Assembly in Northern Ireland and a Council of Ireland were proposed.

The Ulster Unionist Council held a meeting to decide its position and voted by 381 to 231 votes to accept the plans – though strong opposition to the proposals still existed.

Some members were to leave and form the hardline Vanguard Progressive Unionist Party, led by former UUP cabinet member Bill Craig.

At the elections to the Assembly, the UUP topped the poll but was divided.

Sunningdale Agreement

Secretary of State William Whitelaw chaired a series of talks at Stormont Castle in October to consider the question of forming a power-sharing Executive.

The UUP entered the talks with the Alliance Party and SDLP. The parties disagreed on issues related to internment, policing and a Council of Ireland but did manage to make progress in the social and economic spheres.

On October 23, 1973, the Standing Committee of the UUP voted by 132 to 105 to support a policy which would allow UUP members to take part in any future power-sharing executive. The narrowness of the vote exposed the divisions.

In December, at Sunningdale, England, discussions were held to try to resolve the remaining difficulties surrounding the setting up of the executive.

The subsequent Sunningdale Agreement envisaged a Council of Ireland with a consultative assembly made up of members of the North and South parliaments.

In 1974, in protest over the "unacceptable" Tory-inspired Agreement, the Westminster Ulster Unionist MPs ceased to take the Conservative Party whip – an historic development.

The Executive officially took office on January 1, 1974.

On January 4, a special meeting of the UUC was called and, by 427 votes to 374, rejected the Council of Ireland and thus the Sunningdale deal.

Faulkner's position was now untenable and he resigned. Fermanagh MP Harry West became his replacement.

In the February, 1974, General Election, the party regrouped and participated under the umbrella of the United Ulster Unionist Coalition (UUUC), along with the Vanguard and DUP to oppose Sunningdale.

The UUUC won 11 out of 12 parliamentary seats.

But the Executive limped on and the loyalist Ulster Workers' Council (UWC) was formed to oppose it, threatening civil disobedience.

On May 14, the UWC announced a general strike. The group, despite its paramilitary links, had support from Ulster Unionists – including leader West.

Power cuts, walkouts and street protests culminated on May 28, 1974, and Brian Faulkner resigned as Chief Executive of the government, with his unionist colleagues in the cabinet following suit. The government collapsed.

The Convention and the UUP regroups

The next Government initiative was the Constitutional Convention and, in May, 1975, the UUP took just 19 of the 78 seats (25 per cent) on the body – a reflection of the fact that the Unionist vote was now dispersed among a range of parties.

The Convention broke up but, in 1976, the UUP's Martin Smyth and Austin Ardill were involved in secret talks with nationalists John Hume and Paddy Devlin.

This created tension with the DUP and others in the UUUC. Later, the UUP was to distance itself from those who organised the workers' strike and, eventually, in 1977, refused to field candidates at the council elections under the UUUC banner.

At this poll, the UUP achieved nearly 30 per cent first-preference votes and, slightly rejuvenated, was set on a new course which saw the UUUC dissolve. With the Vanguard Party broken up and the rump merged back into the Ulster Unionists, the party was making-up some lost ground but it was no longer the predominant force.

Under West there was a regrouping. He recruited Enoch Powell, who became Ulster Unionist MP for South Down, though that also brought its own problems.

Powell advocated a policy of integration, whereby Northern Ireland would be administered as an integral part of the United Kingdom.

But this was to cause ructions within the UUP as the idea was at variance with the traditional support for the restoration of devolved government. A debate sprang up which was to rage for several years.

Meanwhile, the killings continued, republican prisoners went on a campaign against the loss of their special (political) status, which became known as the "dirty protests" (wearing only blankets and refusing to wash).

The Peace People were formed and held mass peace rallies.

In Parliament, the UUP wielded some influence with Labour and the Conservatives, both seeking its support.

The party used this to pursue its case for five extra seats in the Commons for Northern Ireland.

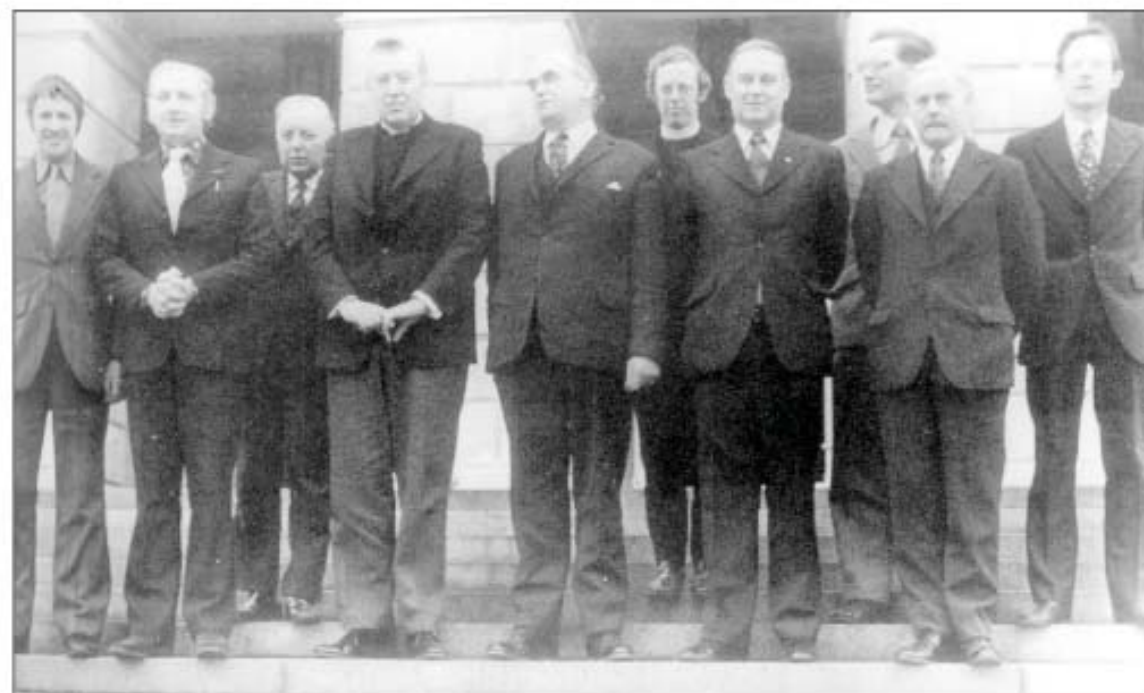
In June the same year, John Taylor became an MEP though Harry West missed out as Ian Paisley topped the poll.

On the back of the poor results, West stepped down as UUP leader in July. Parliamentary party leader James Molyneux succeeded him.

But, perhaps more importantly, the new Conservative Prime Minister was Margaret Thatcher – the formidable figure whose presence was to be hugely influential in the Province over the next decade.



PROTEST: for the Executive, part of the unthinkable. Farmers, whose livelihoods were threatened by the stoppage, joined the rebellion and demonstrated the fact at Parliament Buildings, Stormont



UNITED FRONT: ten of the UUUC MPs, pictured on the steps of Stormont in March 1974. Left to right, John Carson, James Kilfedder, John Dunlop, Rev Ian Paisley, Harry West, Rev Robert Bradford, William Craig, William Ross, James Molyneux and Harold McCusker. Picture: **Pacemaker**

1980-98: talks, deals, protests and a truce

ULSTER Unionism was in optimistic mood as the 1970s drew to a close and the 1980s dawned. Re-grouping after the problems of the 1970s, the party was buoyed by the belief that new Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would be sympathetic to their cause. But their hopes did not last long. Internally, the UUP was leaning towards the integrationist views of leader James Molyneux and Enoch Powell.

Their preference was for strengthening ties with Westminster – in a bid to secure the Union – opposing devolved power-sharing. Powell said devolutionists were akin to “wreckers of the Union”. Others prominent voices in the party, however, were still in favour of devolution.

The UUP leadership was, therefore, disappointed when Mrs Thatcher's new Secretary of State, Humphrey Atkins, convened round-table talks in November, 1979, aimed at creating the framework for the elusive executive. The party boycotted discussions, angering some members. Instead, it put forward its own proposals for a “regional council” in Northern Ireland, similar to those in the rest of the UK.

But, within the political vacuum, London and Dublin initiated talks over the North-South relationship.

Unionists went on alert once more and a worried electorate responded by backing the DUP in terms of first-choice votes, at council elections in 1981.

This prompted a reaction at the UUC agm, where Molyneux said devolution was dead and the party should “take the Carson route”.

In response, delegates voted for devolutionists ahead of integrationists in the annual selection of party positions.

A bleak year – which included widespread unrest as the IRA hunger strikes took place – became bleaker still for the party, when, in November, South Belfast MP Robert Bradford was murdered by the IRA.

In 1982, the new Secretary of State, James Prior, instigated plans for “rolling-devolution” – creating a new Northern Ireland Assembly which he hoped would gradually be granted more powers.

The UUP was again immersed in debate on the idea but eventually backed Molyneux in his belief that this was the road to Sunningdale mark two.

Stalemate continued but, at the 1983 General Election, the UUP posted its best results since direct rule was imposed, taking 11 seats and 34 per cent of the vote.

However, Sinn Féin was on the move, with Gerry Adams elected MP for West Belfast.

In October, 1984, the IRA detonated a bomb at the Grand Hotel, Brighton (killing five people) – a direct attack on Margaret Thatcher and her cabinet, who were staying there during the Conservative Party conference.

Anglo-Irish Agreement

The Brighton bomb appeared to strengthen Mrs Thatcher's resolve to defeat the IRA. But her next tactic stunned unionism.



ULSTER SAYS NO: the anti-Anglo-Irish Agreement rally at Belfast City Hall in 1985

Secret talks with the Irish government had been taking place on a joint way forward in Ulster.

Unionist unease brought the UUP and DUP back together in a united front not seen since the mid-70s.

In August 1985 Jim Molyneux and DUP leader Ian Paisley visited Mrs Thatcher in Downing Street to protest. But the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed on November 15 1985.

The deal gave the Irish Republic a consultative role in Northern Ireland, setting up an inter-governmental conference of ministers and civil servants with their own secretariat at Mayfield in east Belfast.

The UUP reacted by challenging the Agreement as “unconstitutional” in the High Court.

The move was to fail but a similar case launched by UUP members Michael and Chris McGimpsey in Dublin was more successful (when it came to fruition in 1990) as the court ruled the deal could be viewed as unconstitutional as it breached Article Two and Three of the Republic's constitution which claimed authority over Northern Ireland.

At Westminster, the UUP reacted by ending its special relationship with the Conservative Party.

Upper Bann MP Harold McCusker told the Commons that as he was outside Hillsborough Castle – where the deal was signed – “I felt desolate because, as I stood in the cold, everything I had ever held dear turned to ashes in my mouth”.

In the Province, all 15 Unionist MPs

(11 UUP) resigned their seats in protest and forced by-elections on the issue.

But the real galvanising of the Unionist opposition was witnessed on the streets, where mass demonstrations took place.

On November 23, an estimated 100,000 plus turned out for an Ulster Says No rally at Belfast City Hall and heard Molyneux and Paisley speak.

At the by-elections in February, 1986, Unionists won back 14 of their 15 seats with increased mandates.

Then, in March, there was a country-wide day of action which ended in loyalist rioting.

At Westminster, UUP and DUP MPs mounted a boycott of the Commons chamber.

At home, Unionist majority councils were adjourned on a monthly basis in a symbolic act of anger and rejection of the Agreement.

The UUP and Unionism were united of purpose for the first time in two decades.

However, tactical differences emerged and the return of the Conservative Party with an increased majority in 1987 led Unionists to rethink their campaign, as the agreement was bedded in.

A 400,000 signature petition was given to the Queen. Mrs Thatcher agreed a review of the Anglo-Irish Agreement but no significant changes were forthcoming.

The year ended with the IRA massacre on Poppy Day at Enniskillen which killed 11 people.

Then, in March, 1988, the SAS shot dead three IRA members at Gibraltar. Loyalist gunman Michael Stone killed three mourners at their funerals. Two British soldiers accidentally drove into the vicinity of the following funeral cortege and were brutally beaten to death.

Talks about talks

Within the UUP the devolution versus integration debate resurfaced.

With devolution under the Anglo-Irish deal looking distinctly unappealing, the integrationists were in the ascendency, led by James Molyneux, who said “this is no time for turning”.

At the 1989 council elections, the party vote increased slightly.

In 1990, David Trimble was elected MP for Upper Bann after the death of Harold McCusker.

Between 1988 and 1992, there were many attempts to create conditions for all-party talks in Northern Ireland.

The UUP held its ground in the 1992 General Election and, the same year, a new talks initiative was launched by Secretary of State Peter Brooke and later taken on by his successor, Patrick Mayhew.

Discussions continued intermittently through the year and into 1993.

At the same time, SDLP leader John Hume had begun talks with Gerry Adams.

The possibility of an IRA ceasefire and how it could allow Sinn Féin to join the talks process was discussed.

The result was the Hume-Adams Initiative document which was presented to both governments.

The UUP was strongly opposed to the paper but Prime Ministers John Major and Albert Reynolds ploughed on and, after two years' talking, produced the Downing Street Declaration in December 1993.

The UUP did not reject the declaration, however, as it received certain assurances from Major, not least on issues such as the principle of consent.

The republican movement sought clarification on the document and, in May, Downing Street said full acceptance of the paper was not necessary for Sinn Féin to enter talks.

The Ceasefires

The UUP was angered but the IRA ceasefire came on August 30, 1994. The loyalist ceasefires followed. And circumstances were changed.

By 1995, the UUP was debating its reaction to the new circumstances and there was internal unrest over the Government's willingness to court republicans.

In June, elections to a Northern Ireland Forum took place – the idea being to open up an official talking-shop.

The summer was marked by a massive Drumcree stand-off and violence. The UUP pulled out of talks in protest at Drumcree.

The SDLP and Sinn Féin boycotted the forum.

In September, it was agreed Sinn Féin would only be allowed into talks in the event of a genuine ceasefire.

The UUP and SDLP then agreed an agenda for talks in October. Progress was slow.

In May, 1997, while UUP increased its



IRA BLITZ: Glengall Street, Belfast, covered in rubble after a bombing in May, 1993, though the Ulster Unionist headquarters' flag continues to fly (in centre of picture)

contest in the Ulster Hall, defeating John Taylor by 466 votes to 333.

This development was seen as a hardening of the UUP line but talks continued.

George Mitchell chaired discussions. The decommissioning body was also established.

In 1996, the IRA returned to violence by bombing Canary Wharf in February. But, in March, David Trimble travelled to Dublin for talks with the Irish government.

In June, Labour set a date in September for the final phase of talks aimed at a deal.

Drumcree flared but, in July, the second IRA ceasefire was announced. David Trimble was angered that republicans were heading for talks before decommissioning.

He wanted an IRA commitment to disarm before Sinn Féin was allowed into discussions.

As Sinn Féin took up offices at Stormont, the UUP leader demanded clarification on decommissioning.

The DUP and UUP said the process was “dancing to the IRA's tune”.

In August, the UUP said the Ulster Unionist Council would decide before talks if the party would take part.

In September, Sinn Féin signed up to

seats in Parliament to 11, Labour and Tony Blair came to power.

Within weeks, there was a renewed emphasis in the peace process.

Blair visited Northern Ireland that month and said consent, not a united Ireland, was his agenda.

Sinn Féin began talking with NIO officials. Sir Reg Empey protested that this seemed close to negotiating, when the IRA was still active.

In June, Labour set a date in September for the final phase of talks aimed at a deal.

Drumcree flared but, in July, the second IRA ceasefire was announced. David Trimble was angered that republicans were heading for talks before decommissioning.

He wanted an IRA commitment to disarm before Sinn Féin was allowed into discussions.

As Sinn Féin took up offices at Stormont, the UUP leader demanded clarification on decommissioning.

The DUP and UUP said the process was “dancing to the IRA's tune”.

In August, the UUP said the Ulster Unionist Council would decide before talks if the party would take part.

In September, Sinn Féin signed up to

the Mitchell Principles.

On September 13, a UUC meeting left its strategy and tactics in the leader's hands.

The DUP had pulled out but the UUP, PUP and UDP walked into talks together.

Ken Maginnis made the case for Sinn Féin to be expelled from talks but it was rejected.

The Belfast Agreement

As negotiations continued, in December, the first internal problems began to show in the UUP.

While the party formally complained to Secretary of State Mo Mowlam about concessions to republicans, four party MPs (Willie Thompson, Willie Ross, Clifford Forsythe and Roy Beggs) wrote to David Trimble expressing concern at where the talks were headed.

In April, the Belfast Agreement was signed but not before soul-searching inside the UUP – creating divisions which would plague it for years to come.

Hours before saying yes to a deal, the

party leadership inside the talks was split down the middle.

In the end, it was decided by one vote to go for the deal.

MP Jeffrey Donaldson walked out in protest that decommissioning was not tied down – this was despite a tearful Ken Maginnis pleading with him to support the Agreement, despite reservations all the members had.

Trimble took the matter to the party executive at Glengall Street and received a 55 to 23 backing.

MPs Donaldson, Ross and Thompson were opposed and would campaign for a No vote to the deal.

In the campaign for a Yes vote, David Trimble appeared on stage at the Waterfront Hall, Belfast, with John Hume and U2 singer Bono.

After securing support for the deal, the UUP went on to top the polls at the subsequent Assembly elections.

Despite the risks they had taken the party remained on top in a new era. David Trimble was in place to become First Minister but no-one could have envisaged the difficulties and twists and turns that lay ahead, after the initial euphoria of peace.

1998-2005: Unionism's fight for peace continues

POST-Belfast Agreement, the Ulster Unionist Party has suffered for peace. The Good Friday deal split the party down the middle internally, leading to a string of high-profile battles over policy, and between the leadership and its critics. Three attempts to share power with Sinn Féin and finally put the IRA out of business failed and also cost the party dearly at the 2001 General Election and the 2003 Assembly poll. However, for a body made up of such a broad church of Unionist opinion, internal splits and fluctuating electoral results have been a feature of the last 100 years and the last 30 years in particular.

In 2004, party leader David Trimble accepted as much.

During a speech to Ulster Unionist Council delegates, he said: "The Ulster Unionist Party has an historic role. It is to protect and promote the Union of the British people. To achieve that end is not always easy. "For all our leaders, going back to Lord Carson and Sir James Craig, it has always involved difficult compromises which unsettled significant elements in the party and community. But we have stuck to our task and vision. (We have) defended the Union successfully."

That said, post-1998, the UUP has gone through particularly difficult times.

The problems began on the very day the deal was signed, when Lagan Valley MP Jeffrey Donaldson walked out of Castle Buildings, Stormont, and declared he could not sign up to the peace deal.

A significant rump of the party sided with the No camp in the referendum – MPs Donaldson, William Ross and William Thompson and former party leader James Molyneux amongst them.

But the Agreement, rid Unionists of the 1985 Anglo-Irish deal; it removed the hated Irish territorial claim on Ulster from Article Two and Three of the Republic's constitution; it enshrined the principle of consent; theoretically, it would end the IRA. The UUP topped the Assembly poll of 1998 (taking 28 of the 108 seats) and the party was ready for government and the First Minister's position.

Its policy was "no guns, no government".

In November, 1999, Mr Trimble convinced a meeting of the UUC to enter government with Sinn Féin before guns – putting a timeframe on how long Unionists would stay in the Executive without weapons decommissioned.

"We've done our bit. Mr Adams, it's over to you. We've jumped, you follow," he said.

The government only lasted into February, 2000, when it was suspended again – as the IRA failed to meet Trimble's weapons demands.

At the annual meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council on March 25, Mr Trimble faced a leadership challenge from MP Martin Smyth from the No camp.

Smyth won 348 votes, or 43.2 percent,



MAY, 2002: Prime Minister Tony Blair and Northern Ireland First Minister David Trimble arrive at the Odyssey Arena in Belfast

against Trimble's 457 votes, or 56.7 per cent – exposing the party split. In May, 2000, the IRA made its historic pledge to "put weapons beyond use".

In response, another UUC meeting was called that month.

On May 27, Trimble made his case to delegates for re-entering government and Donaldson put down counter proposals seeking weapons before government.

The leader carried 53 per cent of the party with him, to his rival's 47 per cent backing.

In June, the Executive and Assembly were restored.

In October, the UUC was back again –

institutions in the face of David Trimble's threat to quit.

The Weston Park talks came and went.

In October, the first act of IRA decommissioning took place. The UUP leadership then received backing from the party executive for a return to government.

In November, however, the UUP splits got in the way of reforming the government, when party MLAs Peter Weir and Pauline Armitage refused to vote to support Mr Trimble.

He had to rely on the redesignation of three Alliance MLAs as Unionists to reform the Executive.

In April 2002 the IRA carried out a second act of decommissioning but unionist patience was beginning to wear thin.

First, there were claims the IRA was behind the Castlereagh police station break-in, then, in June, three republicans were caught in Colombia, training FARC rebels.

On October 4, Sinn Féin's offices at Stormont were raided as part of a major police investigation into alleged intelligence-gathering by republicans. Mr Trimble warned his party would walk out of government if sanctions were not forthcoming against Sinn Féin.

On October 14, John Reid announced the suspension of devolution, which has continued ever since.

In May, 2003, the governments published the Joint Declaration proposals for implementing outstanding Agreement issues.

In the summer of 2003, UUP members – some who had been loyal to the leader – held secret meetings to assess the future of the party and Mr Trimble.

Among them were Sir Reg Empey, MEP Jim Nicholson and MLAs Fred Cobain and Danny Kennedy, as well as dissidents Donaldson, David Burnside and Arlene Foster.

Plans for a coup at a UUC meeting faltered, however. Talks came to a head in October but a plan to restore government collapsed as Mr Trimble pulled the plug at the 11th hour – unhappy with a lack of transparency in the IRA's third act of decommissioning.

In November, 2003, the UUP lost ground to the DUP at the Assembly elections and slipped from the position of lead Unionist party.

Jeffrey Donaldson left the party in December, 2003, along with fellow MLAs Arlene Foster and Norah Beare. In January, 2004, the trio joined the DUP increasing that party's number of Assembly seats to 33 and reducing the UUP to 24.

In 2004, the UUP took more of a back seat in negotiations and public bickering in the party ranks stopped.

In December, the governments' proposed Comprehensive Agreement, which included the DUP, failed.

As 2005 began, there was more internal UUP debate on whether to support some form of devolution (like an Assembly scrutinising NIO Ministers) or revert to full Direct Rule and integration with the UK.

The Government suspended the

Colonel Edward James Saunderson

1905-1906

THE first leader of modern Ulster Unionism was Colonel Edward James Saunderson. He was born in 1837 at Castle Saunderson, which was the family estate near Belturbet, Co Cavan.

He was to be part of the elite, very much a figurehead of the landed gentry in Ireland.

He became MP for Co Cavan in 1865 but lost his seat to a Home Ruler in 1874.

The more significant period in his political career came after he returned to become MP for North Armagh in 1885 – on the back of his leadership of an Ulster Tory rally against Home Rule.

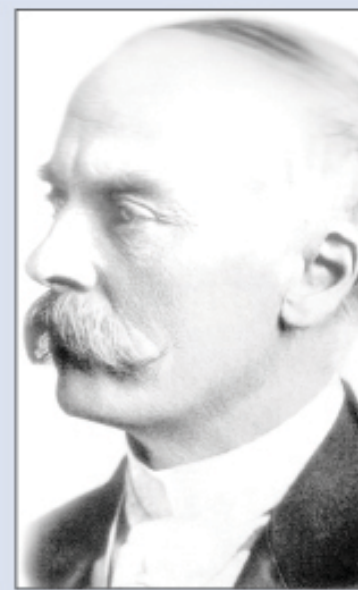
During this time, Saunderson became an instrumental figure in the historic battle against Home Rule.

From 1886, Saunderson was leader of the Ulster and Irish Unionist MPs at Westminster – putting him at the forefront of the opposition to William Gladstone's first and second Home Rule Bills (1886 and 1893).

He was also pivotal in establishing links between Unionist MPs and Conservative Party MPs.

Saunderson literally pulled no punches in his defence of the Union and was a feisty orator, who was once involved in "fisticuffs" in the House. He was also described as "boisterous and hard-hitting" and was in demand as "a Unionist spokesman" in Britain which made him a huge asset to the Unionist cause when the battle for the Union was being fought out at Westminster and in the English counties.

Though he was ailing, when the



Picture: Linen Hall Library

Ulster Unionist Council was constituted in March 3, 1905, Saunderson was still the obvious first leader of the Ulster Unionist Parliamentary Party at Westminster – thus the first UUP leader. He died in 1906.

A statue of Colonel Saunderson was erected in Market Street, Portadown, depicting his opposition to Home Rule.

The memory of his defence of the Union lives on.

Sir Edward Carson, Lord Duncairn

1910-1921

THE third leader of the party and arguably the most notable and influential figure in the history of unionism, certainly in symbolic terms. He will be forever

remembered as the face of the Ulster Covenant and associated with the original Ulster Volunteer Force.

Edward Henry Carson was born in Dublin, in 1854, into a liberal, professional middle-class family and studied law at Trinity College.

He became a leading lawyer and his reputation helped him to his election as a Liberal Unionist MP for Dublin University in 1892.

He became Solicitor-General for Ireland (1892) and for England (1900-05).

By the time of the UUP's formation, he had become one of the most renowned politicians in the United Kingdom.

In February, 1910, Carson was approached by unionist colleagues at Westminster and asked to become leader of the Unionist Parliamentary Party.

As the Home Rule crisis emerged, he decided to harness Ulster's passionate resistance to Home Rule as a means of blocking any granting of self-government to Ireland.

And "given his undoubted charisma, inspired oratory and unyielding image, he was hero-worshipped by unionists in the Province of his adoption", a BBC history has noted.

He was the first of hundreds of thousands to sign the Ulster Covenant on September 28, 1912.

By 1914, he had come to support Irish partition as a solution, believing that



Picture: Public Records Office

Home Rule was inevitable but that a new Northern Ireland inside the Union could be created.

He remained as Unionist leader up to 1921.

In 1919, he returned to his legal practice and added a peerage in 1921 to his knighthood (1906), when he became Lord Carson of Duncairn.

He died in 1935 and was honoured with a state funeral. He was buried in St Anne's Cathedral, Belfast.

It was said: "Northern Ireland provided him with a tomb but not a home."

Walter H Long

1906-1910

THE second leader of the Unionist Parliamentary Party at Westminster – one of the great figures at Westminster. An Englishman, he was born in 1854, the son of a Wiltshire landowner.

His Unionist credentials came from his mother's side of the family and his wife – both of whom were of Southern Irish Unionist stock.

Long first entered the House of Commons as a Conservative in 1880 as MP for Northern Wiltshire.

He went on to serve seven different constituencies and became one of the longest-serving MPs – clocking up 40 years and 169 days in the House of Commons.

He arrived as MP for South County Dublin in 1906, coinciding with his selection as Ulster Unionist leader – a position he held until 1910.

During his political career, Long became used to holding high office, serving in a host of Cabinets, including those of Asquith and Lloyd George.

In these administrations, his was a crucial Unionist voice in the face of calls for Home Rule to be settled. He was being described as "the most powerful voice on Irish affairs in the Government".

In 1919, he chaired the committee which drafted the Government of Ireland Bill that ultimately created Northern Ireland – significant in that Long had been noted by history as a man who recognised the difference between Protestants in Ulster and those in the South and the necessity of those in the North to remain in the Union.



Picture: National Portrait Gallery

He retired in 1921 and was raised to the peerage as Viscount Long, of Wraxall in Wiltshire.

He died in September, 1924. His legacy was as the Unionist defender of the Union in the corridors of power.

Sir James Craig, 1st Viscount of Craigavon

1921-1940

THE fourth Ulster Unionist leader, he is regarded by the party as the founding father of Northern Ireland – after becoming the first Prime Minister of the state in 1921.

James Craig was born in Sydenham, east Belfast, in 1871.

He was the son of a self-made millionaire whiskey distiller and attended school in Scotland.

He became a stockbroker but took part in the Boer War as captain in the Royal Irish Rifles in South Africa, 1900-01.

He also saw active service in World War one.

He entered the UK Parliament as Unionist MP for East Down in 1906.

While Edward Carson was the public face of Ulster resistance to Home Rule, many view Craig as the real architect of Ulster Unionist opposition between 1912 and 1914.

He stage-managed Ulster Day (September, 1912) and the signing of the Ulster Covenant.

Between 1917-21, he held a succession of junior Government posts with distinction.

He was knighted in 1918.

He shifted from a position of no-Home Rule to the pragmatic realisation that some form of Home Rule was inevitable and negotiated a place in the UK for the Protestants of Ulster in 1920.

At the agm of the Ulster Unionist Council in the Assembly Hall, Belfast, on February 24, 1921, Sir James Craig was unanimously elected leader of the UUP.

He then became the first Prime



Picture: Her Majesty Stationery Office (HMSO)

Minister of the Province in 1921. He described the new state as having "a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people" – in contrast to the Roman Catholic ethos of the Republic.

He was to remain in office until his death in November, 1940.

In 1927, he became Viscount Craigavon.

He died at home, Glencraig, Co Down, on November 24, 1940.

Sir James Craig is buried near Parliament Buildings in the grounds of Stormont.

John Millar Andrews

1940-1946

THE fifth leader of the party was born into a family of talented individuals – brother Thomas was the designer of the Titanic and another brother, James, became Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland.

John Millar Andrews was born in Comber, Co Down, in July, 1871. The Andrews family name was already, by that time, synonymous with the Comber area.

They had risen to prominence during the 18th and early 19th centuries – owning much land in the area and the flax-spinning mill which was the major source of employment in the town.

John Andrews was educated at RBAI and became a flax-spinner, while also being a wealthy landowner.

Given his status and interests, it may have been inevitable that Andrews was drawn into politics.

With the creation of a Northern Ireland government, he became MP for County Down (1921-1929). Between 1929 and 1953, he was MP for Mid-Down.

From 1921 to 1937, he was Minister for Labour.

Then he became Minister of Finance, 1937 to 1940.

He also served as patron of the Ulster Unionist Labour Association and the UUC.

This was before becoming UUP leader and second Prime Minister of Northern Ireland in 1940.

His tenure coincided with the bombing of Belfast by the German Luftwaffe.

Backbenchers forced him from the



Picture: HMSO

PM's office in 1943 – he resigned. But he remained UUP leader until 1946.

In 1948, he became the Grand Master of the Orange Order.

He died in August, 1956.

Captain Terence O'Neill, Lord O'Neill of Maine

1963-1969

THE seventh Ulster Unionist leader – to some he was a man ahead of his time, to others his progressive politics were a threat to the Union.

Terence Marne O'Neill was born in September 1914 in Co Antrim, where his family owned a large estate. The O'Neills were descended from the O'Neill clan, the Gaelic kings of Ulster. He was educated at Eton College and then joined the Army.

During the Second World War, he saw active service in the Irish Guards and subsequently reached the rank of captain.

He entered politics in 1946 and became the Unionist MP for the Stormont constituency of Bannside. He held the position for the next 24 years.

And he succeeded Lord Brookeborough as Prime Minister and party leader in 1963.

He introduced new policies aimed at ending sectarianism and bringing Roman Catholics and Protestants closer together.

He also set ambitious economic and industrial targets.

In 1965, O'Neill invited Irish premier Sean Lemass to Belfast and, in 1967, also met the next Irish leader, Jack Flynn – outraging some hardline Unionists.

O'Neill's reforms achieved mixed results and nationalist frustration boiled over in the form of the civil rights movement.

Amid growing violence, in February, 1969, he called a surprise election in a bid to strengthen his position in his own party as much as in the country, as around a dozen of his MPs opposed



Picture: HMSO

him and Brian Faulkner had resigned from his government.

The electorate was faced with a simple choice: pro- or anti-O'Neill.

The gamble failed, as the polls were not definitive.

He later quit his post.

In 1970, after receiving a life peerage, he settled in England and took his place in the House of Lords as Lord O'Neill of the Maine.

Captain Terence O'Neill died in Hampshire in England in June, 1990.

Sir Basil Brooke, 1st Viscount Brookeborough

1946-1963

BASIL Stanlake Brooke was the sixth UUP leader – a man of strong religious, conservative views and an unrelenting belief in the ties of the Union.

He was born on the family estate at Colebrooke, County Fermanagh, in June 1888.

He was eldest son of Sir Arthur Douglas Brooke, 4th Baronet, whom he succeeded as 5th Baronet in 1907.

He was educated in England, at Winchester College and Sandhurst.

He served in World War One with the Hussars.

He was awarded the Military Cross and Croix de Guerre with palm for his courage in action.

He left the Army in 1920, however, to farm the large family estate at Colebrooke.

In 1922, he became Fermanagh County Commandant of the Ulster Special Constabulary (USC) – later known as the B Specials – leading their fight against the IRA in the border area.

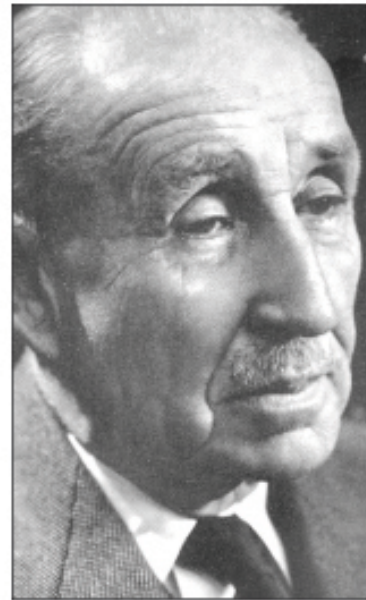
In 1929, he was elected to the Northern Ireland House of Commons as MP for Lisnaskea, Co Fermanagh.

In 1943, he succeeded John M Andrews as the third Prime Minister of Northern Ireland – where he would remain for 20 years.

Finally, in 1946, he became the natural successor to Andrews again, when he took up the post of UUP leader.

During his time as PM, he was seen as no friend of the Roman Catholic population.

In 1959, he supported Unionist Council members who opposed allowing Roman Catholics to join the party. However, his tenure saw



Picture: HMSO

moderate improvement in economic prosperity.

He became a viscount in 1952.

Increasing political discontent led by the Northern Ireland Labour Party and criticism in the party about rising unemployment, along with ill health led to his resignation as Prime Minister and party leader in 1963.

Sir Basil died in the same place he was born – at home in Colebrooke in August, 1973.

James Chichester-Clark, Lord Moyola

1969-1971

THE eighth Ulster Unionist leader at one of the most uncertain and unsettled times in the Province's short history. James Dawson Chichester-Clark was born in February 1923 at Moyola, the family house near Castledawson, Co Londonderry.

He was educated at Selwyn House School, Kent, and at Eton College.

He joined the Irish Guards in 1942 and fought during World War Two in North Africa and Italy.

He was wounded in action in 1944 but served until 1960, by which time he was a major in the Irish Guards.

In 1960, he took over the South Londonderry seat left vacant by his aunt, Dame Debra Parker, who died that year.

In 1963, Captain Terence O'Neill, a distant cousin, appointed him as a junior minister at the Ministry of Finance.

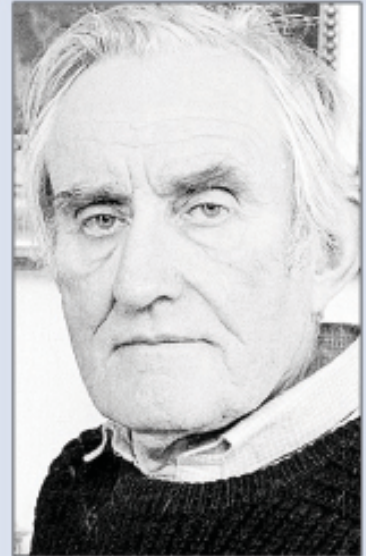
Later, he became Leader of the Commons (1966-67) and then Minister of Agriculture (1967-69).

In 1969, Chichester-Clark felt O'Neill's plans for reform to meet nationalist demands could not proceed at the time and would further destabilise Ulster.

When O'Neill resigned, he took the leadership reins during an extremely difficult period and it proved to be his undoing.

There was pressure from the civil rights movement, a new IRA threat, violent clashes on the streets and growing unease within Unionism at the overall situation.

As the Province descended into



rioting and mayhem, Chichester-Clark took the unprecedented measure of asking London to send troops onto the streets.

He was then urged by the party to take a tough security line with the IRA but, when the Government would not meet his call for a clampdown, he resigned as Prime Minister and UUP leader.

Later, in 1971, he was created a life peer and took up his position in the House of Lords as Lord Moyola.

James Chichester-Clark died on May 17 2002.

Brian Faulkner, Lord Faulker of Downpatrick

1971-1974

BECAME the ninth party leader but, like predecessors O'Neill and Chichester-Clark, his leadership to a large extent became a victim of the Troubles.

Brian Arthur Deane Faulkner was born in Helen's Bay near Bangor, Co Down, in February, 1921.

He was educated at Inchmarlo School in Belfast, Elm Boarding School, Co Armagh, and St Columba's College, an Anglican school in Dublin.

He began reading law at Queen's University, Belfast, but his studies were interrupted by the outbreak of World War Two.

In 1949, he entered politics and became the youngest person elected to Stormont, as the Unionist MP for East Down.

He remained the MP for the constituency until 1972.

He was appointed government Chief Whip in 1956 and, in 1959, became Minister of Home Affairs.

Under Captain Terence O'Neill, he was Minister of Commerce and enhanced his reputation through his work to bring new industry to Northern Ireland.

But, in January, 1969, Faulkner resigned from the cabinet in protest at the package of social reforms introduced by O'Neill in the face of growing unrest on the streets.

In March, 1971, Chichester-Clark resigned as party leader and PM and Faulkner's time had eventually arrived.

He assured his place in history by introducing internment without trial.

In March, 1972, he could not stop the



Picture: HMSO

Government introducing direct rule from Westminster.

Faulkner then angered unionist by negotiating the Sunningdale Agreement.

The Ulster Unionist Council rejected this idea and his position was untenable.

In 1977, he was awarded a life peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords as Lord Faulkner of Downpatrick.

He was killed in a horse-riding accident in March, 1977.

James Molyneux, Lord Molyneux of Killead

1979-1995

THE 11th party leader, he was to face "Unionism's greatest challenge" in 1985 when the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed. James (Jim) Henry Molyneux was born in Killead, County Antrim, in 1920.

Educated at Aldergrove School before serving in the Royal Air Force between 1941 and 1946.

He returned from World War Two to manage the family farm.

In 1964, he became a Unionist member of Antrim County Council.

At the 1970 Westminster General Election, he became the Unionist MP for the constituency of South Antrim (1970-83).

He became leader in 1979.

His first task was to revitalise the party in the face of a growing threat from the DUP.

After the Anglo-Irish Agreement, he resigned his Westminster seat along with his Unionist colleagues in protest.

He won it back at a by-election.

During the 'Ulster Says No' campaign, he famously shared a platform with Ian Paisley at the November, 1985, rally outside Belfast City Hall.

He took a hard line to talks aimed at restoring devolution and then at bringing republicans into the process in the late 80s and early 90s.

But there was discontent in UUP ranks with his style of leadership, after the Framework Document in February, 1995 – viewed by some as an outline plan for Irish unification.

He resigned as leader in August, 1995.

In 1997, he stood down as Lagan



Valley MP and was awarded a life peerage, taking his seat in the House of Lords as Lord Molyneux of Killead.

He was notable as an anti-Agreement Unionist.

He remains active in the Lords.

Harry West

1974-1979

THE 10th party leader – and the first in over 50 years who could not become Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

Henry "Harry" West was born in Co Fermanagh in March, 1917, into a wealthy farming family.

Educated at Portora Royal School, Enniskillen.

Initially, he pursued a career in farming and was for some time involved in local government.

It was not until 1954 that he entered national politics, when elected as the Unionist MP for the constituency of Enniskillen in the Stormont Parliament, inheriting the seat from his uncle.

He has been described as "a bluff, good-humoured family man".

In keeping with his expertise, he served on two occasions as Minister of Agriculture (1960-67 and 1971-72).

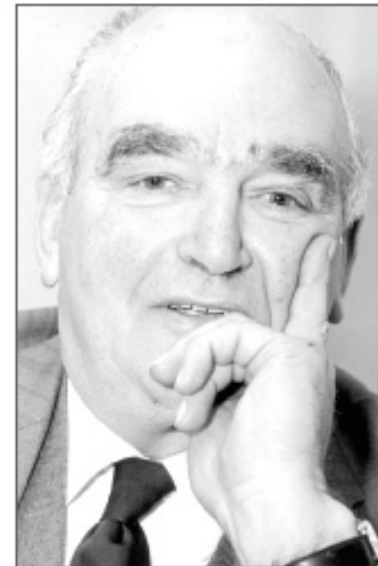
In 1973, West refused to support Faulkner over the power-sharing Executive and the Sunningdale Agreement.

He succeeded Faulkner as party leader in 1974 and also won the Westminster seat of Fermanagh and South Tyrone.

He only had the seat for seven months but flew home every night from London because he felt it was too dangerous to be away at a time when the violence in the Province was at its worst.

His leadership was to last over five difficult years for the UUP which was adjusting to no longer being the party of government, after 50 years of power.

Yet he presided over a time of regrouping which laid foundations for electoral rejuvenation in the later 70s



and 80s. When he failed to win a seat in the European Parliament elections of June, 1979, he resigned – blaming his party's soft line on the EEC for the result.

He continued in politics but, in 1981, lost out in the Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election to IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands.

After this defeat, he continued to be active in the Ulster Unionist Council.

He died in 2004, when UUP leader David Trimble he led the party "at the time of its greatest crisis".

David Trimble

1995-Today

THE 12th and current leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, whose tenure has been defined by the Belfast Agreement and efforts to restore devolved government to Northern Ireland.

David William Trimble was born in Bangor, Co Down, in 1944.

Educated at Bangor Grammar School and then Queen's University, Belfast.

He studied law and qualified as a barrister before becoming a lecturer in law at Queen's in 1968.

Later in the early 1970s Mr Trimble joined the Militant Ulster Vanguard and opposed the 1973 Sunningdale Agreement.

But he rejoined the UUP in 1978.

In 1990, he became Upper Bann MP.

He was viewed as a hardliner and succeeded James Molyneux as UUP leader in 1995.

In April, 1998, he signed up to the Belfast Agreement.

He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1998.

Turbulent years were to follow the Agreement, though, as the power-sharing Executive faced numerous false dawns and suspensions – due to the IRA's refusal to meet UUP decommitment demands.

He also faced down a variety of leadership and policy challenges within party ranks from anti-Agreement elements who believed the peace deal was weighted in the favour of nationalism.

In October, 2002, Mr Trimble's patience with the IRA finally wore out, in the wake of the Castlereagh



police station break-in and the alleged Stormont spy-ring and the institutions were suspended.

Throughout his tenure, the UUP leader has survived under immense personal pressure and even physical attack.

In March, 2004, he said: "People sometimes ask me why I want to continue to lead our party, why I endure the relentless criticism. To be honest, my life – and Daphne's – would be less stressful if I stepped down now.

"I stay, because there is a job to be done – a job to be seen through."

This year, he celebrates his 10th anniversary as UUP leader.

Events that shaped the world in the UUP's first 100 years

As Ulster Unionists celebrate their first centenary, have been putting the milestone in its historical context which characterised the century

JOHN MCCRORY and **NATASHA MULLANEY** by looking back over momentous world events



Titanic sinks



World War One begins



The Battle of the Somme commences



Hitler becomes German Chancellor



Churchill becomes PM for second time

1905 Russia's defeat in the Russian - Japanese War.

1906 Tsar Nicholas II sets up the first Russian Parliament or Duma.

1907 New Zealand becomes a Dominion and loses colonial status.

1909 Lloyd George introduced the revolutionary "People's Budget".

1910 Union of South Africa founded.

1911 Coronation of King George V.

1912 Sinking of the Titanic.

1913 Final Section of the Panama Canal built.

1914 Britain declares war on Germany - World War One begins.

1915 Allied landings in Gallipoli.

1916 The Battle of the Somme.

1917 USA enters World War One.

1918 Armistice signed - war is over.

1919 Treaty of Versailles signed.

1920 Birth of Nazi Party in Germany.

1921 Irish Partition; Northern Ireland is created and first Northern Ireland Parliament sits (June 5).

1922 Italian revolution as Mussolini's Blackshirts seize Rome.

1923 UK law allows wives to divorce husbands for adultery.

1924 Death of Lenin, founder of Soviet Russia.

1925 Von Hindenburg elected President of Germany.

1926 Hirohito becomes Emperor of Japan.

1927 The BBC broadcasts its first programmes (January 1).

1928 First all-talking feature film shown in New York.

1930 Birth of Princess Margaret.

1931 New Delhi becomes the capital of India.

1932 Adolf Hitler is made a German citizen and wins 13 million votes in the country's presidential elections.

1933 Hitler becomes German Chancellor.

1934 Night of the Long Knives (June 30) - Nazis purge Germany of their opponents.

1935 Silver Jubilee of King George V.

1936 Edward VIII renounces the crown.

1938 Nazi Germany invades Austria.

1939 Hitler declares war on and invades Poland, starting World War Two (September 1).

1940 Winston Churchill becomes head of UK wartime coalition government.

1941 Japanese attack US base at Pearl Harbor.

1942 Bing Crosby records White Christmas, the biggest-selling record of all time.

1943 Italy declares war on Germany.

1944 First flying bomb falls in England.

1945 Hitler and Eva Braun commit suicide in Berlin. World War Two ends.

1946 League of Nations disbands and hands responsibilities to the United Nations (created in 1945).

1947 UN votes to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews (Israel declared an independent state in 1948).

1948 The UK Welfare State (National Health Service) is created.

1949 People's Republic is founded in China.

1950 Korean War begins (June 25).

1951 Winston Churchill becomes Prime Minister for the second time.

1952 The USA test the first hydrogen bomb on Elugelab in the Pacific.

1953 Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

1954 Roger Bannister runs the first four-minute mile.

1956 Suez Crisis. UK and France begin bombing Egypt to force reopening of the Suez Canal.

1957 Fidel Castro directs Cuban revolution from hiding.

1958 US puts first satellite into space.

1959 Postcodes are introduced to the UK.

1960 JF Kennedy is announced President.

1961 Russian Yuri Gagarin becomes first human in space.

1962 Marilyn Monroe found dead in Los Angeles home.

1963 JF Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas.

1964 BBC2 begins transmission.

1965 Death of Winston Churchill.

1967 Abortion is legalised by the passing of a Bill in British Parliament.

1968 Martin Luther King is assassinated.

1969 Neil Armstrong is the first man on the moon.

1970 Paul McCartney announces the Beatles' split.

1971 The first heart and lung transplant takes place.

1972 Arab terrorists kill 11 Israeli athletes at Munich Olympics.

1973 US pulls out of Vietnam.

1974 Nixon resigns as President following the Watergate scandal.

1975 Margaret Thatcher gains Conservative Party leadership from Edward Heath.

1976 Microsoft and Apple computer companies are founded.

1977 Elvis Presley dies.

1978 John Paul II becomes Pope.

1979 Margaret Thatcher becomes the first female Prime Minister.

1980 John Lennon is shot dead in New York by a deranged fan.

1981 Prince of Wales marries Lady Diana Spencer.

1982 UK's first test tube twins are born.

1983 Thieves steal £26 million worth of gold bullion and diamonds from a warehouse near Heathrow Airport.

1984 USA announces the discovery of the Aids virus.

1985 Bob Geldof organises two simultaneous Live Aid concerts in London and Philadelphia.

1987 Hungerford massacre - Michael Ryan kills 16 people.

1989 Berlin wall falls after nearly 30 years.

1990 US and British troops sent to the Gulf.

1991 Allied forces defeat Iraq in the Gulf war.

1993 Robert Thompson and Jon Venables are convicted of the murder of James Bulger in Liverpool.

1997 Diana Princess of Wales dies in a car crash.

1998 Belfast Agreement is signed.

1999 Euro currency is introduced.

2001 Two planes fly into Twin Tower Buildings and another into the US Pentagon.

2002 Queen Celebrates her Golden Jubilee.

2003 US declares war on Iraq.

2004 Tsunami in South East Asia kills over 250,000 people.

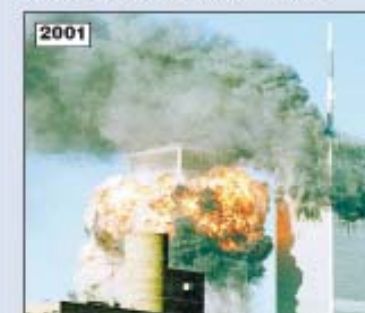
2005 Ellen McArthur completes the fastest solo navigation of the globe.



Asian Tsunami kills over 250,000 people



Queen celebrates Golden Jubilee



Planes crash into the Twin Towers



Euro currency is introduced



Princess Diana is killed in car crash



Paul McCartney announces Beatles split



Elvis Presley dies



Bob Geldof holds Live Aid concerts



1905 - 2005