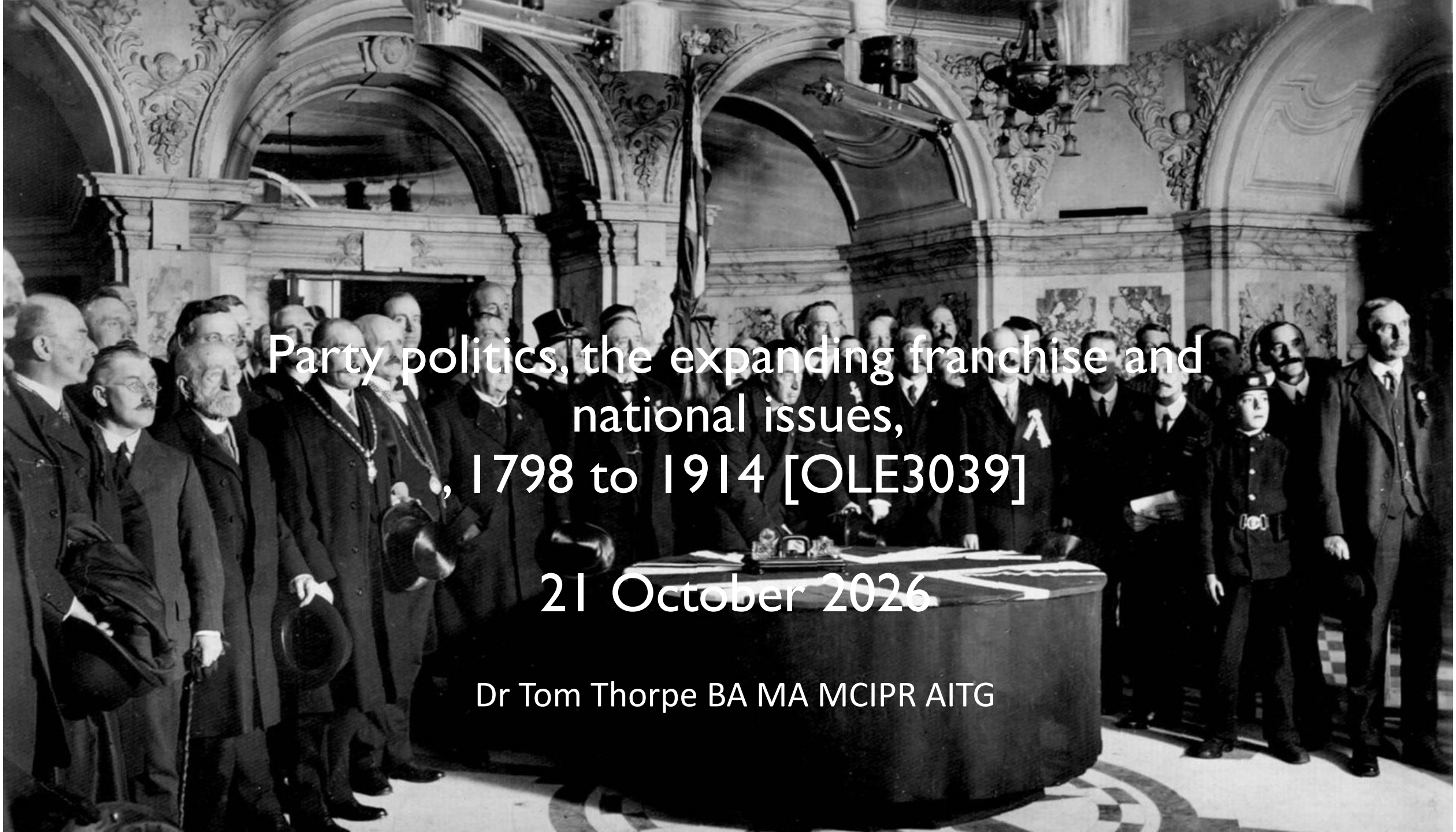
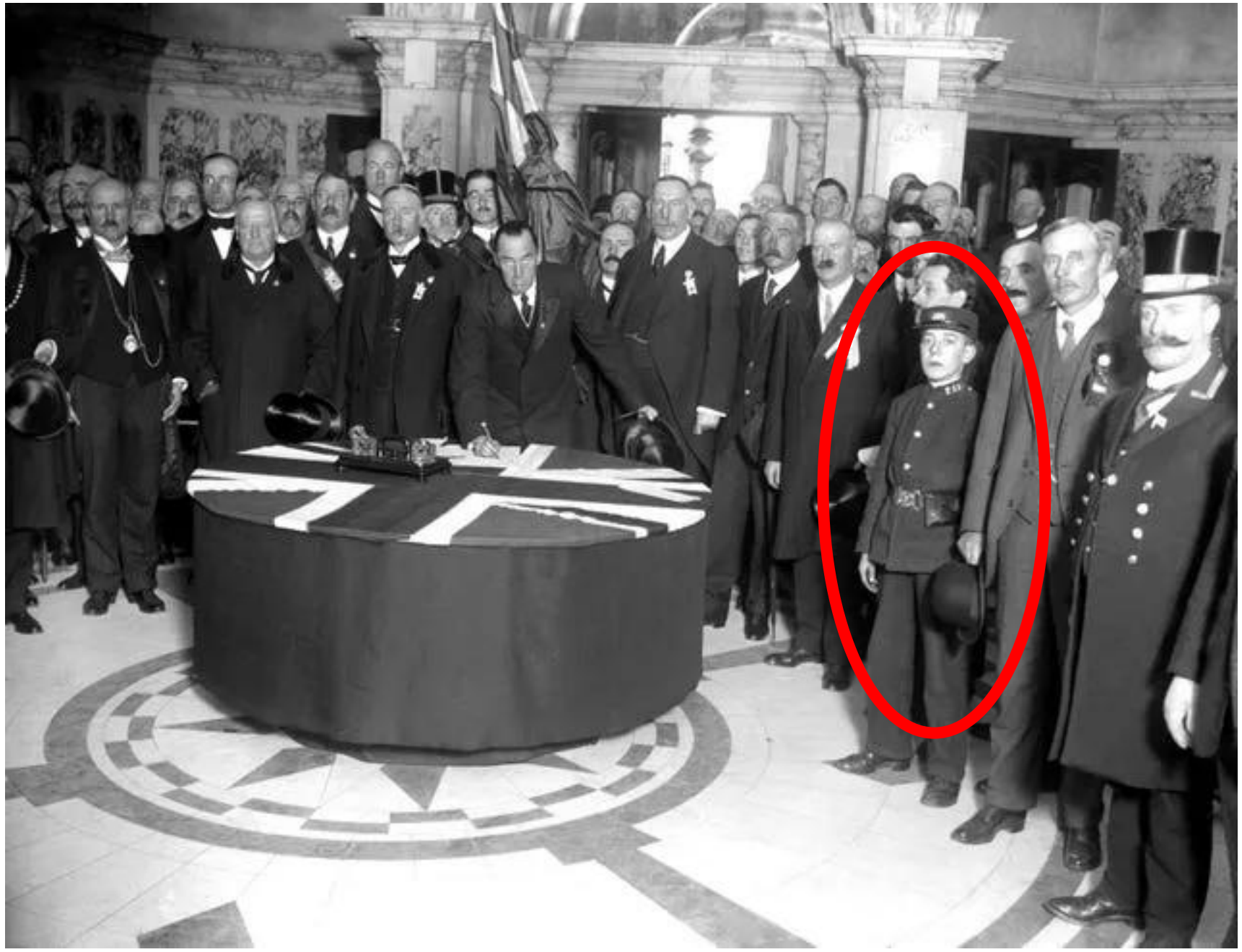


Party politics, the expanding franchise and national issues, , 1798 to 1914 [OLE3039]

21 October 2026

Dr Tom Thorpe BA MA MCIPR AITG





Who is the person?

Dennis Hanna, then aged 14, Telegraph Messenger, son of Robert and Annie Hanna, brother of Eliza Jane and Mary Anne, Roman Catholic, 62 Anderson Street, Belfast.

Great grandfather of Clare Hanna, MP for South Belfast and Mid Down



Contents

- Background: ideas, mediums and context
- National Representation
- Local government
- Westminster elections
- Issues, pressure groups and political engagements

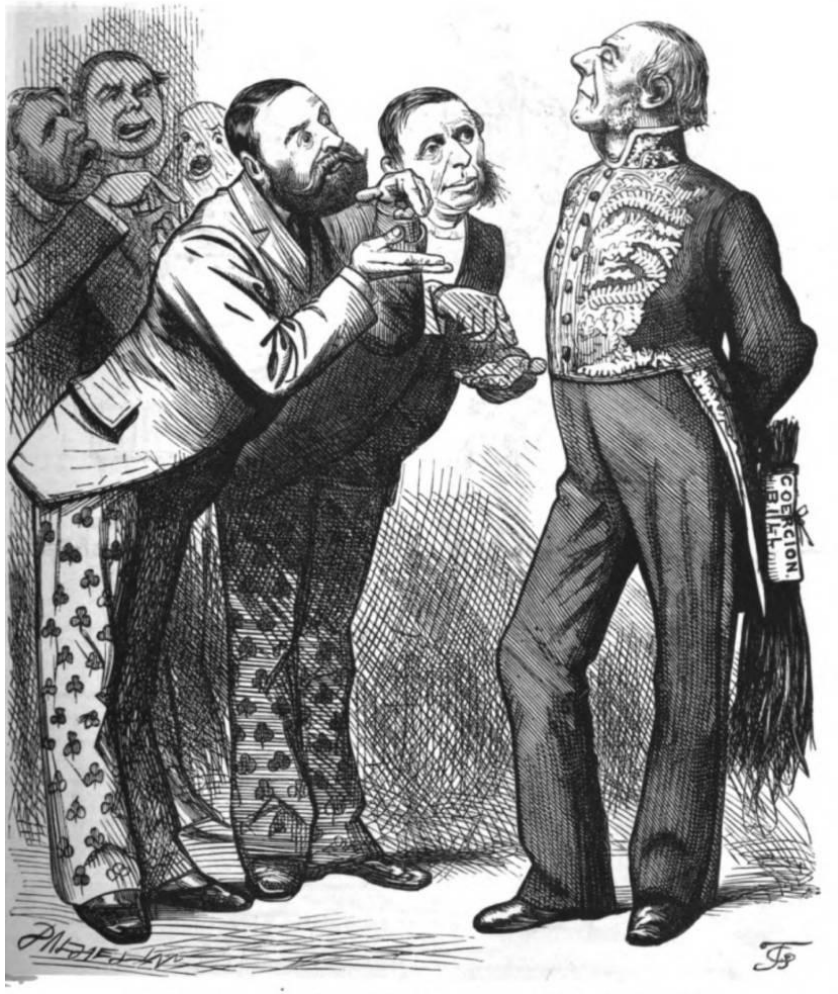




Background: ideas and mediums

How does politics shape life, community and social experience in Belfast?

- Political positions on constitutional questions were **often aligned with** religious faith, community belonging and place of residence.
- Social networks and friendship groups may be determined on politics.
- Political views were an important to notions of **self and identity** as they often shaped religious views, personal identity and place in the world.



Politics as political identity, community, religion and social activity

- Shared political views were important for social acceptance, community membership and economic employment.
- People were politically active through voting, political engagement, trade union activity, protesting, demonstrating and rioting.
- Political issues (e.g. Home Rule, votes for women) and questions were important to people and had huge potential to shape people's ways of life, community and identity.
- Politics becomes a social activity; people increasingly become engaged in campaigning, marching, petitioning and public meetings.



Politics, marriage and life

- Railway Tavern in 1849, served passengers arriving at the new Victoria Street Station.
- Brought by Michael Flannigan and was renovated and redecorated in 1885 by Italian workmen in Belfast
- What to call the pub?



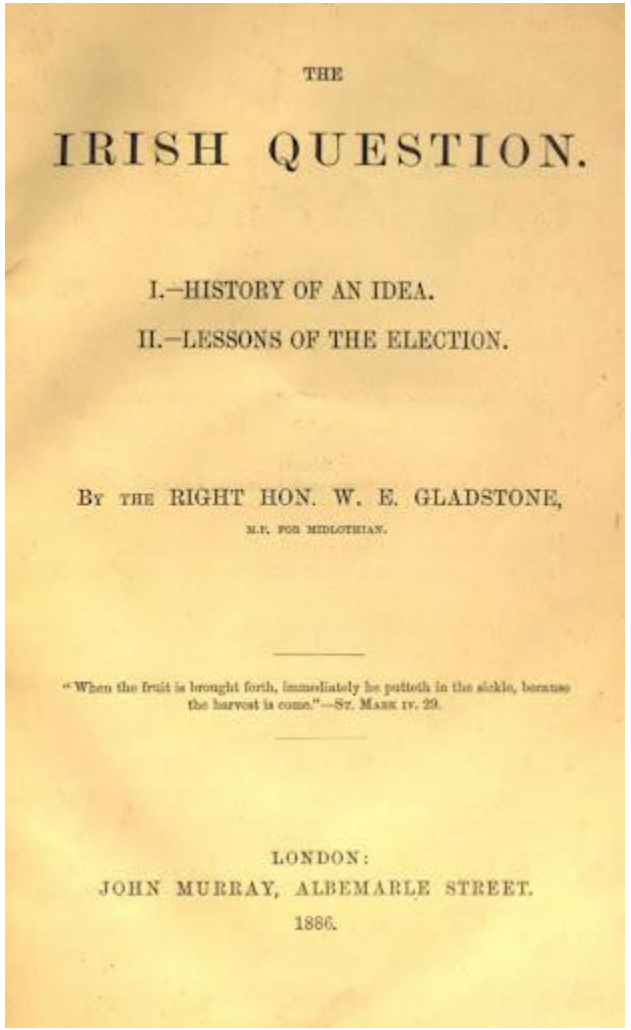
A solution…

- According to the tradition (and National Trust), Michael Flanagan, who created the Crown Bar, was an ardent Irish nationalist, while his wife was an equally committed loyalist.
- She supposedly insisted that the establishment be called the Crown, but he retaliated by having a crown depicted in the mosaic floor at the entrance, allowing customers to wipe their feet on it.



Why were people becoming involved in politics?

- **Rise of literacy and education**; people could engage, understand issues and read for themselves.
- Rise **of mass communications** through newspapers and media over the century shaped and informed their opinions.
- **Rise of individualism, decline in deference**, saw people asserting their own rights and expectation (e.g. through labour movement, trade unions).
- **Expansion of the franchise meant** more people got involved in politics.
- Ireland was at the centre of national matters that shaped local issues.



THE

IRISH QUESTION.

I.—HISTORY OF AN IDEA.

II.—LESSONS OF THE ELECTION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,

M.P. FOR MIDLOTHIAN.

"When the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come."—ST. MARK IV. 29.

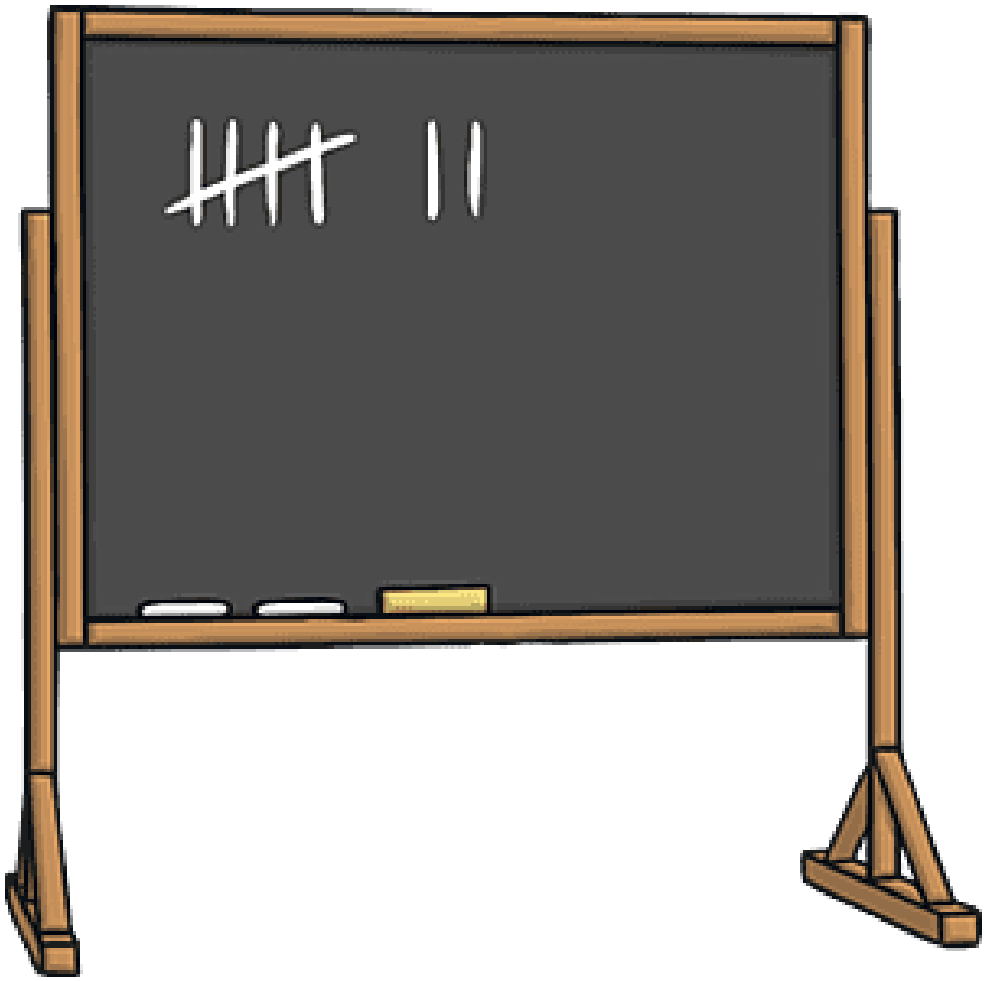
LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1886.

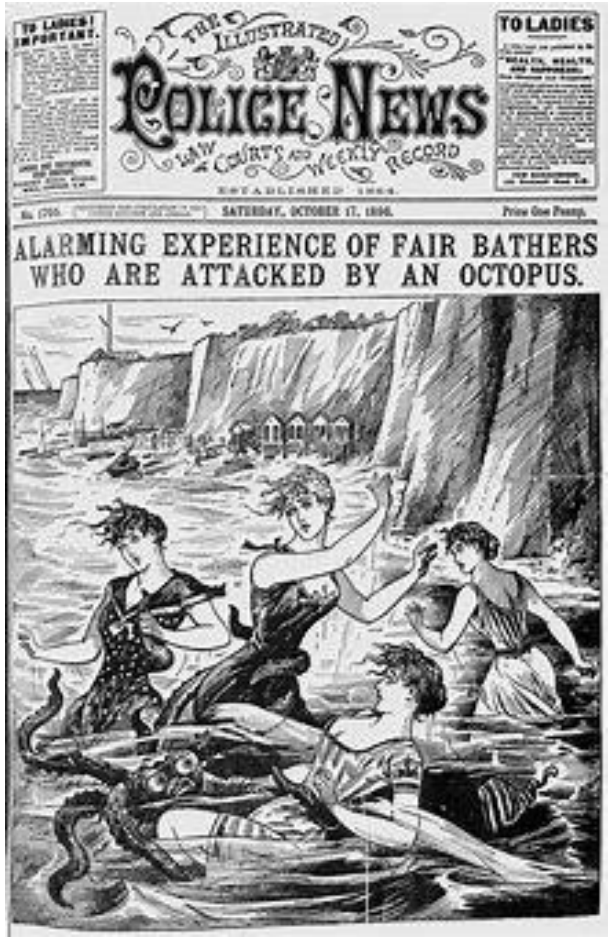
Rise of literacy

- National Education system primary school system established in 1831.
- In 1841, 47 per cent of those over five in Ireland could read.
- By 1911, the proportion was 88 per cent.
- Only in 1892 that it was compulsory for children aged 6 to 14 to attend school.



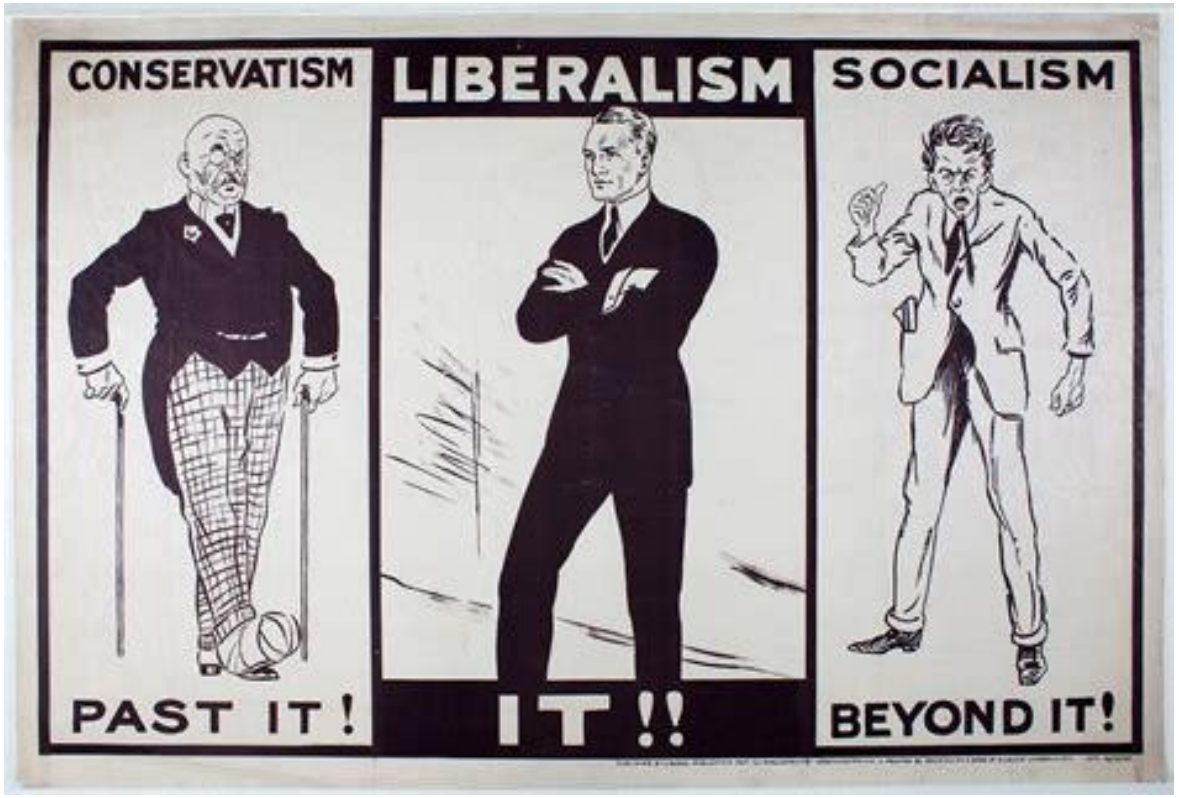
New political ideas: what spreads them?

- Print Media: - The rise of mass-circulation newspapers in Ireland allowed for the dissemination of political ideas to a wider audience.
- Literacy and Education: - The expansion of literacy rates and access to education empowered more individuals to engage with political discourse.
- Nationalist Movements: - Growing Irish nationalist movements, such as the Young Irelanders, promoted ideas of self-governance, cultural revival and independence.
- Emigration: - The Irish diaspora, especially in the United States, served as a platform for political activism and the spread of ideas.
- Political Activists: - Influential figures like Daniel O'Connell, Edward Carson and Charles Stewart Parnell were instrumental in advancing political causes.



1. Liberalism

- Individual rights and freedoms
- Free-market capitalism
- Opposition to excessive government intervention
- Influential figures: John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer



2. Socialism

- Economic equality and social welfare
- Critique of capitalism and class disparities
- Shaped in Britain by Chartist movement
- Influential thinkers: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels
- Emergence of labor movements



3. Feminism

- Women's suffrage and legal rights
- Challenges to traditional gender roles
- Key figures: Emmeline Pankhurst, Mary Wollstonecraft
- Foundation for the women's rights movement



4. Imperialism

- Expansion of the British Empire
- Colonial policies and administration
- Christian missionary work
- 'White man's burden' ideology
- Scramble for Africa, Boer War



5. Constitutional Monarchy

- Evolution towards a constitutional monarchy
- Great Reform Act of 1832 and expanded suffrage
- Monarchy as a symbolic figurehead
- Impact on modern British politics
- Focus of unionist community affection



Rise of mass circulation press

- - Literacy Rates: - Increasing literacy rates during the Victorian era made newspapers accessible to a broader audience.
- - Technological Advancements: Introduction of steam-powered printing presses and telegraph improved printing and distribution.
- - Affordability: Reduced costs of production and purchase made newspapers more affordable to the masses.
- - Editorial Innovation: Sensationalism, crime stories, and serialized novels increased reader engagement.



Impact

- **Primary sources of information**: - newspapers became the primary source of news and information for a growing literate population.
- **Shaping public opinion**: - mass circulation newspapers played a significant role in shaping public opinion, influencing political discourse, and fostering a sense of community.
- **Instant news delivery**: - telegraph technology allowed for quicker and more efficient news dissemination.



The Belfast Newsletter

- Established in 1737
- Circulation: Varied over the years. Offices on Donegall Street.
- Political Bias: Liberal in 18th century, turned to be moderate and conservative in 19th


The Belfast News-Letter.

No. 22,284—Year Of. BELFAST, TUESDAY, APRIL 5, 1887. Price One Penny.

THE ULSTER ARCADE.

OPENING SPRING ANNOUNCEMENT.

JAMES LINDSAY & CO., Ltd.

THOMAS BROWN,

The Northern Whig

- Established in 1824
- Circulation: 20,000+ copies (1860s)
- Political Bias: Liberal and unionist



The Belfast Morning News

- Established in 1855
- Circulation: Approx. 10,000 copies (late 19th century). Merged with Irish News in 1892.
- Political Bias: Liberal


The Belfast Morning News.

The Irish News

- Established in 1891
- Circulation: Several thousand copies (late 19th century)
- Political Bias: Nationalist but anti Parnell during the Parnell Crisis





SECON

The Irish News

AND BELFAST MORNING NEWS.

VOL. LXII.—No. 15,286] BELFAST, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 1916. [ONE PENNY.

GLONARD Picture House —FALLS ROAD.—

SPECIAL HOLIDAY PROGRAMME:

THE UNAFRAID.

EXPLOITS OF ELAINE.

THE TELL-TALE HEART.

PIMPLE ROYAL DIVORCE

HIPPODROME

CENTRAL

EMPIRE

"THINK OF ME."

ALHAMBRA

CUNARD LINE.

The Belfast Telegraph

- Established in 1870
- Circulation: Tens of thousands of copies (early 20th century)
- The evening edition of the newspaper was originally called the "Sixth Late", and "Sixth Late Tele"
- Political Bias: Unionist and conservative



Other titles…

- **The Times**: Founded in 1785, is one of the oldest and most prestigious newspapers in the world. It continued to be influential during this period, providing comprehensive coverage of national and international news.
- **The Daily Telegraph**: Established in 1855, gained a reputation for its conservative and influential reporting. It continued to be a major player in British journalism during this period.
- **The Guardian**: Founded in 1821 as The Manchester Guardian, this newspaper was known for its liberal and progressive editorial stance. It was widely read in Britain and played a significant role in shaping public opinion.
- **The Daily Mail**: Launched in 1896, was known for its popular and sensationalist reporting. It targeted a broad readership and was one of the highest-circulation newspapers of the era.
- **The Daily Express**: Founded in 1900, was another newspaper known for its sensationalism and coverage of popular stories.
- **The Daily Mirror**: First published in 1903, it targeted a working-class audience and featured a mix of news and entertainment.





National Representation and franchise in Belfast

National representation from Ireland

- 1798: Irish Parliament with 300 MPs.
- 1800: Act of Union abolishes Irish Parliament and from 1 January 1801, Ireland was represented in the House of Commons by 100 MPs from Ireland:
  - Each of the thirty-two counties returned two MPs as did the Boroughs of Dublin City, County Dublin and Cork City, County Cork.
  - Thirty-one other Boroughs and Dublin University sent one MP to Westminster.



The Irish House of Commons in session (by Francis Wheatley, 1780)

MPs elected from Belfast, 1798 to 1914

- 1798: two MPs to Irish Parliament
- 1801: Belfast became a borough under the Act of Union and sent 1 MP to Westminster.
- 1832: 2 constituencies sending one MP each.
- 1885: Split into four constituencies with 1 MP each.



2007 Boundary Commission Final Recommendations

Belfast was a ‘rotten borough’

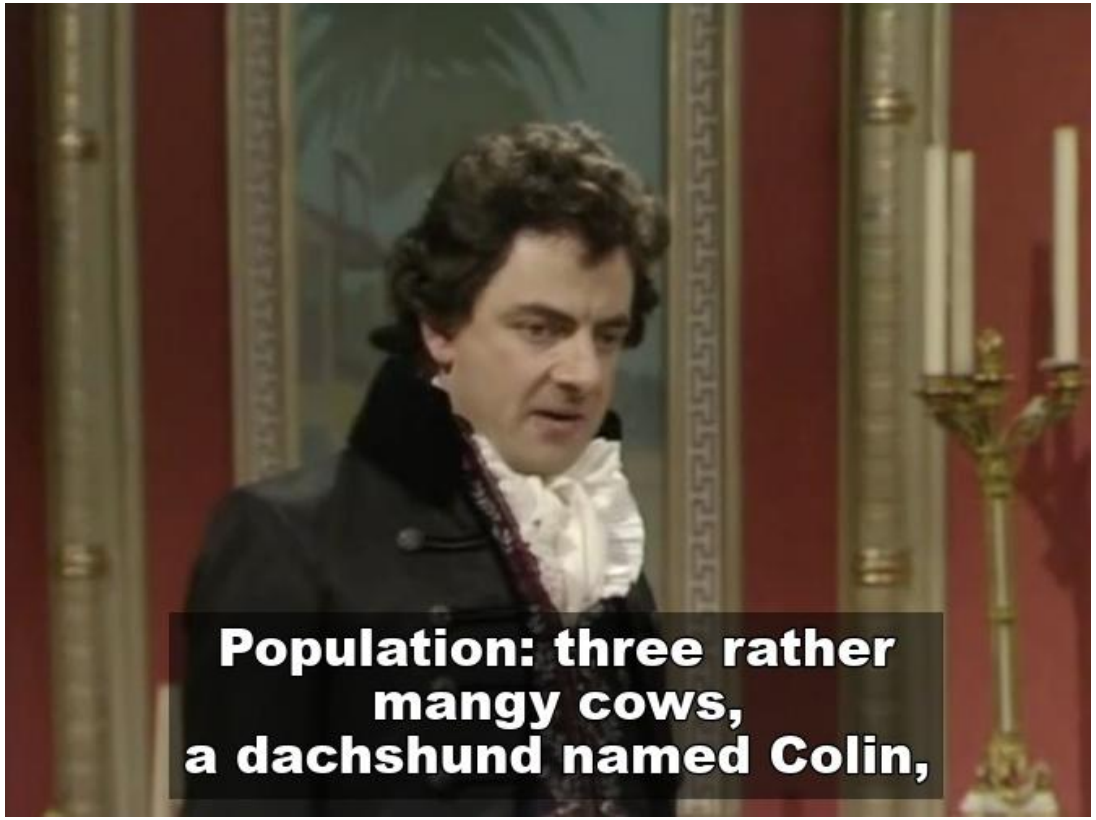
Rotten boroughs were underpopulated electoral districts in the United Kingdom with disproportionate political influence. They had:

- Small populations compared to other constituencies.
- Controlled by a handful of landowners or elites.
- Landowners held multiple seats, securing their interests.
- Reinforced the power of the Protestant Ascendancy



Belfast was like Dunny-on-the-Wold





Franchise, 1790s to 1832

- 1793: all male property holders whose property was valued at over 40 shillings could vote.
- 1801 to 1829: the possession of freehold land worth at least 40 shillings (£2).
- However, each borough constituency had its own qualification for voting. In Belfast, only the Sovereign and burgesses could vote (13 wealthy men)



Reform Act of 1832

- Primarily aimed at reforming the electoral system to make it more representative and fair.
- Abolished many rotten boroughs, redistributing seats to more populous areas
- Extending voting rights to a broader section of the male population.
- Marked a crucial step in the democratization of the British political system.



But was a backwards step in Ireland…

- 1832: Irish Boroughs were given a more uniform franchise. In addition to those who qualified under the previous rules, all occupiers of property worth at least £10 and resident freemen by birth or servitude became electors.
- In Ireland, the electorate was cut from 216,000 to 37,000 as qualification was raised (0.004% of the 8m population).



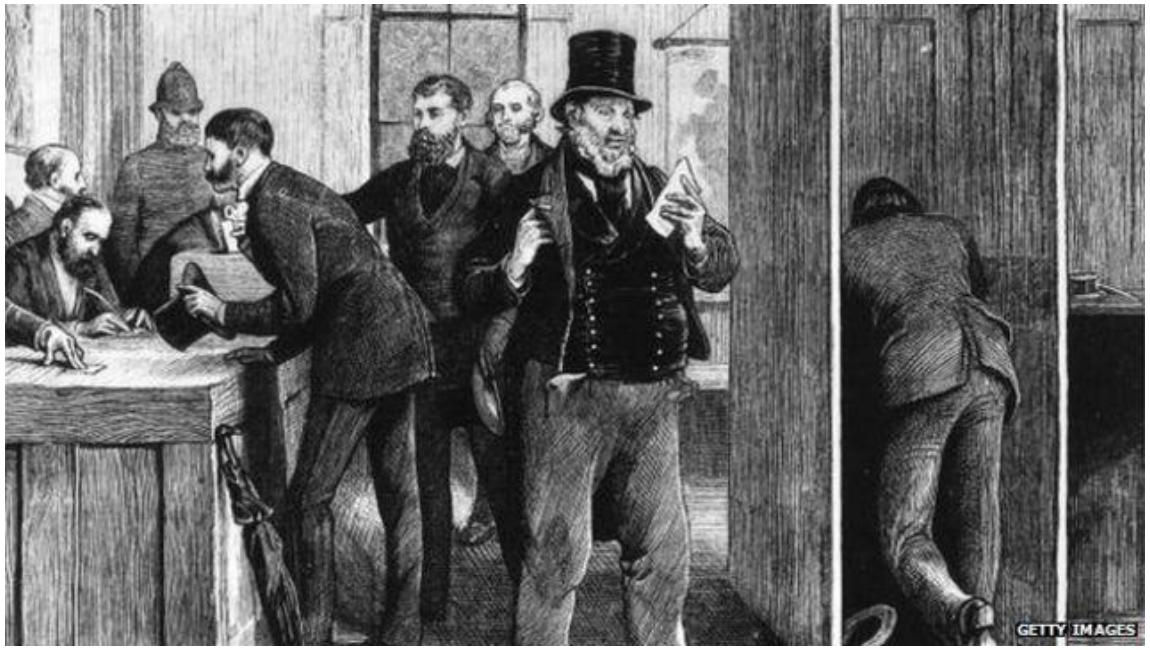
Why the step back?

1. Raising the franchise property qualification to £10 in Ireland under the Reform Act of 1832 excluded a significant portion of the population who did not meet the higher property ownership threshold.
2. The Act was influenced by the interests of the Anglo-Irish elite, who sought to protect their power and maintain control over the political system.
3. The Act was perceived by some as a means to limit Catholic representation and uphold the dominance of the Protestant Ascendancy, adding to religious and political tensions.
4. The decision to restrict the electorate in Ireland was influenced by concerns of the British government about potential political instability in a country with a history of unrest.



Franchise reform from 1832 to 1914

- 1850: Irish Franchise Act set property value at £12 in counties and £8 in boroughs. 16% of Irish men could vote.
- 1872: Secret Ballot introduced.
- 1884: Third Reform Act allowed all men paying an annual rental of £10 and all those holding land valued at £10 to vote.
- Male suffrage varied throughout the kingdom, too: in England and Wales, two in three adult males had the vote; in Scotland, three in five did; but in Ireland, the figure was only one in two.
- 1887: women are able to vote in the Belfast municipal elections.
- 1911: Women could stand for election to county borough councils.



The electorate and enfranchisement in Belfast, 1885 to 1914

General Election date	Electorate	Population	Date of Census	Enfranchised of the population
1802	13			
1806	13	22095	1806	0.06%
1807	13			
1812	13			
1818	13			
1820	13			
1826	13	37277	1821	0.03%
1830	13			
1831	13	53287	1834	0.02%
1832	1659			
1835	2137			
1837	3641			
1841	5907	75308	1841	7.84%
1847	9672			
1852	2697	97784	1851	2.76%
1857	3518			
1859	3303			
1865	3415	119393	1861	2.86%
1868	12168			
1874	15979	174412	1871	9.16%

The electorate and enfranchisement in Belfast, 1885 to 1914

General Election	Belast WEST	Belfast SOUTH	Belfast EAST	Belfast NORTH	Electorate for Belfast	Average size (based on average size of other electoral lists for other constituencies)	Estimated electorate	Population	Census	Electorate that can vote as proportion of population	Estimated % with vote
1885	8131	6740	8666	6831	30368			208122	1881	15%	
1886	8131	6740	8666	6469	30006			208122	1881	14%	
1892	8334	7563	11339	8610	35846			255950	1891	14%	
1895	N/A	8192	N/A	9201		8697	34786	255950	1891		14%
1900	N/A	8192	N/A	10117		9155	36618	349180	1901		10%
1906	8891	9538	N/A	11385		9938	39752	349180	1901		11%
1910 (Jan)	8790	10622	N/A	11829		10414	41655	349180	1901		12%
1910 (Dec)	8623	10622	N/A	11829		10358	41432	386947	1911		11%



Turnout, elections and political parties for Westminster in Belfast

Turnout for General Elections in Belfast, 1802-1885

General Election date	Electorate	Turnout	Turnout
1802	13	13	100%
1806	13	13	100%
1807	13	13	100%
1812	13	13	100%
1818	13	13	100%
1820	13	13	100%
1826	13	13	100%
1830	13	13	100%
1831	13	13	100%
1832	1659	1420	86%
1835	2137	1407	66%
1837	3641	1836	50%
1841	5907	1748	30%
1847	9672	1183	12%
1852	2697	2130	79%
1857	3518	2592	74%
1859	3303		0%
1865	3415	2766	81%
1868	12168	9750	80%
1874	15979	12896	81%

Turnout for General Elections in Belfast, 1885 to 1914

	Belfast WEST	Belfast SOUTH	Belfast EAST	Belfast NORTH	Average
1885	92.5	81.2	78.8	78.8	82.8
1886	93	77.1	72.6	76.9	79.9
1892	92.3	Unopposed	Unopposed	Unopposed	92.3
1895	Unopposed	Unopposed	Unopposed	Unopposed	N/A
1900	Unopposed	Unopposed	Unopposed	59.6	59.6
1906	94.6	84.4	Unopposed	83.6	87.5
1910 (Jan)	95.2	87.8	Unopposed	86.4	89.8
1910 (Dec)	93.4	78.2	Unopposed	Unopposed	85.8

MPs elected in Belfast at General Elections, 1802 to 1880

- 1802, 1806, 1807, 1812 - James May (Tory)
- 1818 – Arthur Chichester (Tory)
- 1820, 1826 - George Chichester (Tory)
- 1830, 1831 -Arthur Chichester (Tory)
- 1832 - Arthur Chichester (Tory), James Emerson Tennent (Whig)
- 1835 - John McCance (Whig), James Emerson Tennent (Tory)
- 1837 – James Gibson (Whig), George Chichester (Whig)
- 1841 - James Emerson Tennent (Tory), William Gillilan Johnson (Tory)
- 1847 - Robert James Tennent (Whig), John Chichester (Peelite)
- 1852 - Richard Davison (Tory), Hugh Cairns (Tory)
- 1857 - Hugh Cairns (Tory), Richard Davison (Tory)
- 1859 - Hugh Cairns (Tory), Richard Davison (Tory)
- 1865 - Hugh Cairns (Tory), Samuel Gibson Getty (Tory)
- 1868 - William Johnston (Tory), Thomas McClure (Tory)
- 1874 - William Johnston (Tory), James Corry (Tory)
- 1880 - William Ewart (Tory), James Corry (Tory)

Tory Party

- Established in 1678
- Had backed Catholic King James III before his removal and succession of William of Orange
- Controlled many ‘rotten boroughs’ in early 19th century
- In power from 1783 to 1830; introduced Catholic Emancipation Bill, 1829.
- Aristocratic, traditional, Anglican and traditional



Whigs

- Created in 1680s and supported, constitutional monarchism against absolute monarchy, non-conformist Protestantism, anti Catholic and wanted parliamentary system.
- Increasingly favoured by mercantile commercial class, supported free trade and expansion of the suffrage.



Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Oxford

Peelite

- Dissident political faction of the British Conservative Party from 1846 to 1859. Initially led by Robert Peel, the former Prime Minister and Conservative Party leader in 1846
- Facing a serious famine in Ireland in 1845, the Peelites sought to lower food prices by repealing the Corn Laws.
- Conservative Party split into protectionist vs free trade elements.



Sir Robert Peel

MPs elected for East and North Belfast, 1885 to 1914

East Belfast

- 1885 - Edward de Cobain (Independent Unionist)
- 1886 - Edward de Cobain (Irish Unionist)
- 1892 - Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (Irish Unionist)
- 1895 - Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (Irish Unionist)
- 1900 - Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (Irish Unionist)
- 1906 Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (Irish Unionist)
- 1910 (Jan) - Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (Irish Unionist)
- 1910 (Dec) Robert McMordie (Irish Unionist)

North Belfast

- 1885 - Sir William Ewart (Irish Unionist)
- 1886 – Sir William Ewart (Irish Unionist)
- 1892 - Edward Harland (Irish Unionist)
- 1895 - Edward Harland (Irish Unionist)
- 1900 - James Horner Haslett (Irish Unionist)
- 1906 - Daniel Dixon (Irish Unionist)
- 1910 (Jan) - Robert Thompson (Ulster Unionist Party)
- 1910 (Dec) - Robert Thompson (Ulster Unionist Party)

MPs elected for South and West Belfast, 1885 to 1914

South Belfast

- 1885 - William Johnston (Independent Conservative)
- 1886 - William Johnston (Irish Unionist)
- 1892 - William Johnston (Irish Unionist)
- 1895 - William Johnston (Irish Unionist)
- 1900 - William Johnston (Irish Unionist)
- 1906 - Thomas Sloan (Irish Unionist)
- 1910 (Jan) - James Chambers (Irish Unionist)
- 1910 (Dec) - James Chambers (Irish Unionist)

West Belfast

- 1885 - James Horner Haslet (Irish Unionist)
- 1886 – Thomas Sexton (Irish Unionist)
- 1892 - H. O. Arnold-Forster (Liberal Unionist)
- 1895 - H. O. Arnold-Forster (Liberal Unionist)
- 1900 - H. O. Arnold-Forster (Liberal Unionist)
- 1906 - Joseph Devlin, Irish Parliamentary
- 1910 (Jan) - Joseph Devlin, Irish Parliamentary
- 1910 (Dec) - Joseph Devlin, Irish Parliamentary

Conservative Party

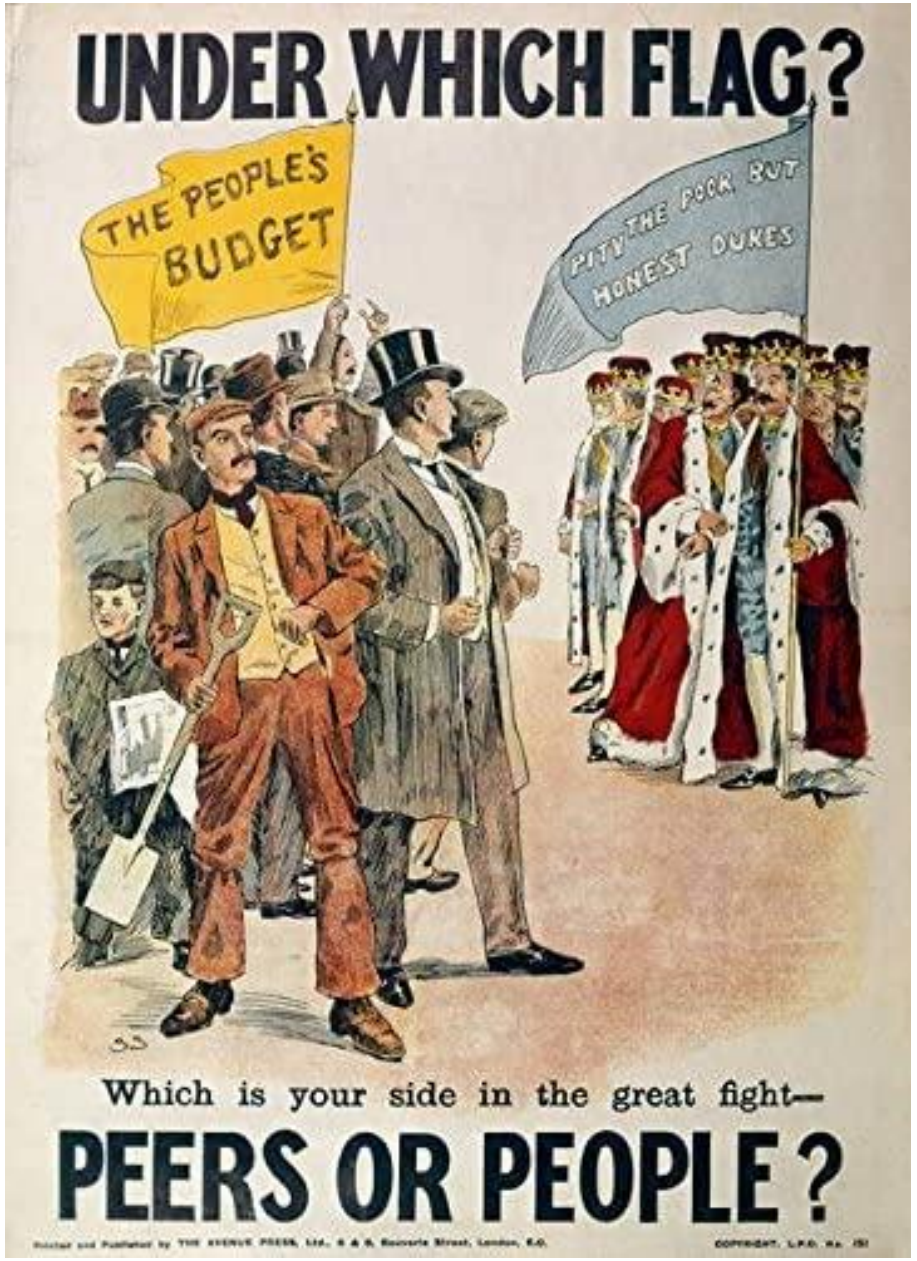
- Stood for the integrity of the union; resisted Home Rule
- Backed aristocracy, monarchy and established church.
- Mixed views on free trade; some favoured protectionist policy.
- Supported imperial expansion.



Benjamin Disraeli

Liberal Party

- Created out of a coalition of Peelites (including Gladstone, Herbert), Irish Independent Party and Whigs in late 1850s.
- Favoured free trade, expansion of Empire, regulation of industry, education reform, disestablishment of the churches, social reform and supremacy of the Commons over the Lords.
- Split in 1886 over Home Rule for Ireland; Liberal Unionists formed out of defectors in opposition to Home Rule.



Irish Unionist Party (Irish Unionist Alliance (IUA))

- Founded 1891 in opposition to the Home Rule movement.
- IU sought to represent unionism on an all-Ireland basis.
- The IUA became wracked by internal disagreement during the early twentieth century, with the issue of the partition of Ireland proving to be particularly divisive.



Ulster Unionist Party

- Founded in 1905 after split with IUA.
- Focused on keeping Ulster in the Union and not reaching a compromise with the Home Rule movement.



Irish Parliamentary Party

- Formed in 1874
- Its central objectives were legislative independence for Ireland and land reform.
- Its constitutional movement was instrumental in laying the groundwork for Irish self-government through three Irish Home Rule bills.

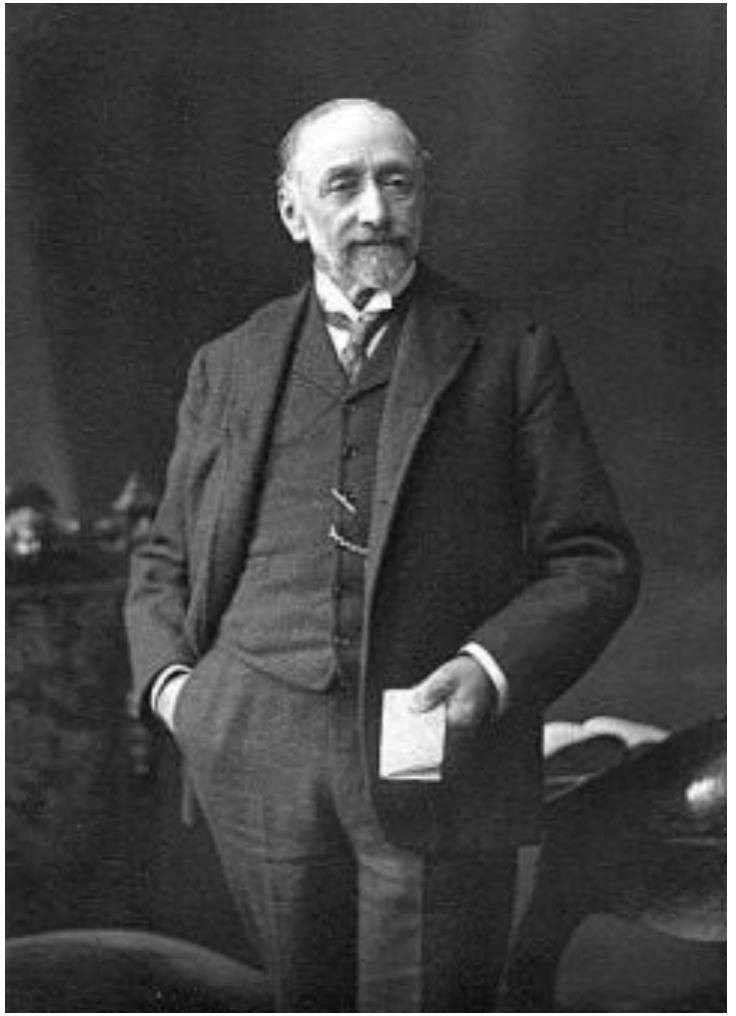


Some members of Parliament



Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (1834-1913)

- Born in Hamburg, emigrated to England in 1849.
- After serving his apprenticeship in Manchester, Wolff was employed as a draughtsman in Hyde, Greater Manchester, before being employed by the shipbuilder Edward Harland in Belfast as his personal assistant.
- In 1861, Wolff became a partner at Harland's firm, forming Harland and Wolff. Outside shipbuilding.
- Wolff served as a Belfast Harbour Commissioner. He also founded the Belfast Ropeworks, served as Member of Parliament for Belfast East for 18 years and as a member of the Conservative and Unionist Party and Irish and Ulster Unionist parties.



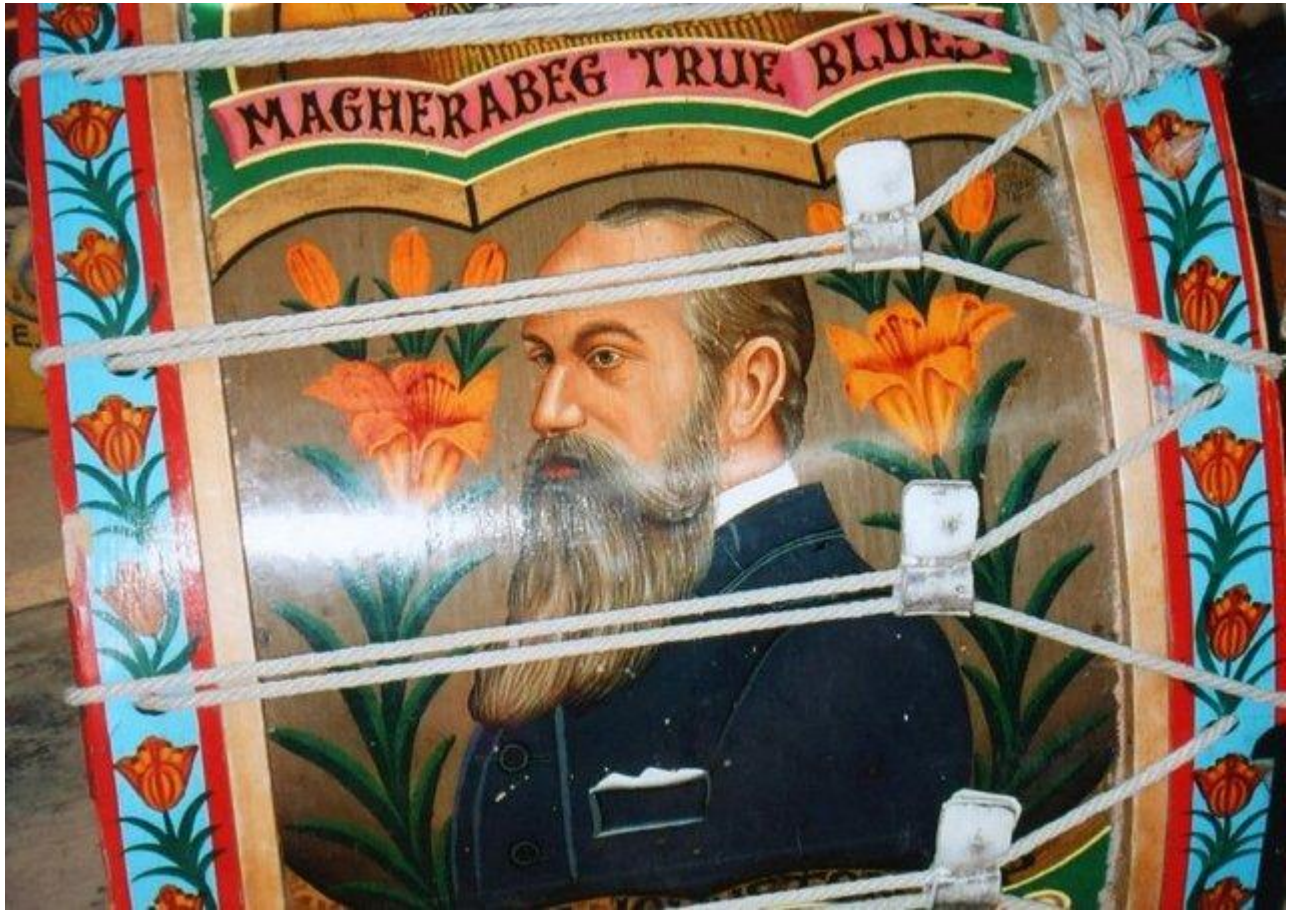
Hugh Oakeley Arnold-Forster (1855-1909)

- Educated Rugby and Oxford; became a lawyer.
- Sat as Liberal Unionist Member of Parliament for West Belfast from 1892 to 1906 and Unionist member for Croydon from 1906 until his death.
- Secretary of State for War, 1903-06.



William Johnston (1829–1902)

- Eldest son of John Brett Johnston of Ballykilbeg, Down.
- Educated at TCD; he wrote ultra-Protestant Tracts and fiercely Unionist novels during the decade and published a newspaper called *The Downshire Protestant* from 1855 to 1862.
- MP for South Belfast, 1885-1902.



Joseph Devlin (1871 –1934)

- Born at 10 Hamill Street, in the Lower Falls, fifth child of Charles Devlin (died 1906) who ran a hackney cab, and his wife Eliza King (died 1902) who sold groceries from their home
- Attended the nearby St. Mary's Christian Brothers' School in Divis Street.
- From 1891–1893 he was a journalist on the Irish News, then on the Freeman's Journal
- MP for West Belfast from 1906.



West Belfast, the battleground, 1885, 1906, 1910

General election 1885: Belfast West				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±%
Irish Conservative	James Horner Haslett	3,780	50.2	N/A
Irish Parliamentary	Thomas Sexton	3,743	49.8	N/A
	Majority	37	0.5	N/A
	Turnout	7,523	92.5	N/A
	Registered electors	8,131		

General election 1906: Belfast West				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±%
Irish Parliamentary	Joseph Devlin	4,138	49.2	N/A
Liberal Unionist	J. R. Smiley	4,122	49.0	N/A
Independent Liberal Unionist	Alexander Carlisle	153	1.8	N/A
	Majority	16	0.2	N/A

General election 1910 (Dec) : Belfast West				
Party	Candidate	Votes	%	±%
Irish Parliamentary	Joseph Devlin	4,543	52.7	–0.2
Irish Unionist	John Boyd Carpenter	4,080	47.3	+1.1
	Majority	463	5.4	–1.3
	Turnout	8,623	93.4	–1.8



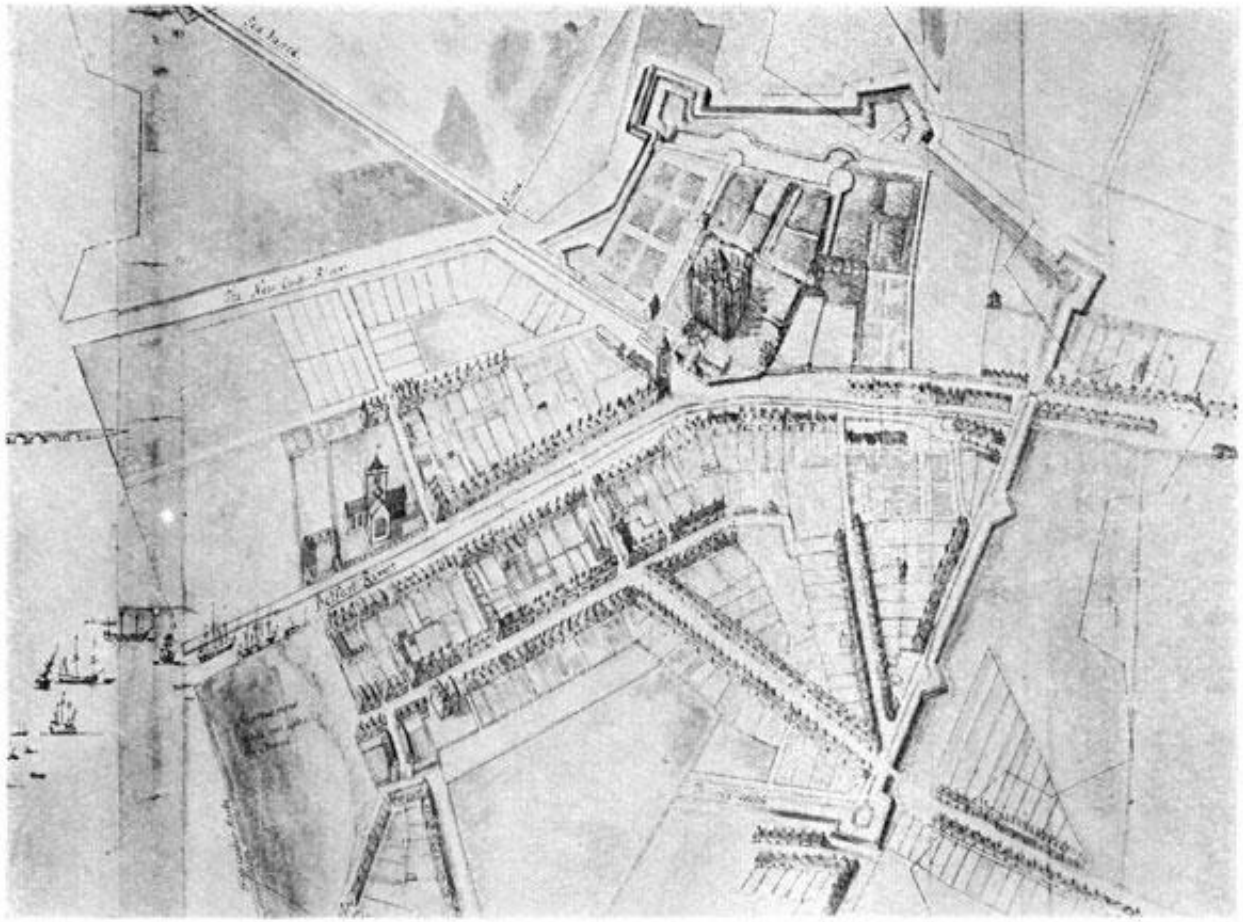
Joseph Devlin MP



Local government

Powers of the Corporation, 1613

- Local Governance: Belfast Corporation was responsible for the local governance of the town of Belfast. It had the authority to establish and enforce local bylaws and regulations.
- Property Rights: The corporation had control over the town's property, including land, buildings, and markets. It could grant leases and collect rents from its properties.
- Administration of Justice: Belfast Corporation had some judicial powers, such as the authority to hold courts, settle disputes, and administer justice within the town. These powers were generally limited to civil matters.
- Taxation: The corporation had the authority to levy taxes and impose rates on the town's inhabitants for the purpose of funding local services and infrastructure.
- Local Infrastructure: It had the power to manage and maintain local infrastructure, including roads, bridges, and public buildings.
- Trade and Markets: The corporation could regulate trade, markets, and commerce within the town. It had the authority to grant licenses to traders and control marketplaces.
- Policing: It had a role in maintaining law and order within the town. This included appointing constables and other officers to ensure the safety and security of the inhabitants.
- Representation: The corporation could send representatives to the Irish Parliament, which allowed Belfast to have a voice in the broader political landscape.



PHILLIPS' MAP, 1685.

Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act 1840

- **Franchise Expansion:** The 1840 Act extended voting rights and franchise, allowing a broader segment of the population to participate in local government. It abolished many of the restrictions on who could vote in local elections, effectively broadening the electorate. This was a significant step toward a more inclusive and representative system.
- **Reform of Municipal Structures:** The Act reformed the structure of municipal corporations, including Belfast Corporation, to make them more democratic. It introduced elected town councils and mayors, reducing the influence of self-perpetuating corporations that had dominated local government.
- **Municipal Boundaries:** The Act clarified and defined the municipal boundaries of towns, including Belfast. It laid the foundation for better-defined administrative areas and responsibilities.



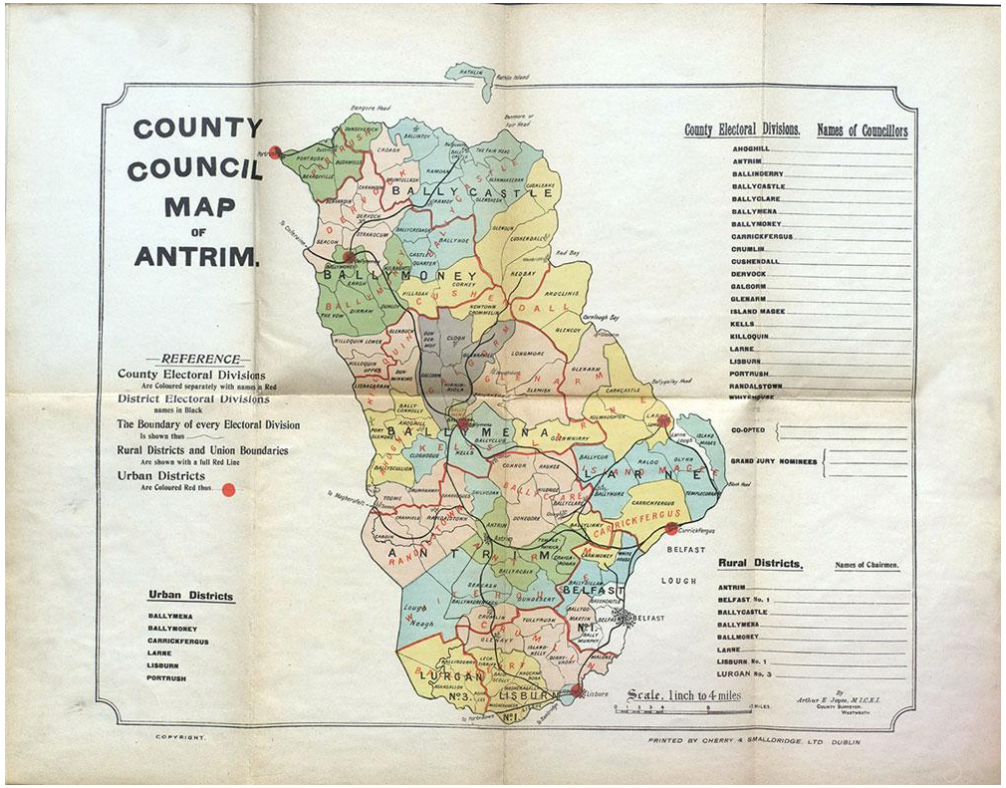
Belfast Town Hall, 1870





Local Government (Ireland) Act 1888

- **County Councils:** The 1888 Act was a broader piece of legislation that reorganized local government throughout Ireland, including counties and cities like Belfast. It introduced county councils and urban district councils. Belfast, as a city, was significantly impacted by this Act.
- **Creation of County Borough:** Under the 1888 Act, Belfast was designated as a county borough. This meant that it became an independent county for administrative purposes, separate from County Antrim. This gave the city more autonomy and control over its local affairs.
- **Separation of Powers:** The Act separated administrative and executive powers, creating a clearer distinction between elected representatives and professional civil servants in local government.
- **Wider Franchise:** Further extensions of the franchise occurred, allowing more people to participate in local elections and elect their local representatives.
- **Increased Local Autonomy:** The Act gave local authorities, including Belfast City Council, increased autonomy in areas like housing, education, and public health. It broadened their responsibilities and powers.



1888, Belfast becomes a city



Belfast City Hall



Local government – the City Council

- 1798-1842 : 12 Burgesses appointed to Corporation by Lord Donegall. Sovereign, Corporation leader, appointed by Burgesses
- 1842-1892: Democratically elected council elected by limited male franchise from rate payers. Mayor of Belfast leader of council.
- 1852: town boundary expanded from 1.5 square miles to 10. This increased the tax take from rich suburban properties and expanded income.
- 1887: female property holders allowed to vote [1898 elsewhere].
- 1892: Mayor becomes Lord Mayor.



Who becomes Mayor?



Andrew Mulholland

- He was born in Belfast in 1791, the son of Thomas Mulholland, a cotton manufacturer who founded the company of Messrs. Thomas Mulholland & Co. of Union Street
- Andrew joined his father's company, renaming the company Messrs. T. & A. Mulholland.
- Mayor in 1845
- He died at Springvale on 24 August 1866, aged 73.



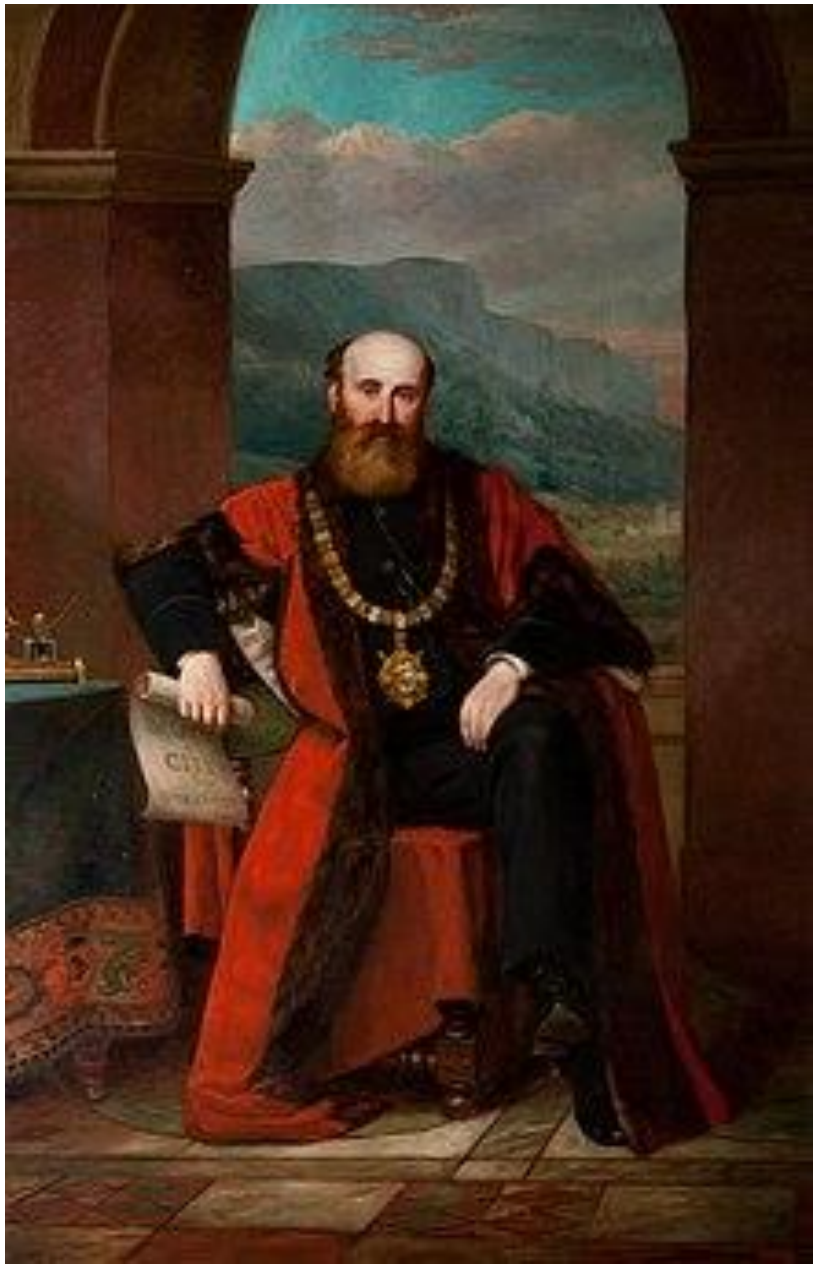
Sir Edward Coey (1805-1887)

- Coey was born in Larne, and commenced work as an apprentice butcher.
- After a short period working in the US, Coey established a provisions and curing business in the dockland district of Belfast in 1841, called Coey & Co.
- This business was very successful, and led to Coey developing his business interests including property in Belfast, London, Liverpool and in the United States.
- In 1861 became the first and only Liberal to serve as Mayor of Belfast.



James Horner Haslett

- Born in Knock, Belfast, the son of the Rev. Henry Haslett of Castlereagh, County Down
- Educated at Academical Institute Belfast and became a chemist and druggist.
- He was an alderman, and a Justice of the Peace (J.P.) of Belfast
- Mayor for 1887-8, 1888-9.



Sir Daniel Dixon, 1st Baronet

- Born on 28 March 1844 the son of Thomas and Sarah Dixon of Larne, County Antrim, his father was a merchant and shipowner.
- Educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution.
- He joined his father's timber business, Thomas Dixon and Sons, becoming a partner in 1864.
- He served as Mayor of Belfast in 1892 and as Lord Mayor of Belfast in three terms; 1893, 1901 to 1903, and 1905 to 1906.
- He was also a Member of Parliament for Belfast North as an Irish Unionist from 1905 to 1907.



William James Pirrie, (1847-1924)

- Pirrie was born in Quebec City, Canada East, the son of James Alexander Pirrie and Eliza Swan (Montgomery) Pirrie, who were both Irish.
- He was chairman of Harland and Wolff, shipbuilders, between 1895 and 1924
- Lord Mayor of Belfast between 1896 and 1898.
- He was ennobled as Baron Pirrie in 1906
- In Belfast he was, on other grounds, already a controversial figure: a Protestant employer associated as a leading Liberal with a policy of Home Rule for Ireland.

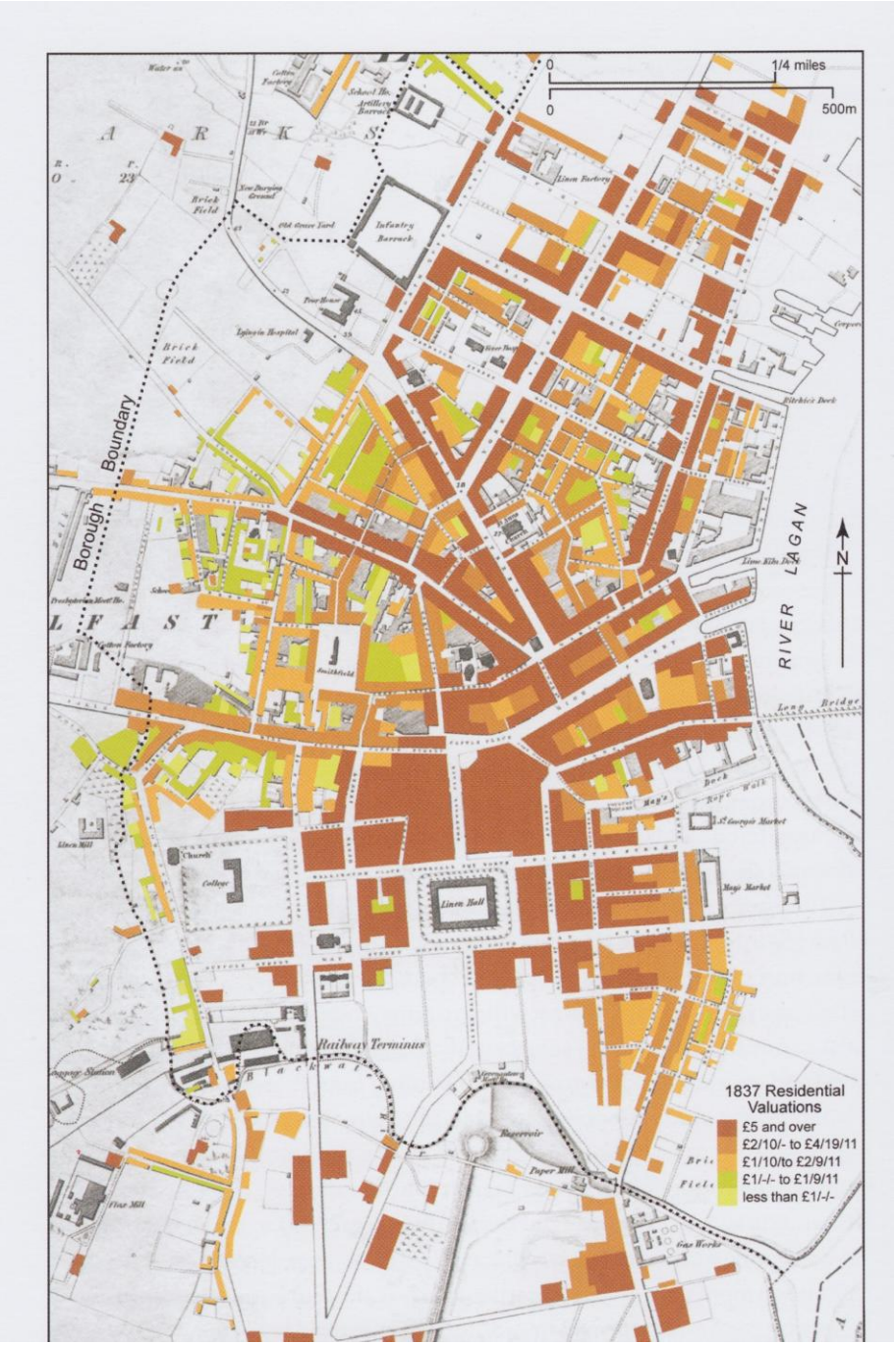


Why the Unionist Dominance?

- Between 1798 to 1914, Belfast only had 2 Liberal Mayors
- 1st Catholic Councillor, Bernard Hughes, returned in 1855.
- Demographics; Protestant/Unionist/Conservative voters outweighed Catholic/Liberal/Nationalist voters.
- In 1830s, John Bates, Conservative election agent, ensured Liberals/Whigs/Catholics were taken off the list for technical irregularities and Tories were kept on.
- 1850, Bates was Town Clerk and had official control over electoral registration.



Wealth and enfranchisement: 1837



Wealth and enfranchisement: 1861

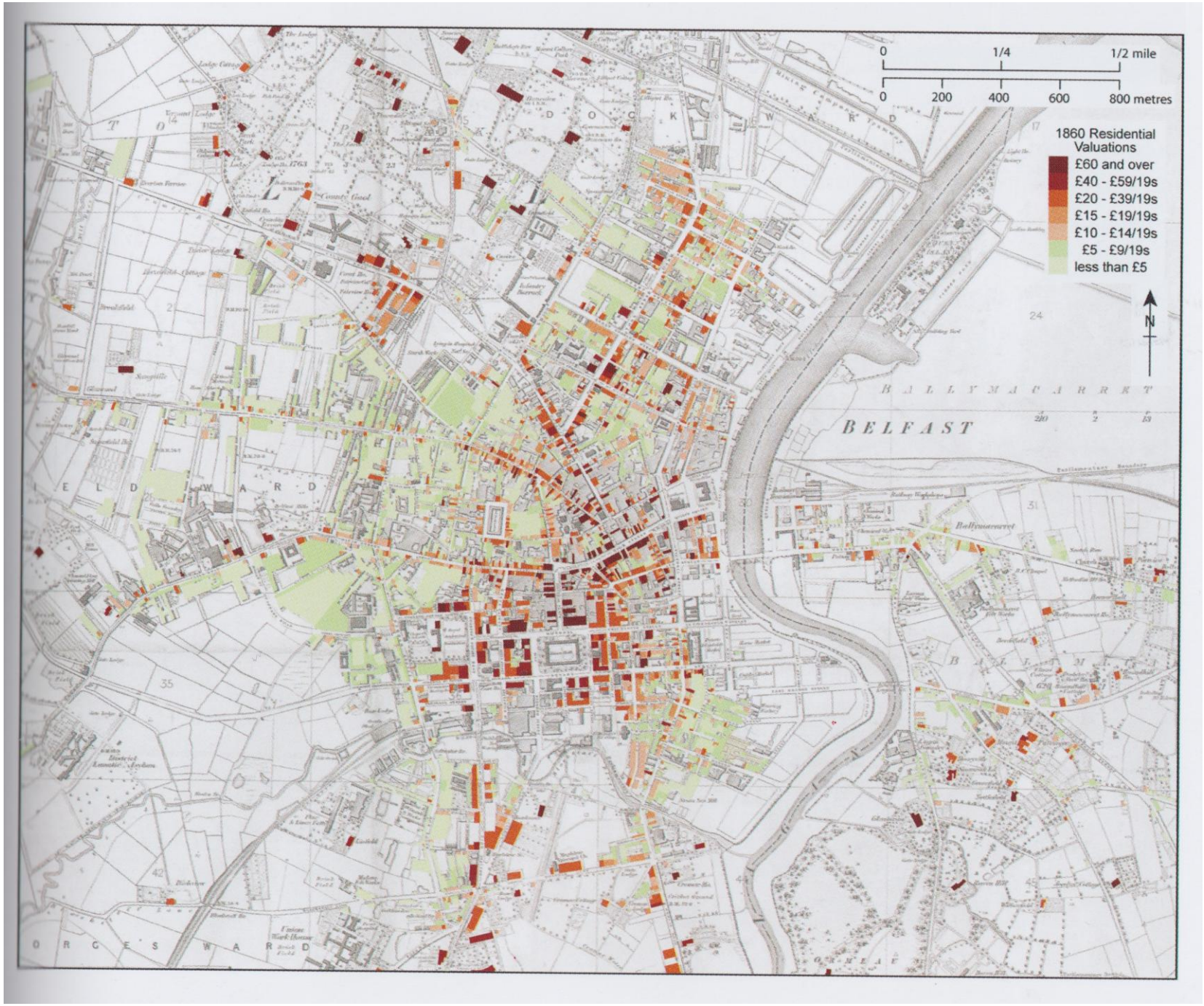


Table 4: Rateable Valuation of Houses by Religion of Head of Household, 1901

	Catholic	Protestant
Below £5	32%	13%
£5–£7.50	48%	45%
£7.51–£12	14%	26%
Above £12	6%	16%

Source: A.C. Hepburn, *A Past Apart: Studies in the History of Catholic Belfast 1850–1950* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1996), p. 62.

Bernard Hughes

- Hughes, Bernard (‘Barney’) (1808–78), master baker, entrepreneur, and liberal reformer.
- By using new technology he was able to produce large quantities of consistently high-quality bread at prices that were up to 20 per cent cheaper than his local competitors.
- By 1851 he employed up to a third of those in the Belfast baking trade.
- Became the first Catholic to be elected to the Belfast town council (1855–8, 1871–2) and the first catholic alderman (1872–8).



Issues, pressure groups and political engagement, 1798-1914

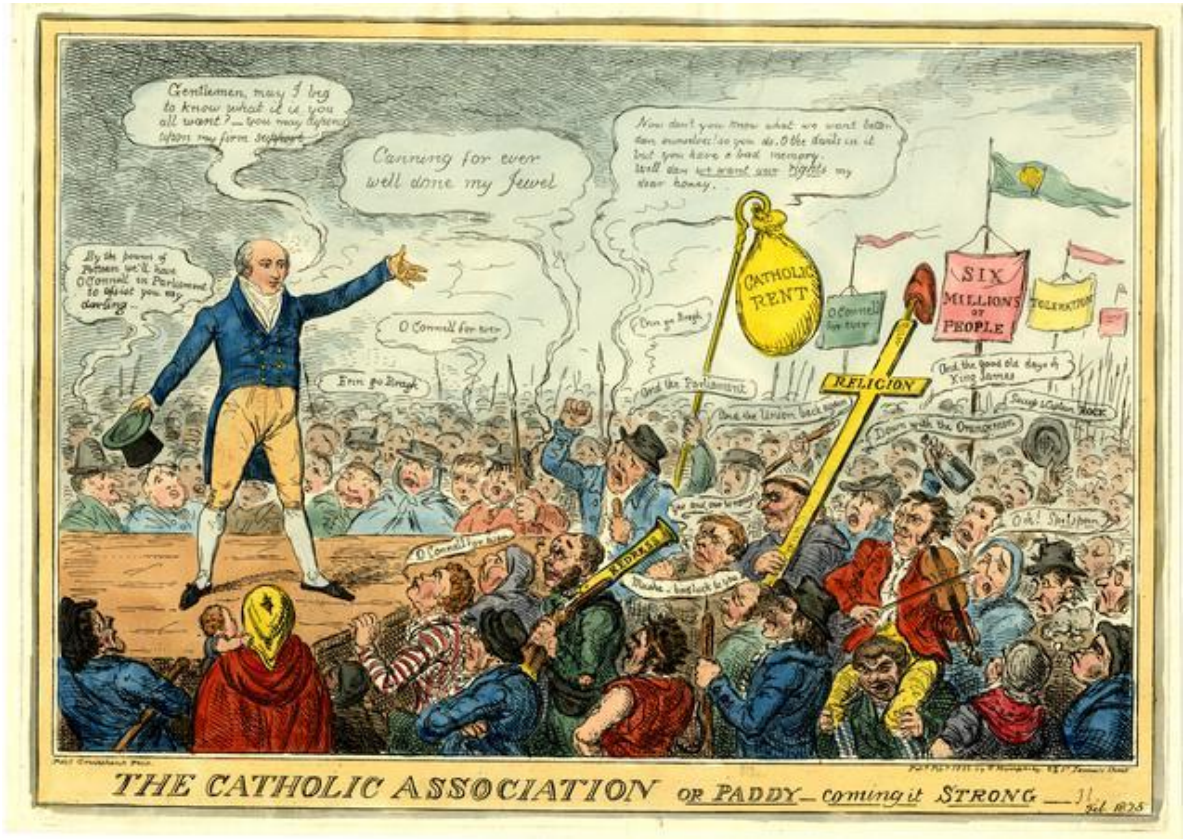


Catholic Emancipation



Background

- In Ireland, it repealed the Test Act 1672 and the remaining Penal Laws which had been in force since the passing of the Disenfranchising Act of the Irish Parliament of 1728.
- The act permitted members of the Catholic Church to sit in the parliament at Westminster.
- O'Connell had won a seat in a by-election for Clare in 1828 against an Anglican. Under the then-extant penal law, O'Connell, as a Catholic, was forbidden to take his seat in Parliament.



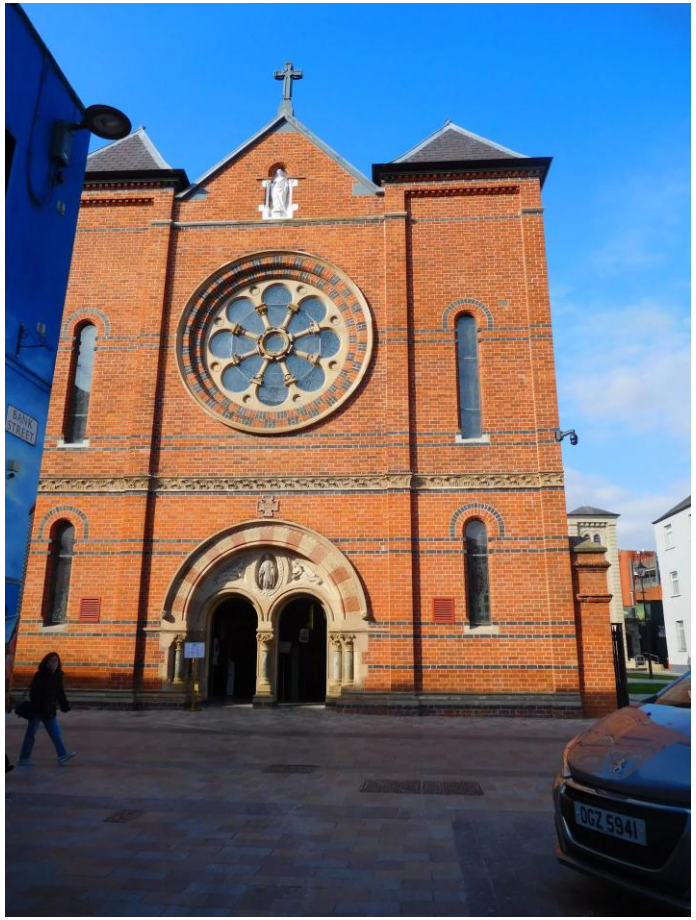
The Catholic Association

- Set up by Daniel O'Connell in 1823.
- Comprised of the middle-class elite: the annual subscription amounting to a guinea,
- The ‘Catholic Rent’ was a one penny subscription that was to be paid monthly to the Catholic Association in Ireland.
- The money financed political organisation, campaigning and the effort to secure equal civil and political rights for Catholics.
- In its first year of existence the Association had an income of £1,000 per week (960,000 pennies a month) and at the end of the year it had £10,000 invested.



Was the rent collected in Belfast?

- Church involvement: Catholic priests across Ireland helped organise collections, with subscriptions announced from church altars and administered through parish networks.
- Eidence near Belfast: An original Catholic Rent subscription ledger from Lisburn, dated October 1825, confirms collections were taking place in the Belfast area.
- Belfast's response: O'Connell criticised Belfast in December 1824 for its limited support for Catholic Rent, although the city had supporters of Catholic Emancipation.
- Conclusion: There is no conclusive evidence yet that Catholic Rent was collected inside Belfast's Catholic churches, including St Mary's, Chapel Lane. However, collections nearby and the wider parish-based system make it plausible.





Outcome

- Peel (right), the Home Secretary, until then was called "Orange Peel" because he always supported the Orange position.
- Peel now concluded: "though emancipation was a great danger, civil strife was a greater danger.“
- 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act introduced.
- The Act allowed Catholics to sit in Parliament and hold most public offices, removing the requirement to swear oaths rejecting Catholic beliefs.

Act of Union: repeal or not to repeal



AN

ACT

FOR

The Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

PUBLISH

Printed by George Eyre,

PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.



Suppression of political dissent

- The Unlawful Societies (Ireland) Act 1825 aimed to suppress the Catholic Association. O'Connell got round the law by forming the New Catholic Association.
- Orange Order was also outlawed or suppressed between 1825–1828 and formally dissolved in 1835, before reforming in 1845.
- The Suppression of Unlawful Associations (Ireland) Act 1829 suppressed new organisation but after the Emancipation Act it dissolved itself.
- The Anti-Processions Act of 1832 curbed parades, and following a critical parliamentary report into the organization, the Orange Order was dissolved in 1835.
- Popular support for the movement survived, however, and when the Anti-Processions Act was lifted in 1845, the organization was re-formed and Twelfth of July processions resumed.





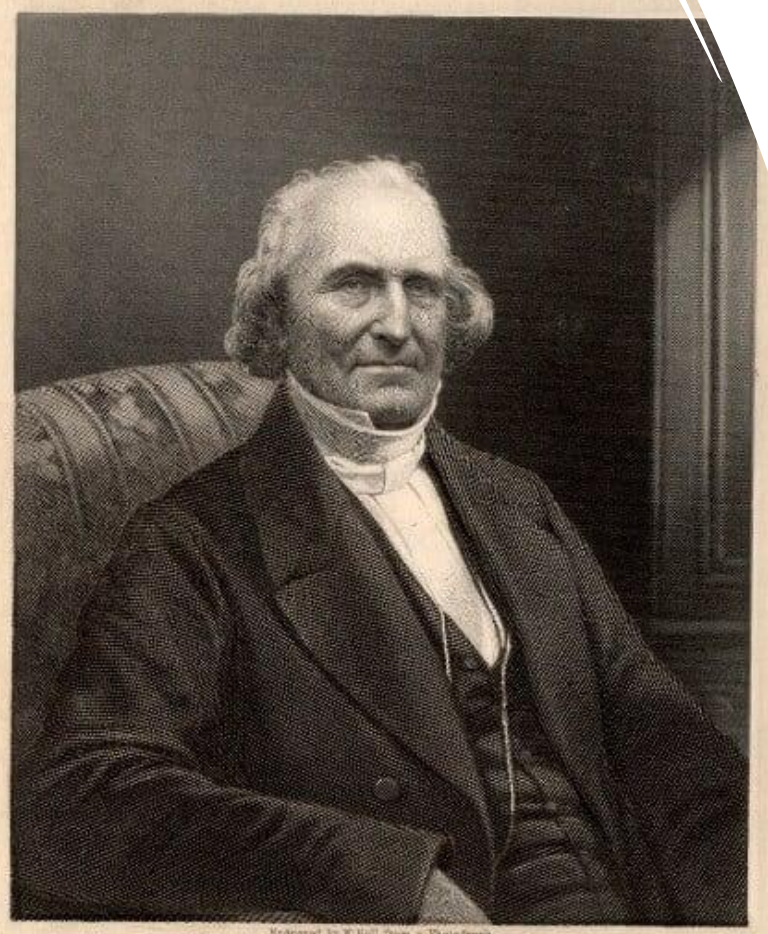
Loyal National Repeal Association, 1840

- The Association sought to restore the Irish Parliament and achieve the level of legislative independence briefly attained in the 1780s under Henry Grattan and making Ireland a separate kingdom in a personal union with Great Britain on equal footing.
- It advocated a peaceful and constitutional path to repeal while maintaining loyalty to the British Crown.

O’Connell in Belfast, 1841

- O’Connell visited Belfast from **January 16 to 19, 1841**, as part of his provincial campaign to drum up support for the repeal of the **1801 Act of Union**.
- O'Connell arrived at the invitation of Charles Gavan Duffy, editor of the Belfast nationalist newspaper the *Vindicator*, to challenge the political landscape of the north and push for the dissolution of the legislative union with Great Britain.
- **The Entourage:** He was accompanied by Protestant Repealers including **Robert Dillon Browne** (MP for Mayo), **Thomas Steele** (known as the 'Head Pacificator'), and his son-in-law **Charles O'Connell**.
- Recognizing the immense danger, Duffy helped smuggle O'Connell into Belfast **in disguise**. Following a weekend of massive local tension and protests, Duffy successfully managed the logistics to get O'Connell out of the city unharmed.





Reaction

- **Loyalist and Unionist Opposition:** Loyalist Ulster and anti-Repeal groups strongly protested his arrival. The anti-Repealers held counter-demonstrations, and local newspapers sharply criticized the campaign.
- The most famous confrontation of the visit was a public challenge from **Dr. Henry Cooke**, a prominent Presbyterian minister and leader of orthodox northern Presbyterianism, who invited O'Connell to a public debate regarding the pros and cons of repealing the Union.

Young Ireland Movement – 1848

- Origins: Founded in the 1840s by young Irish nationalists who wanted greater freedom for Ireland.
- Key leaders: William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher and John Mitchel.
- The Great Famine: Widespread suffering and anger at British government policies increased support for Irish nationalism.
- 1848 Rebellion: Inspired by revolutions across Europe, Young Irelanders attempted an uprising in County Tipperary.
- Outcome: The rebellion failed and several leaders were arrested or transported.
- Legacy: The movement inspired later generations of Irish republicans and the struggle for independence.



YOUNG IRELAND IN BUSINESS FOR HIMSELF.



BELFAST CONNECTIONS

- Charles Gavan Duffy edited The Vindicator, a Belfast-based Repeal newspaper, before co-founding The Nation in 1842.
- John Mitchel, raised in Newry, became a prominent Young Ireland journalist and radical nationalist.
- The 1845 Queen's College Belfast proposal sharpened arguments over mixed Catholic–Protestant education.



POLITICS AND LOCAL RESPONSE

- Young Ireland appealed for Protestant–Catholic cooperation and repeal of the Union.
- Irish Confederation delegates sought Protestant support in Ulster in 1847–48.
- A Protestant Repeal Association formed in Belfast in May 1848, but gained little mass support.
- The armed rising of 1848 occurred in Tipperary, not Belfast.

Managing political division in society

A nationalist rebellion by William Smith O'Brien's Young Ireland movement

the Dolly's Brae conflict occurred in County Down. A contested procession by Orangemen resulted in a skirmish between the Orangemen, local Catholics. Reported 30 were dead.

1848

1849

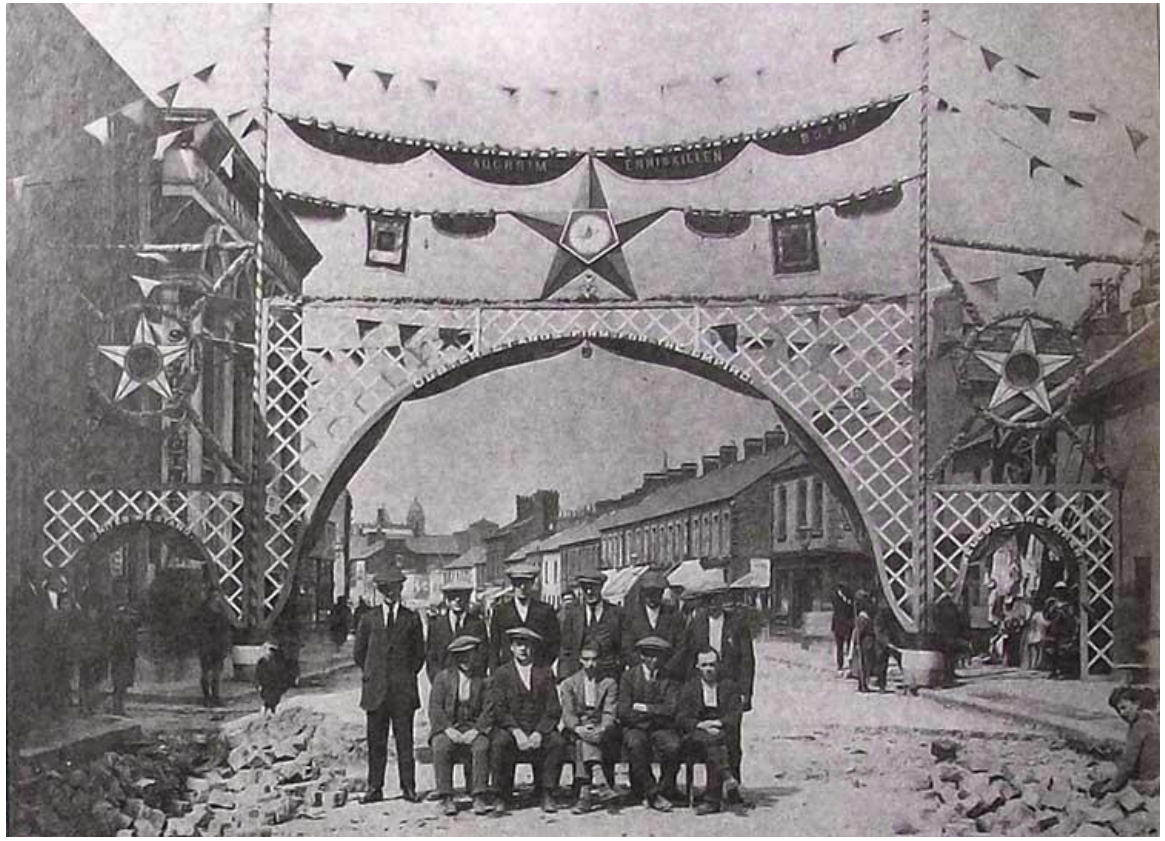
July 1849

Early in 1849 a riot broke out in Crossgar in County Down.



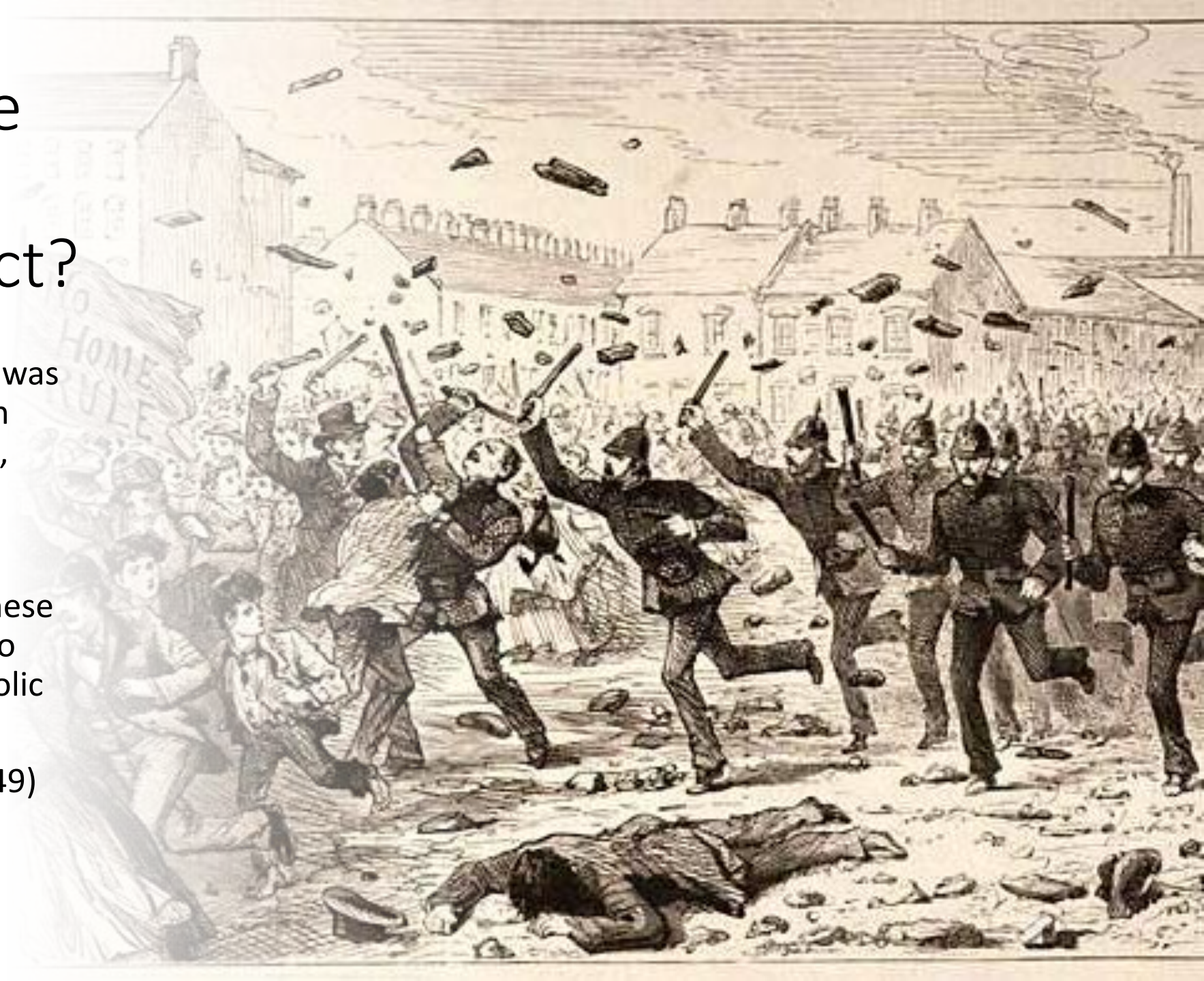
Party Processions Act 1850

- Prohibited open marching, organised parades and sectarian meetings in Ireland.
- Aimed to prevent ‘Assemblies of Persons in Ireland who shall meet and parade together or join in procession, and who shall bear, wear or have amongst them or any of them any fire-arms or other offensive Weapons, or any Banner, Emblem, Flag or Symbol, the Display whereof may be calculated or tend to provoke Animosity between different Classes of Her Majesty's Subjects, or who shall be accompanied by any Person or Persons playing Music which may be calculated or tent to provoke Animosity between different Classes of Her Majesty's Subjects, shall be unlawful Assemblies’



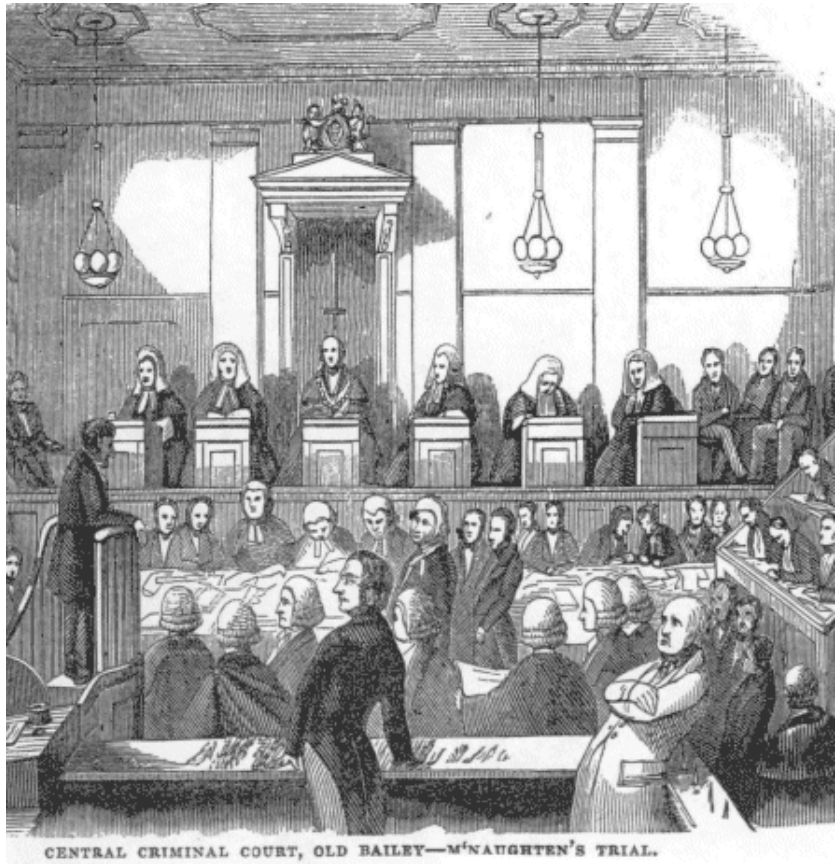
Why introduce the Party Processions Act?

- Religious tensions: There was growing hostility between Catholics and Protestants, particularly in Ulster.
- Orange Order parades
- Violence and disorder: These marches sometimes led to confrontations with Catholic communities.
- Battle of Dolly's Brae (1849)



Prosecuted for ‘Party Expressions’

- November 1859: Three disorderly Orangemen, James Brittan, Edward Hall and James Andres were charged with disorderly conduct and making use of party expressions. One man was fined 10s and the other two 20s.
- June 1865: Anne Hughes was ordered to find bail to keep the peace for twelve months or be imprisoned for three months for being disorderly and using party expressions in Mill Street. She had been singing about Dan O’Connell, the Liberator of Ireland and said she would not go to the Police Office for it was an Orange Lodge. She went to jail
- August 1865: The notorious Owen Christie was brought up for the 221st time, charged with being drunk and disorderly and using party expressions, and assaulting the constables in the Police Office. He was fined in 40s and costs.



CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT, OLD BAILEY—M'NAUGHTEN'S TRIAL.

1872 - Repeal of Party Processions Act?

- **Unfair enforcement:** Although the Act was intended to restrict both Protestant and Catholic processions, it was enforced primarily against Protestant Orangemen, particularly in Ulster. Nationalist processions elsewhere in Ireland were often permitted.
- **Pressure from Orangemen:** William Johnston of Ballykilbeg, a prominent Orangeman, campaigned against the legislation. He deliberately defied the ban on Orange marches and was imprisoned in 1867, helping to generate support for repeal.
- **Increased sectarian resentment:** Rather than reducing hostility between Catholics and Protestants, the Act was criticised for making Orangemen feel unfairly persecuted, thereby worsening tensions.
- **Existing laws were considered sufficient:** The British government concluded that ordinary common law powers could adequately deal with violent processions and breaches of the peace without specifically prohibiting sectarian demonstrations.
- In a House of Lords debate on 7 May 1872, the Earl of Dufferin argued that the Act had become one-sided, vexatious, and unjust.
- Had not prevented the 1857 and 1864 riots in Belfast.





Rise of the Orange Order

- By 1851 there were 35 Orange lodges with 1,333 Orangemen in Belfast; by 1880 there were 135 lodges and over 5,000 Orangemen.
- Several developments contributed:
  - Industrialisation: Belfast's expanding linen, engineering and shipbuilding industries attracted Protestant workers from rural Ulster, bringing Orange traditions into the city.
  - Religious tensions: Competition between Protestant and Catholic communities strengthened sectarian identities and encouraged participation in Orange organisations.
  - Political mobilisation: Opposition to Irish nationalism and Home Rule helped unite sections of Belfast's Protestant population.
  - Public demonstrations: Orange parades became increasingly elaborate. By the 1880s, Belfast streets featured extensive decorations, arches and banners

However, ‘Party Expressions’ still a punishable offence up to the Great War

- May 1878: Hannah Moore received her eighteenth conviction for using party expressions on the Shankill Road. She was fined 40s for cursing the Pope.
- October 1878: John Murphy was sent to jail for one month for shouting “God save Ireland, and to h—l with Victoria” in Clifton Street. Mr Murphy had seven previous convictions.
- July 1895: Robert Thomas, a newsboy, better known as ‘Smithy the Growler’ was charged with being drunk and disorderly and guilty of riotous behaviour for making use of party expressions calculated to lead to a breach of the peace. He was being beaten by a crowd when the police intervened. He was fined 40 shillings or one month in gaol
- September 1912: September 1912 Mrs Mary Connor was in court charged with riotous behaviour and drunkenness but the charges were dismissed as there was much conflicting evidence heard in court. Mrs Connor from Lord Street was certainly drunk on the day but evidence was heard from one witness that Mr Connor had been struck to the ground by a Catholic crowd and that when the police arrived they arrested Mrs Connor. Other gave evidence that Mrs Connor had been shouting party expressions as she walked through a Catholic area.



SLAVERY.

The GLORIOUS 1st of AUGUST, 1838,

When it is confidently expected that the last vestige of SLAVERY will be swept away in all our West India Islands.

A Public Thanksgiving Service will be held in the ENGLISH WESLEYAN CHAPEL, on WEDNESDAY Evening next, AUGUST 1st, 1838, PRECISELY at 7 o'Clock. Addresses in both Languages will be delivered on the auspicious occasion.

The attendance of ALL that feel interested in the welfare of 800,000 of their fellow-creatures who will shortly emerge from a state of SLAVERY into that of FREEDOM, is most earnestly requested.

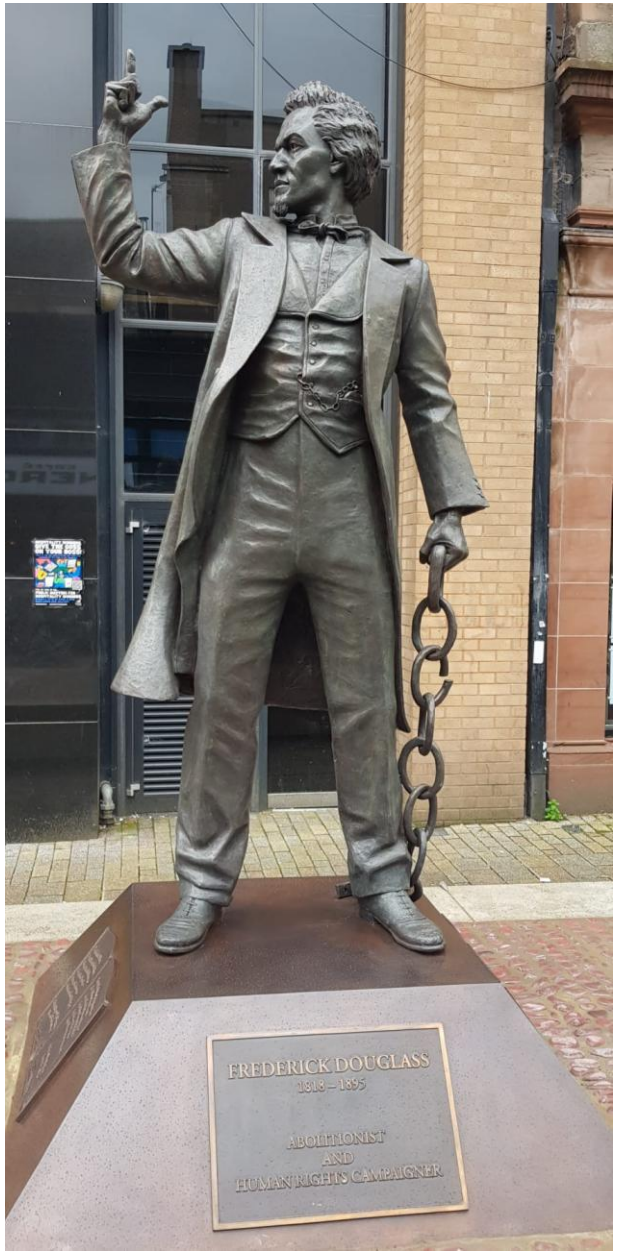
Carmarthen, July 30th, 1838.

P.S.—A Collection will be made to defray the local expenses of the Carmarthen Anti-Slavery Society, and to aid the General Committee, in London, in their important and unwearied labours, to secure to the Negro the possession of ACTUAL, as well as NOMINAL Freedom.

Anti Slavery

Campaigns against slavery

- Three key objectives:
- Abolition of slave trade in the British Empire (1798-1807)
- Abolition of the institution of slavery in the British Empire (1807-1833)
- Abolition of slavery in the USA (1833-1866)



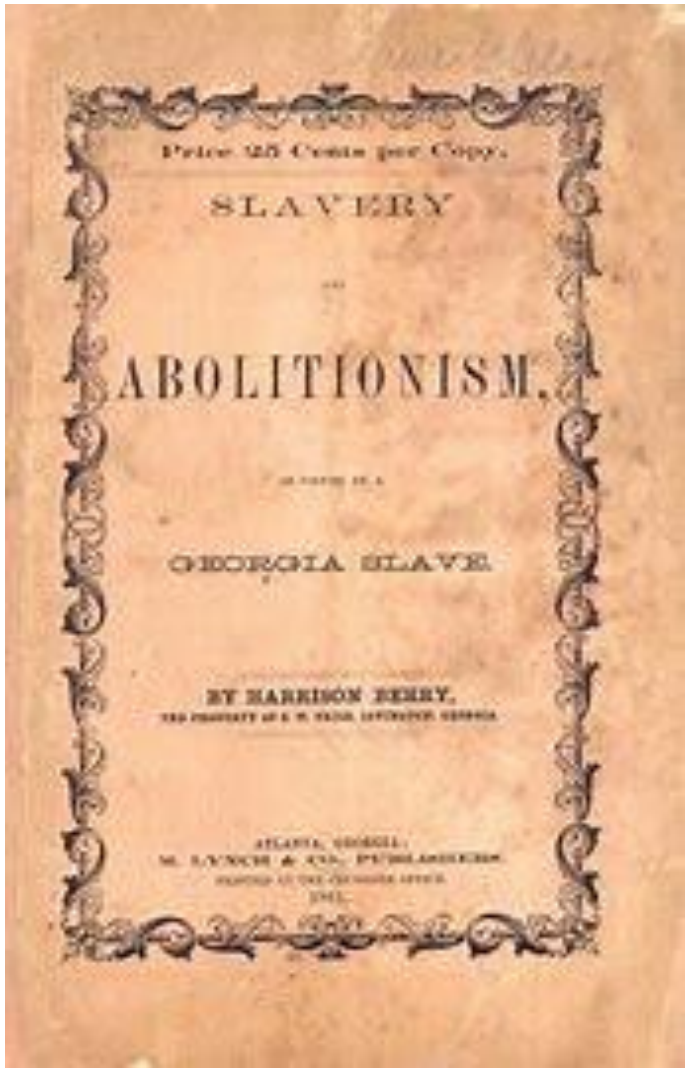
Belfast visit

- During the time of Equiano's visit, Samuel Neilson was treasurer of Belfast Charitable Society and on 17 December 1791, Equiano attended a committee in the Boardroom of the Poor House.
- Equiano said that he was *'exceedingly well treated, by persons of all ranks'* in Ireland, and found the people of Belfast to be particularly hospitable.



Why campaign against Slavery?

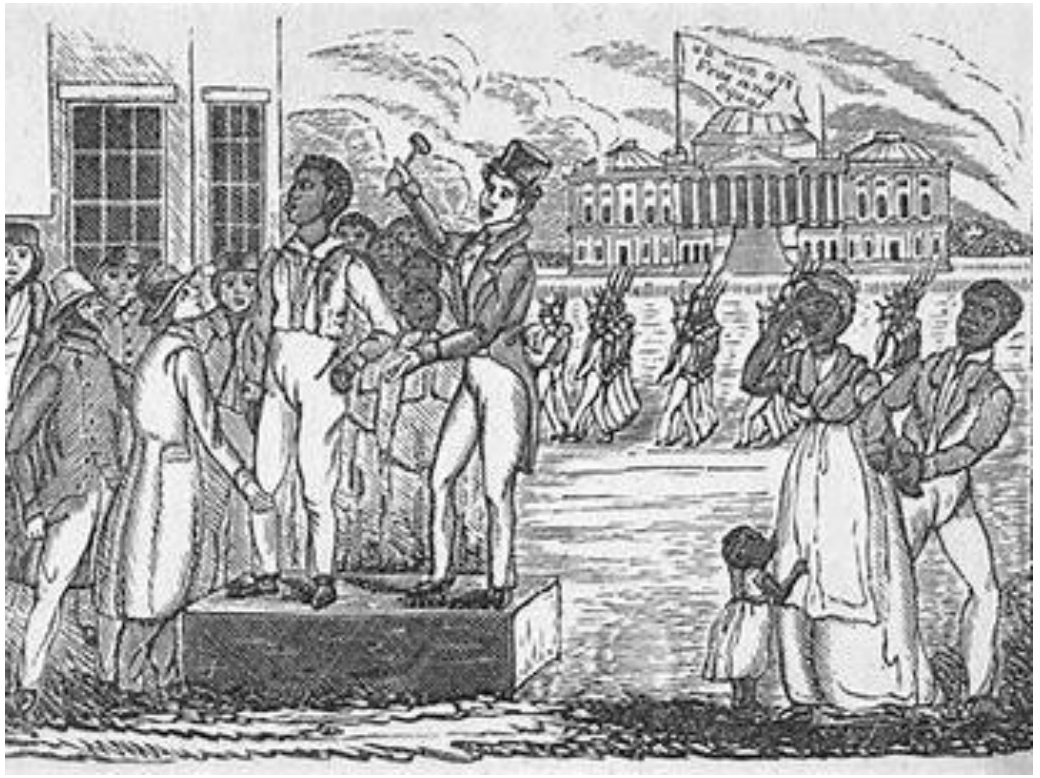
1. Historical association with the Irish being ‘slaves’ under the penal laws and the plight of African slaves.
2. The impact of the Scottish Enlightenment.
3. Social networks and milieu.
4. Impact of print media
5. Christian faith



After United Irishmen, abolitionism in Belfast vibrant

BNL published:

- July 1806, an article regarding the sale of slaves in Charleston, South Carolina.
- The article read: “Let it be noted too, how ingenious avarice has given a new range to depredation. The western coast of Africa is no longer able to glut their “cursed thirst of gold.”… It is a folly to dwell upon the immortality, injustice and crying sin of this abominable traffic; but is it not surprising that avarice should be a stronger principle than self-preservation?”
- Coverage of William Wilberforce’s attempts to pass a Bill banning the British slave trade



Slave Girl incident, 1818

In 1818, Belfast News-Letter (23 June 1818) published a Chronicle article detailing a fifteen-year-old slave girl's arrival in Belfast with abusive masters.

Reports claimed she sought refuge upon discovering her freedom but was apprehended and destined for Jamaica.

The incident triggered a public outcry, leading the Sovereign to intervene and summon the girl for investigation.



Resolution

Subsequent inquiries revealed inaccuracies in the story, clarifying that the girl had left Belfast willingly.

Despite factual discrepancies, the strong public reaction underscored Belfast's vehement opposition to slavery and its disapproval of slave owners.



Portrait of an older woman in New Orleans with her enslaved servant girl in the mid-19th century

Twelve slave incident, 1828

- A cargo of sugar from Bermuda arrived two ships, the Belfast and the Griffin in September 1828.

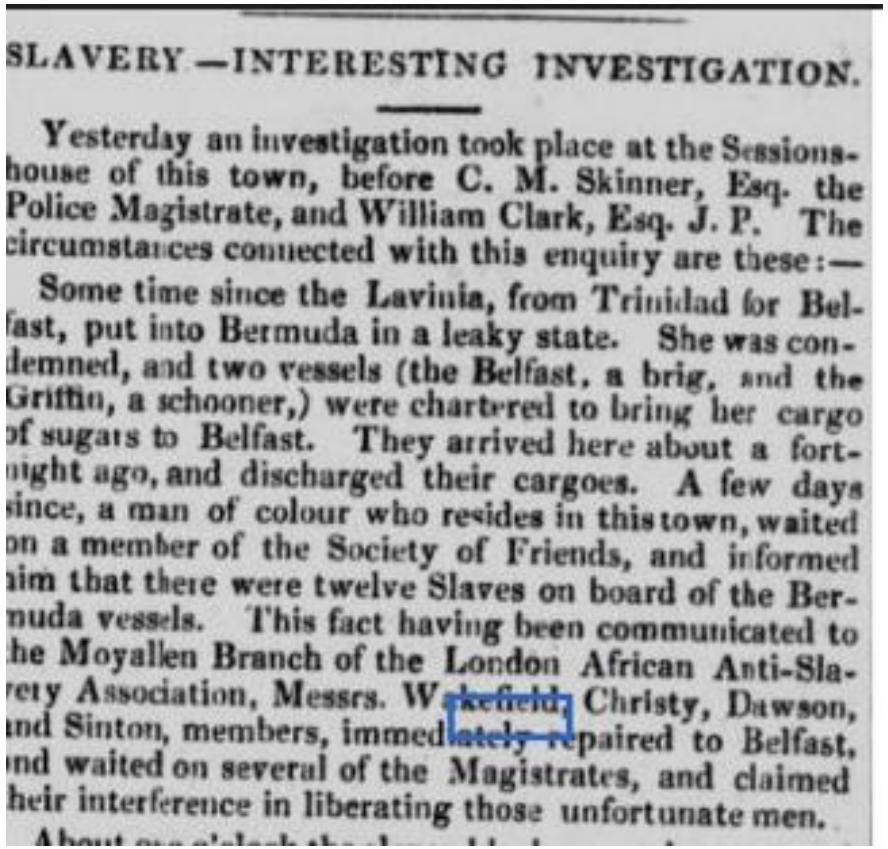
- A "man of colour" residing in Belfast appealed to local citizens for assistance in freeing the twelve slaves who were on board.

- Men called before Magistrates at Belfast Police Court to be asked whether they wanted to be freed or return home



The twelve slaves

- They were ‘healthy stout men, clean and well clothed…seemed to be 16 to 20 years of age..’
- The men ‘spoke English very well..’
- In Bermuda ‘their employment was not very laborious, they did some work on the Sabbath…they usually attended a Protestant place of workshop…’
- Their masters hired them out and got 2/3 of their wages.



SLAVERY—INTERESTING INVESTIGATION.

Yesterday an investigation took place at the Sessions-house of this town, before C. M. Skinner, Esq. the Police Magistrate, and William Clark, Esq. J. P. The circumstances connected with this enquiry are these:—

Some time since the Lavinia, from Trinidad for Belfast, put into Bermuda in a leaky state. She was condemned, and two vessels (the Belfast, a brig, and the Griffin, a schooner,) were chartered to bring her cargo of sugars to Belfast. They arrived here about a fortnight ago, and discharged their cargoes. A few days since, a man of colour who resides in this town, waited on a member of the Society of Friends, and informed him that there were twelve Slaves on board of the Bermuda vessels. This fact having been communicated to the Moyallen Branch of the London African Anti-Slavery Association, Messrs. W[illegible]kefield, Christy, Dawson, and Sinton, members, immediately repaired to Belfast, and waited on several of the Magistrates, and claimed their interference in liberating those unfortunate men.

Resolution

- Three men chose freedom, while the others opted to return to slavery to reunite with their families.

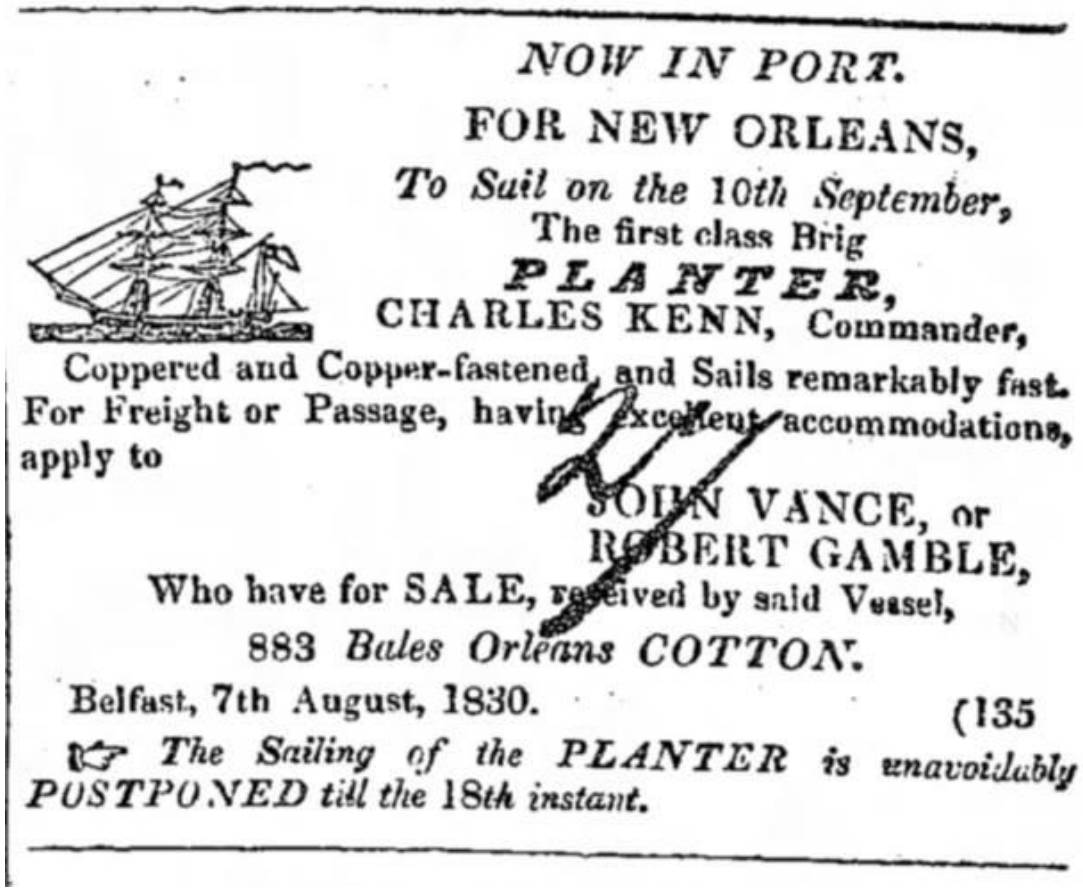
- The meeting organizers emphasized their intention was not to criticize employers but to provide slaves with the option of freedom.

- Organisers pledged support for those choosing freedom, assisting them in finding employment.



William John Brown

- In August 1830, William John Brown, a black American and former slave, appeared in Belfast Police Court.
- Accompanied by members of the Society of Friends, he looked frail and spoke in a feeble voice.
- Recounted his journey from slavery in Virginia to freedom, and subsequent kidnapping by slavers.



NOW IN PORT.

FOR NEW ORLEANS,

To Sail on the 10th September,

The first class Brig

PLANTER,

CHARLES KENN, Commander,

Coppered and Copper-fastened, and Sails remarkably fast. For Freight or Passage, having excellent accommodations, apply to

JOHN VANCE, or
ROBERT GAMBLE,

Who have for SALE, received by said Vessel,

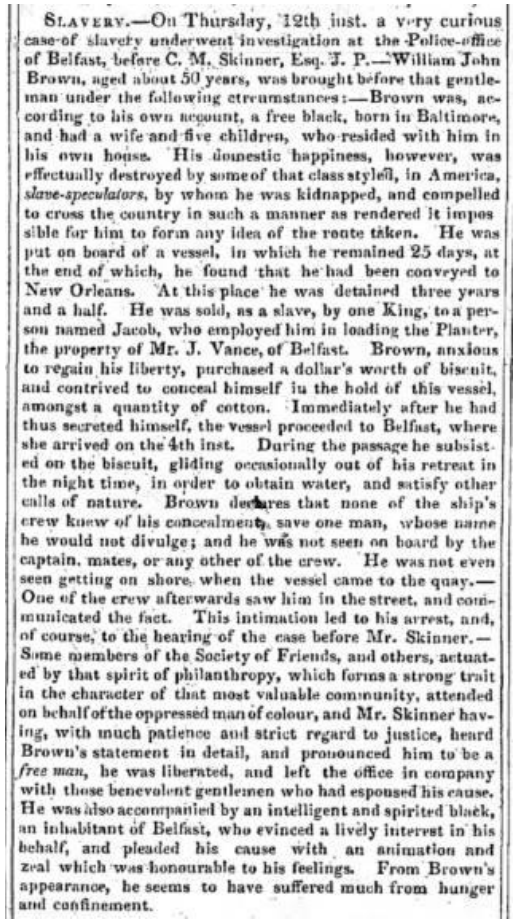
883 *Bales Orleans* COTTON.

Belfast, 7th August, 1830. (135

☞ *The Sailing of the PLANTER is unavoidably POSTPONED till the 18th instant.*

Kidnapping and Enslavement

- In 1826, slave speculators kidnapped him from his home in Baltimore, Maryland, despite having papers of freedom.
- Transported to New Orleans, sold multiple times, and forced into labour, loading cotton onto ships.



SLAVERY.—On Thursday, 12th inst. a very curious case of slavery underwent investigation at the Police-office of Belfast, before C. M. Skinner, Esq. J. P.—William John Brown, aged about 50 years, was brought before that gentleman under the following circumstances:—Brown was, according to his own account, a free black, born in Baltimore, and had a wife and five children, who resided with him in his own house. His domestic happiness, however, was effectually destroyed by some of that class styled, in America, *slave-speculators*, by whom he was kidnapped, and compelled to cross the country in such a manner as rendered it impossible for him to form any idea of the route taken. He was put on board of a vessel, in which he remained 25 days, at the end of which, he found that he had been conveyed to New Orleans. At this place he was detained three years and a half. He was sold, as a slave, by one King, to a person named Jacob, who employed him in loading the Planter, the property of Mr. J. Vance, of Belfast. Brown, anxious to regain his liberty, purchased a dollar's worth of biscuit, and contrived to conceal himself in the hold of this vessel, amongst a quantity of cotton. Immediately after he had thus secreted himself, the vessel proceeded to Belfast, where she arrived on the 4th inst. During the passage he subsisted on the biscuit, gliding occasionally out of his retreat in the night time, in order to obtain water, and satisfy other calls of nature. Brown declares that none of the ship's crew knew of his concealment, save one man, whose name he would not divulge; and he was not seen on board by the captain, mates, or any other of the crew. He was not even seen getting on shore when the vessel came to the quay.—One of the crew afterwards saw him in the street, and communicated the fact. This intimation led to his arrest, and, of course, to the hearing of the case before Mr. Skinner.—Some members of the Society of Friends, and others, actuated by that spirit of philanthropy, which forms a strong trait in the character of that most valuable community, attended on behalf of the oppressed man of colour, and Mr. Skinner having, with much patience and strict regard to justice, heard Brown's statement in detail, and pronounced him to be a *free man*, he was liberated, and left the office in company with those benevolent gentlemen who had espoused his cause. He was also accompanied by an intelligent and spirited black, an inhabitant of Belfast, who evinced a lively interest in his behalf, and pleaded his cause with an animation and zeal which was honourable to his feelings. From Brown's appearance, he seems to have suffered much from hunger and confinement.

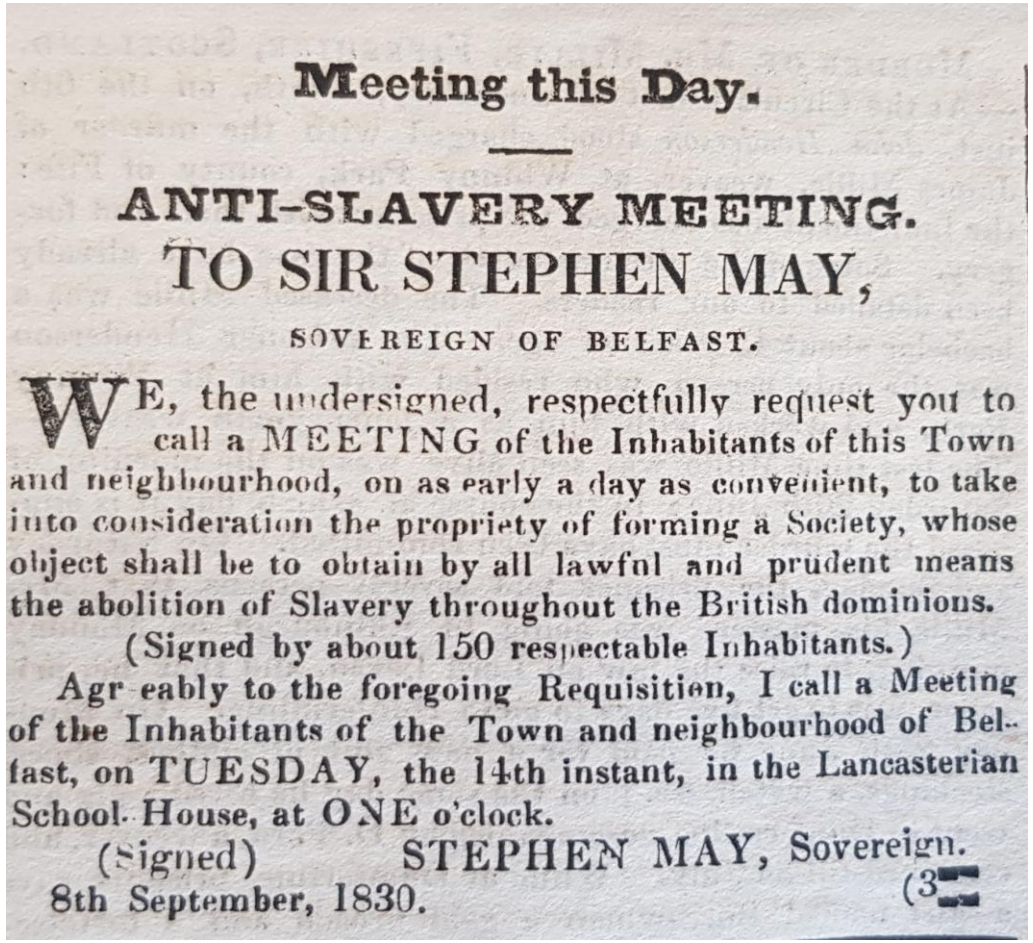
Escape and Freedom

- Secretly planned escape with the help of a crew member on the brig Planter, during a voyage to Belfast.
- Hid in a cotton bale, sustaining himself on biscuits; escaped upon arrival in Belfast.
- Caught but supported by Quakers in court; declared free by the magistrate.
- Lived in Belfast as a laborer near Smithfield Market.
- Passed away in November 1831, buried in an unmarked grave in Clifton Street Cemetery.
- Noted in burial records that his wife and children remained enslaved in America.



BELFAST ANTI SLAVERY SOCITY

- In September 1830, the Belfast Anti-Slavery Society (BASS) was established, marking a pivotal change in the town's stance on slavery.
- The society's formation resulted from a request by one hundred and fifty inhabitants who urged Sir Stephen May, the Sovereign of Belfast, to convene a meeting.
- The primary objective of the meeting was to promote the abolition of slavery within the British Empire.



Meeting this Day.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

TO SIR STEPHEN MAY,

SOVEREIGN OF BELFAST.

WE, the undersigned, respectfully request you to call a MEETING of the Inhabitants of this Town and neighbourhood, on as early a day as convenient, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Society, whose object shall be to obtain by all lawful and prudent means the abolition of Slavery throughout the British dominions.

(Signed by about 150 respectable Inhabitants.)

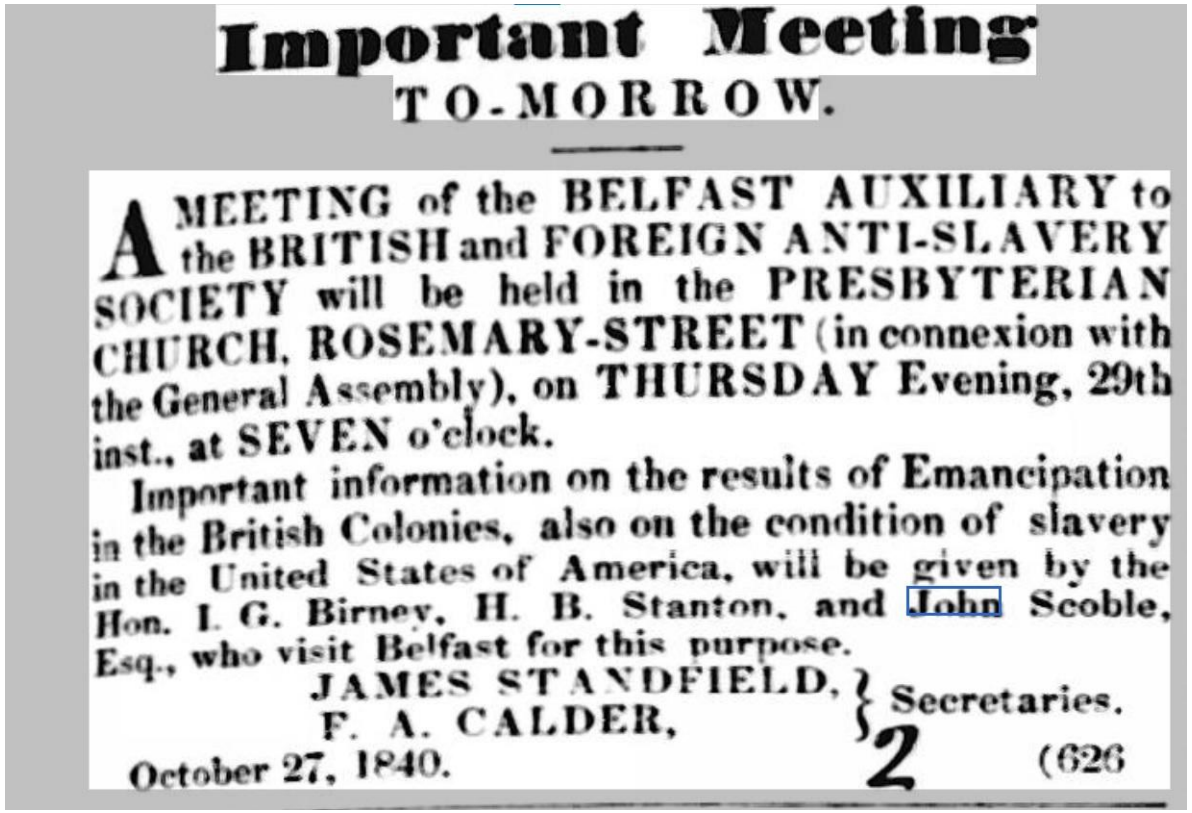
Agreeably to the foregoing Requisition, I call a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town and neighbourhood of Belfast, on TUESDAY, the 14th instant, in the Lancasterian School-House, at ONE o'clock.

(Signed) STEPHEN MAY, Sovereign.

8th September, 1830.

Abolitionists visited Belfast from 1840 to 1854

- 1840 - J. G Birney, H. B. Stanton and John Scoble
- 1841 – Charles Lennox Remond
- 1844 – Charles Wright Clarke
- 1845 - Frederick Douglass
- 1846 – Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison
- 1854 – Samuel Ringgold Ward



Important Meeting

TO-MORROW.

A MEETING of the BELFAST AUXILIARY to the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ROSEMARY-STREET (in connexion with the General Assembly), on THURSDAY Evening, 29th inst., at SEVEN o'clock.

Important information on the results of Emancipation in the British Colonies, also on the condition of slavery in the United States of America, will be given by the Hon. I. G. Birney, H. B. Stanton, and John Scoble, Esq., who visit Belfast for this purpose.

JAMES STANDFIELD, } Secretaries.
F. A. CALDER, }

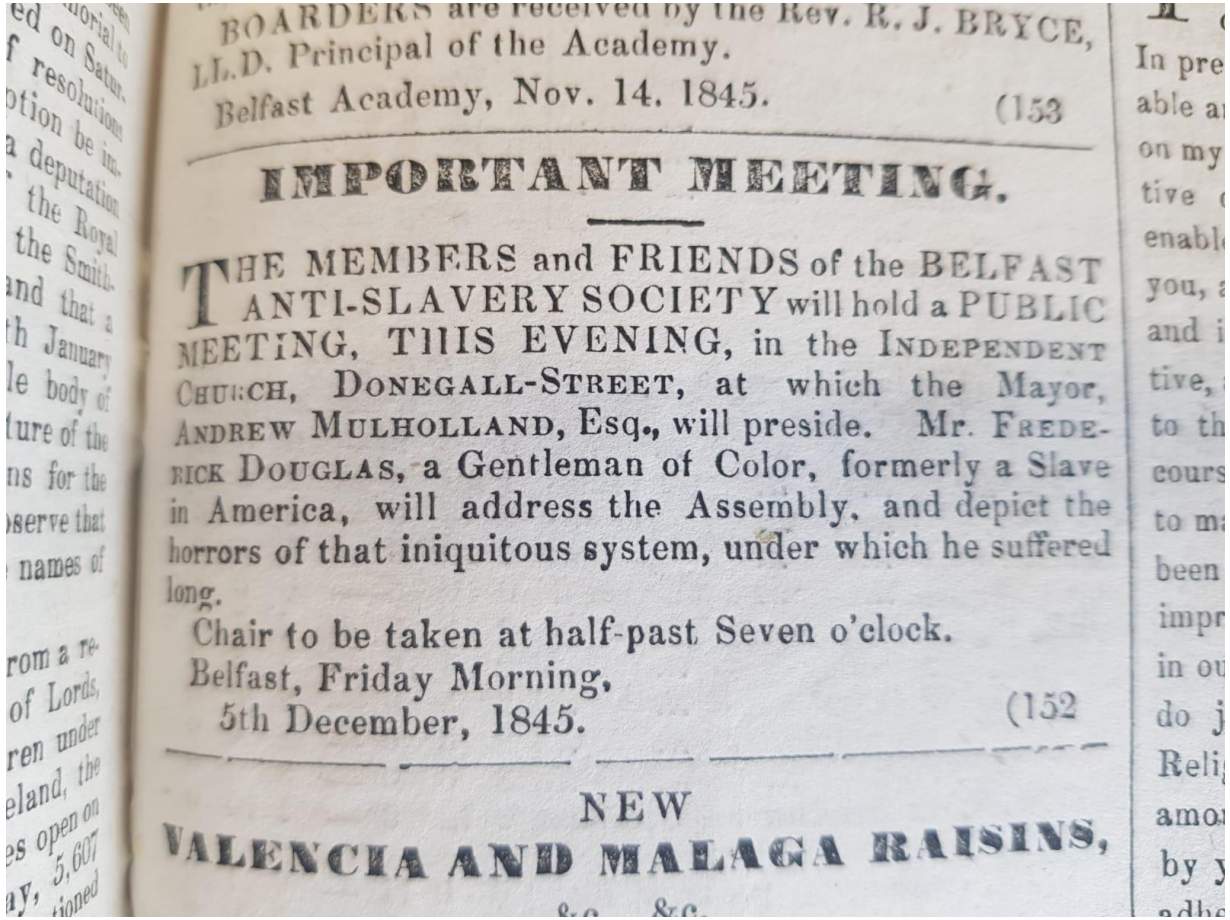
October 27, 1840. 2 (626

Vindicator - Wednesday 28 October 1840, p.3

5 December 1845. Independent Meeting House, 77 Donegall Street

His first meeting. It was reported that:

“Mr. Douglass then came forward and was received with loud applause. He said he felt great pleasure in seeing so many kind and respectable people there assembled, in order to hear an account of the system of slavery from one who had experienced what it was to be a slave. He felt a considerable embarrassment in thus standing before intelligent people, for the purpose of instructing them. Slavery was a poor school for acquiring moral, religious, or intellectual improvement.”



BOARDERS are received by the Rev. R. J. BRYCE, LL.D. Principal of the Academy.
Belfast Academy, Nov. 14. 1845. (153

IMPORTANT MEETING.

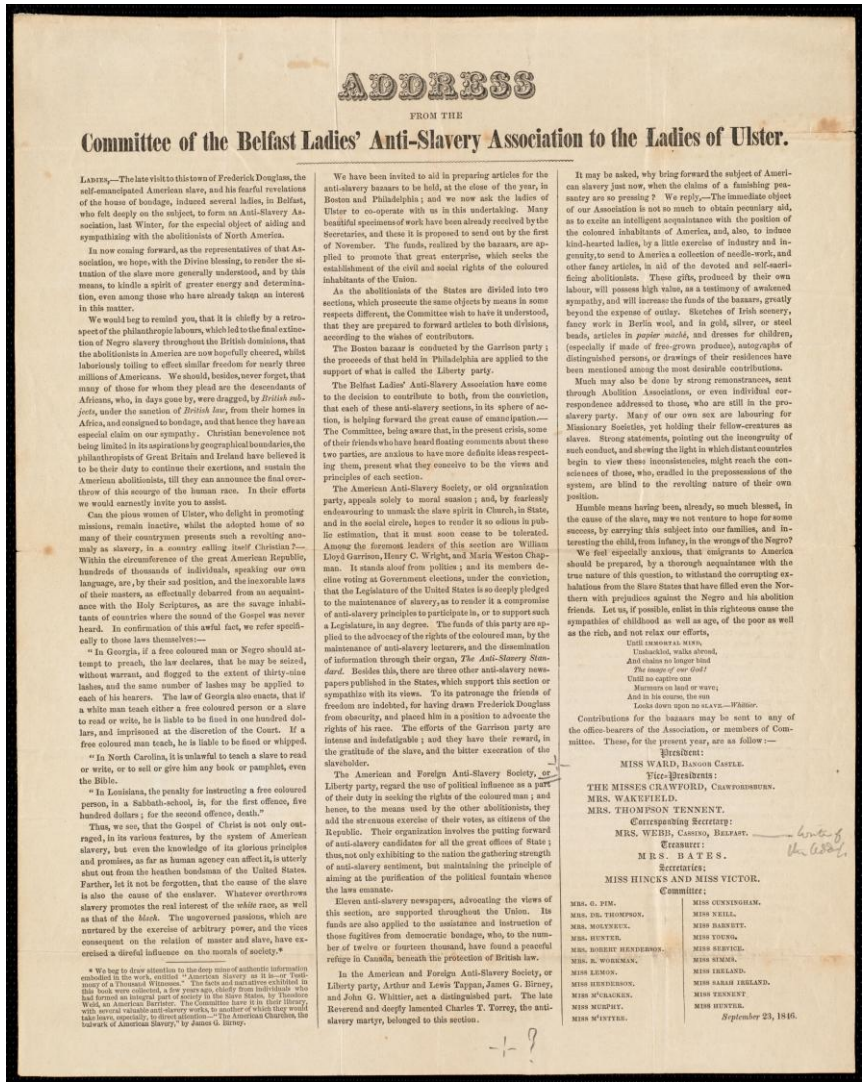
THE MEMBERS and FRIENDS of the BELFAST ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold a PUBLIC MEETING, THIS EVENING, in the INDEPENDENT CHURCH, DONEGALL-STREET, at which the Mayor, ANDREW MULHOLLAND, Esq., will preside. Mr. FREDERICK DOUGLAS, a Gentleman of Color, formerly a Slave in America, will address the Assembly, and depict the horrors of that iniquitous system, under which he suffered long.

Chair to be taken at half-past Seven o'clock.
Belfast, Friday Morning,
5th December, 1845. (152

NEW
VALENCIA AND MALAGA RAISINS,

Announcement of launch of the Belfast Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, 1846

- Formed by Middle class ladies in Belfast and Northern Ireland
- Formed as women could not join BASS as it was an auxiliary of BFASS, which did not offer membership to women.
- Set out their plan to abolish slavery



ADDRESS

FROM THE

Committee of the Belfast Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association to the Ladies of Ulster.

LADIES,—The late visit to this town of Frederick Douglass, the self-emancipated American slave, and his fearful revelations of the house of bondage, induced several ladies, in Belfast, who felt deeply on the subject, to form an Anti-Slavery Association, last Winter, for the especial object of aiding and sympathizing with the abolitionists of North America.

In now coming forward, as the representatives of that Association, we hope, with the Divine blessing, to render the situation of the slave more generally understood, and by this means, to kindle a spirit of greater energy and determination, even among those who have already taken an interest in this matter.

We would beg to remind you, that it is chiefly by a retrospect of the philanthropic labours, which led to the final extinction of Negro slavery throughout the British dominions, that the abolitionists in America are now hopefully cheered, whilst laboriously toiling to effect similar freedom for nearly three millions of Americans. We should, besides, never forget, that many of those for whom they plead are the descendants of Africans, who, in days gone by, were dragged, by *British subjects*, under the sanction of *British law*, from their homes in Africa, and consigned to bondage, and that hence they have an especial claim on our sympathy. Christian benevolence not being limited in its aspirations by geographical boundaries, the philanthropists of Great Britain and Ireland have believed it to be their duty to continue their exertions, and sustain the American abolitionists, till they can announce the final overthrow of this scourge of the human race. In their efforts we would earnestly invite you to assist.

Can the pious women of Ulster, who delight in promoting missions, remain inactive, whilst the adopted home of so many of their countrymen presents such a revolting anomaly as slavery, in a country calling itself Christian?—Within the circumference of the great American Republic, hundreds of thousands of individuals, speaking our own language, are, by their sad position, and the inexorable laws of their masters, as effectually debarred from an acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, as are the savage inhabitants of countries where the sound of the Gospel was never heard. In confirmation of this awful fact, we refer specifically to those laws themselves:—

"In Georgia, if a free coloured man or Negro should attempt to preach, the law declares, that he may be seized, without warrant, and flogged to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each of his hearers. The law of Georgia also enacts, that if a white man teach either a free coloured person or a slave to read or write, he is liable to be fined in one hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the Court. If a free coloured man teach, he is liable to be fined or whipped.

"In North Carolina, it is unlawful to teach a slave to read or write, or to sell or give him any book or pamphlet, even the Bible.

"In Louisiana, the penalty for instructing a free coloured person, in a Sabbath-school, is, for the first offence, five hundred dollars; for the second offence, death."

Thus, we see, that the Gospel of Christ is not only outraged, in its various features, by the system of American slavery, but even the knowledge of its glorious principles and promises, as far as human agency can affect it, is utterly shut out from the heathen bondsman of the United States. Farther, let it not be forgotten, that the cause of the slave is also the cause of the enslaver. Whatever overthrows slavery promotes the real interest of the white race, as well as that of the *black*. The ungoverned passions, which are nurtured by the exercise of arbitrary power, and the vices consequent on the relation of master and slave, have exercised a direful influence on the morals of society.*

* We beg to draw attention to the deep mine of authentic information embodied in the work, entitled "American Slavery as it is—or Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses." The facts and narratives exhibited in this book were collected, a few years ago, chiefly from individuals who had formed an integral part of society in the Slave States, by Theodore Weld, an American Barrister. The Committee have it in their library, with several valuable anti-slavery works, to another of which they would take leave, especially, to direct attention—"The American Churches, the bulwark of American Slavery," by James G. Birney.

We have been invited to aid in preparing articles for the anti-slavery bazaars to be held, at the close of the year, in Boston and Philadelphia; and we now ask the ladies of Ulster to co-operate with us in this undertaking. Many beautiful specimens of work have been already received by the Secretaries, and these it is proposed to send out by the first of November. The funds, realized by the bazaars, are applied to promote that great enterprise, which seeks the establishment of the civil and social rights of the coloured inhabitants of the Union.

As the abolitionists of the States are divided into two sections, which prosecute the same objects by means in some respects different, the Committee wish to have it understood, that they are prepared to forward articles to both divisions, according to the wishes of contributors.

The Boston bazaar is conducted by the Garrison party; the proceeds of that held in Philadelphia are applied to the support of what is called the Liberty party.

The Belfast Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association have come to the decision to contribute to both, from the conviction, that each of these anti-slavery sections, in its sphere of action, is helping forward the great cause of emancipation.—The Committee, being aware that, in the present crisis, some of their friends who have heard floating comments about these two parties, are anxious to have more definite ideas respecting them, present what they conceive to be the views and principles of each section.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, or old organization party, appeals solely to moral suasion; and, by fearlessly endeavouring to unmask the slave spirit in Church, in State, and in the social circle, hopes to render it so odious in public estimation, that it must soon cease to be tolerated. Among the foremost leaders of this section are William Lloyd Garrison, Henry C. Wright, and Maria Weston Chapman. It stands aloof from politics; and its members decline voting at Government elections, under the conviction, that the Legislature of the United States is so deeply pledged to the maintenance of slavery, as to render it a compromise of anti-slavery principles to participate in, or to support such a Legislature, in any degree. The funds of this party are applied to the advocacy of the rights of the coloured man, by the maintenance of anti-slavery lecturers, and the dissemination of information through their organ, *The Anti-Slavery Standard*. Besides this, there are three other anti-slavery newspapers published in the States, which support this section or sympathize with its views. To its patronage the friends of freedom are indebted, for having drawn Frederick Douglass from obscurity, and placed him in a position to advocate the rights of his race. The efforts of the Garrison party are intense and indefatigable; and they have their reward, in the gratitude of the slave, and the bitter execration of the slaveholder.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or Liberty party, regard the use of political influence as a part of their duty in seeking the rights of the coloured man; and hence, to the means used by the other abolitionists, they add the strenuous exercise of their votes, as citizens of the Republic. Their organization involves the putting forward of anti-slavery candidates for all the great offices of State; thus, not only exhibiting to the nation the gathering strength of anti-slavery sentiment, but maintaining the principle of aiming at the purification of the political fountain whence the laws emanate.

Eleven anti-slavery newspapers, advocating the views of this section, are supported throughout the Union. Its funds are also applied to the assistance and instruction of those fugitives from democratic bondage, who, to the number of twelve or fourteen thousand, have found a peaceful refuge in Canada, beneath the protection of British law.

In the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or Liberty party, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, James G. Birney, and John G. Whittier, act a distinguished part. The late Reverend and deeply lamented Charles T. Torrey, the anti-slavery martyr, belonged to this section.

It may be asked, why bring forward the subject of American slavery just now, when the claims of a famishing peasantry are so pressing? We reply,—The immediate object of our Association is not so much to obtain pecuniary aid, as to excite an intelligent acquaintance with the position of the coloured inhabitants of America, and, also, to induce kind-hearted ladies, by a little exercise of industry and ingenuity, to send to America a collection of needle-work, and other fancy articles, in aid of the devoted and self-sacrificing abolitionists. These gifts, produced by their own labour, will possess high value, as a testimony of awakened sympathy, and will increase the funds of the bazaars, greatly beyond the expense of outlay. Sketches of Irish scenery, fancy work in Berlin wool, and in gold, silver, or steel beads, articles in *papier maché*, and dresses for children, (especially if made of free-grown produce), autographs of distinguished persons, or drawings of their residences have been mentioned among the most desirable contributions.

Much may also be done by strong remonstrances, sent through Abolition Associations, or even individual correspondence addressed to those, who are still in the pro-slavery party. Many of our own sex are labouring for Missionary Societies, yet holding their fellow-creatures as slaves. Strong statements, pointing out the incongruity of such conduct, and shewing the light in which distant countries begin to view these inconsistencies, might reach the consciences of those, who, cradled in the prepossessions of the system, are blind to the revolting nature of their own position.

Humble means having been, already, so much blessed, in the cause of the slave, may we not venture to hope for some success, by carrying this subject into our families, and interesting the child, from infancy, in the wrongs of the Negro?

We feel especially anxious, that emigrants to America should be prepared, by a thorough acquaintance with the true nature of this question, to withstand the corrupting exhalations from the Slave States that have filled even the Northern with prejudice against the Negro and his abolition friends. Let us, if possible, enlist in this righteous cause the sympathies of childhood as well as age, of the poor as well as the rich, and not relax our efforts,

Until IMMORTAL MIND,
Unshackled, walks abroad,
And chains no longer bind
The image of our God!
Until no captive one
Murmurs on land or wave;
And in his course, the sun
Looks down upon no SLAVE.—*Whittier.*

Contributions for the bazaars may be sent to any of the office-bearers of the Association, or members of Committee. These, for the present year, are as follow:—

President:
MISS WARD, Bangor Castle.

Vice-Presidents:
THE MISSES CRAWFORD, Crawfordsburn.
MRS. WAKEFIELD.
MRS. THOMPSON TENNENT.

Corresponding Secretary:
MRS. WEBB, Cassino, Belfast.

Treasurer:
MRS. BATES.

Secretaries:
MISS HINCKS AND MISS VICTOR.

Committee:

MRS. C. PIM.
MRS. DR. THOMPSON.
MRS. MOLYNEUX.
MRS. HUNTER.
MRS. ROBERT HENDERSON.
MRS. R. WORKMAN.
MISS LEMON.
MISS HENDERSON.
MISS M'CRACKEN.
MISS MURPHY.
MISS M'SYTHES.
MISS CUNNINGHAM.
MISS NEILL.
MISS BARNETT.
MISS YOUNG.
MISS BURTON.
MISS SIMMS.
MISS IRELAND.
MISS SARAH IRELAND.
MISS TENNENT
MISS HUNTER.

September 23, 1846.

8 July 1846, Primitive Wesleyan Chapel, Donegall Place



- At this meeting Douglass again presented:

‘another opportunity of exposing the infamous system of slavery as it exists in America. More than usual interest was attached to the proceedings, in consequence of the General Assembly [of the Presbyterian church in Ireland] holdings its annual meeting in town…the meeting was large and highly respectable’.

At the meeting and speaker were:

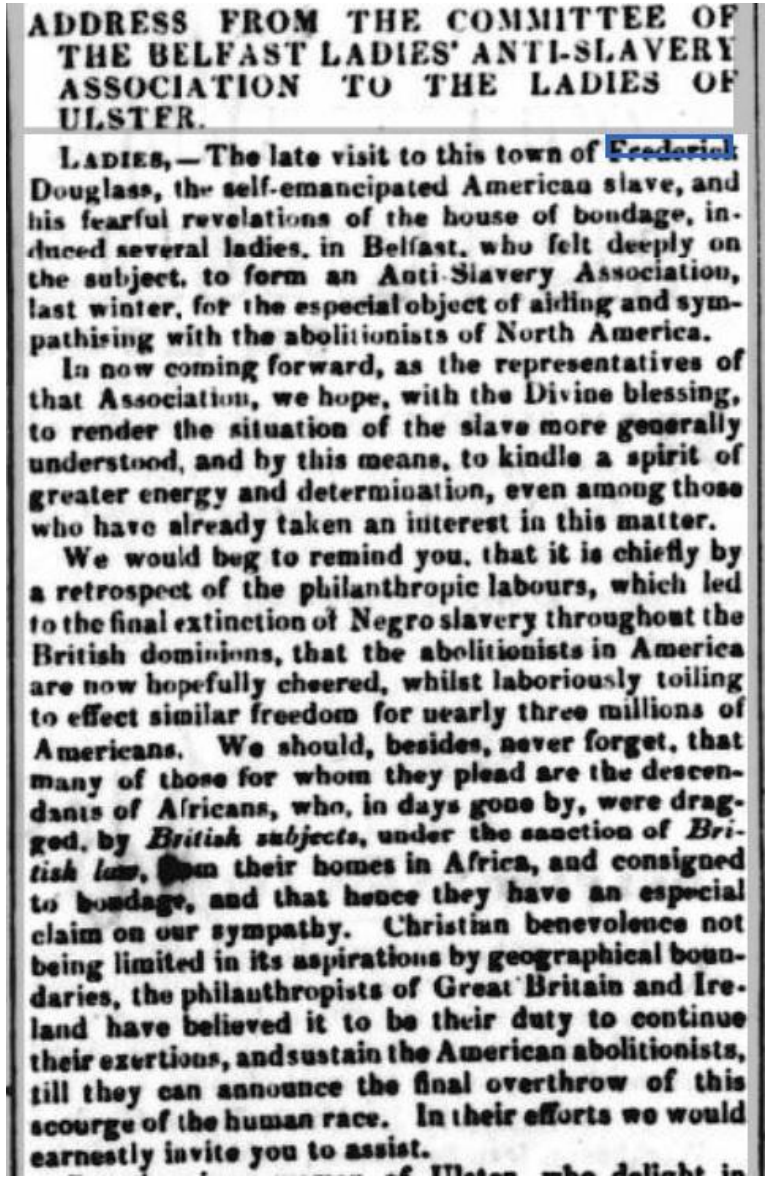
- Rev. Thomas Drew, Church of Ireland preacher, unionists, Orangeman, cited as a cause of the 1857 riots
- Rev. Dr John Edgar, Presbyterian Preacher, Armagh, unionist
- Rev. Isaac Nelson, Presbyterian Preacher, Minister of Donegall Presbyterian School, nationalist.



Why form BLASA?

The late visit to this town of Frederick Douglass, the self-emancipated American slave, and his fearful revelations of the house of bondage, induced several ladies, in Belfast, who felt deeply on the subject, to form an Anti-Slavery Association, last Winter, for the especial object of aiding and sympathizing with the abolitionists of North America…

Can the pious women of Ulster, who delight in promoting missions, remain inactive, whilst the adopted home of so many of their countrymen presents such a revolting anomaly as slavery, in a country calling itself Christian ?



ADDRESS FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE BELFAST LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION TO THE LADIES OF ULSTER.

LADIES,—The late visit to this town of Frederick Douglass, the self-emancipated American slave, and his fearful revelations of the house of bondage, induced several ladies, in Belfast, who felt deeply on the subject, to form an Anti-Slavery Association, last winter, for the especial object of aiding and sympathising with the abolitionists of North America.

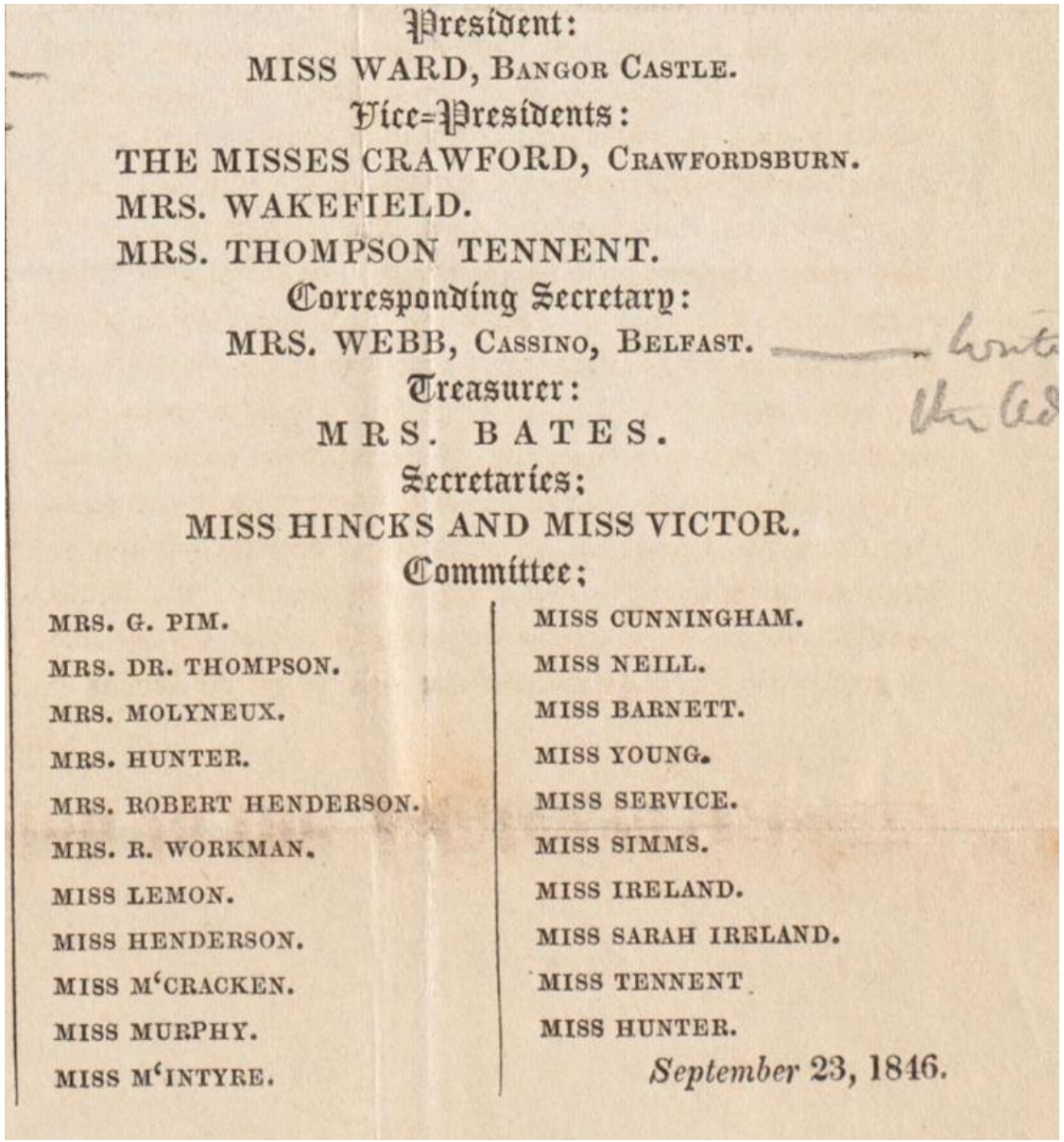
In now coming forward, as the representatives of that Association, we hope, with the Divine blessing, to render the situation of the slave more generally understood, and by this means, to kindle a spirit of greater energy and determination, even among those who have already taken an interest in this matter.

We would beg to remind you, that it is chiefly by a retrospect of the philanthropic labours, which led to the final extinction of Negro slavery throughout the British dominions, that the abolitionists in America are now hopefully cheered, whilst laboriously toiling to effect similar freedom for nearly three millions of Americans. We should, besides, never forget, that many of those for whom they plead are the descendants of Africans, who, in days gone by, were dragged, by *British subjects*, under the sanction of *British law*, from their homes in Africa, and consigned to bondage, and that hence they have an especial claim on our sympathy. Christian benevolence not being limited in its aspirations by geographical boundaries, the philanthropists of Great Britain and Ireland have believed it to be their duty to continue their exertions, and sustain the American abolitionists, till they can announce the final overthrow of this scourge of the human race. In their efforts we would earnestly invite you to assist.

Vindicator - Saturday 26 September 1846, p.4

Who was involved?

- Ward family of Bangor, decedents of Viscount Bangor
- Crawford family, landowners around north Down.
- Mary Ann McCraken
- Large number of single ladies.



President:

MISS WARD, Bangor Castle.

Vice-Presidents:

THE MISSES CRAWFORD, Crawfordsburn.

MRS. WAKEFIELD.

MRS. THOMPSON TENNENT.

Corresponding Secretary:

MRS. WEBB, Cassino, Belfast.

Treasurer:

MRS. BATES.

Secretaries;

MISS HINCKS AND MISS VICTOR.

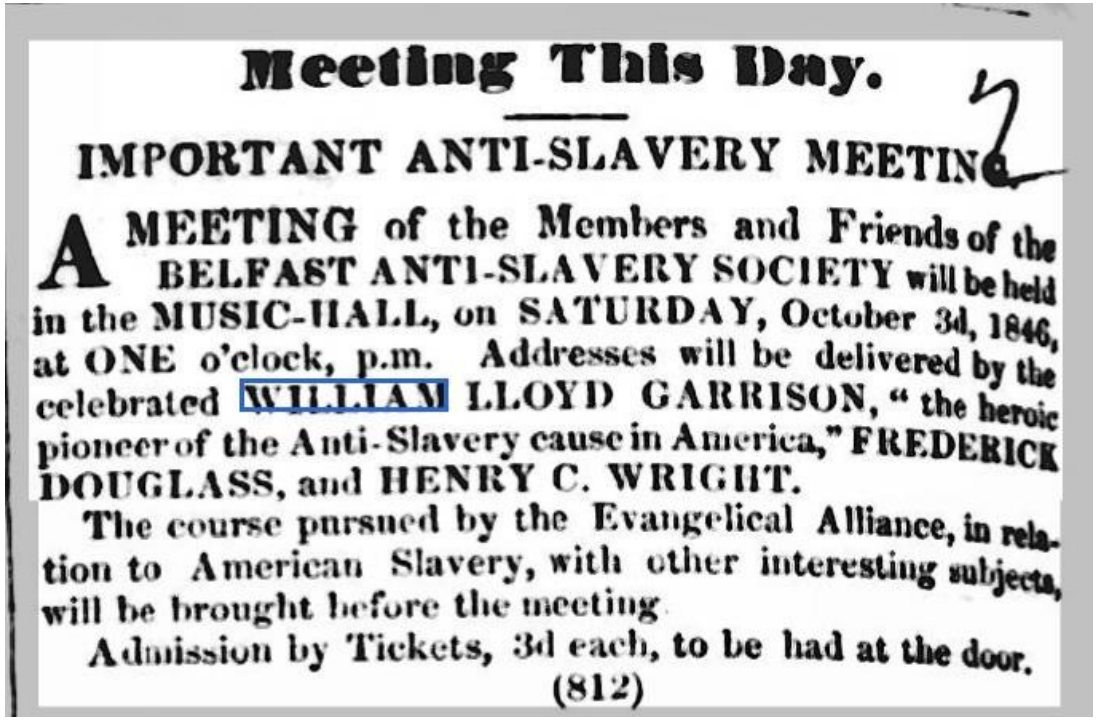
Committee;

MRS. G. PIM.	MISS CUNNINGHAM.
MRS. DR. THOMPSON.	MISS NEILL.
MRS. MOLYNEUX.	MISS BARNETT.
MRS. HUNTER.	MISS YOUNG.
MRS. ROBERT HENDERSON.	MISS SERVICE.
MRS. R. WORKMAN.	MISS SIMMS.
MISS LEMON.	MISS IRELAND.
MISS HENDERSON.	MISS SARAH IRELAND.
MISS M'CRACKEN.	MISS TENNENT.
MISS MURPHY.	MISS HUNTER.
MISS M'INTYRE.	

September 23, 1846.

1853: Belfast Anti Slavery Society dissolves

- Controversy over the ‘sent back the money’ campaign and position of Free Church of Scotland alienated many Presbyterians.
- As a consequence, several Presbyterians choose to leave the BASS, including George Troup, the editor of the Ulster Banner.
- Generation who led the BASS in 1830s dies or gets old.



Meeting This Day.

IMPORTANT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

A MEETING of the Members and Friends of the BELFAST ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the MUSIC-HALL, on SATURDAY, October 3d, 1846, at ONE o'clock, p.m. Addresses will be delivered by the celebrated WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, "the heroic pioneer of the Anti-Slavery cause in America," FREDERICK DOUGLASS, and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

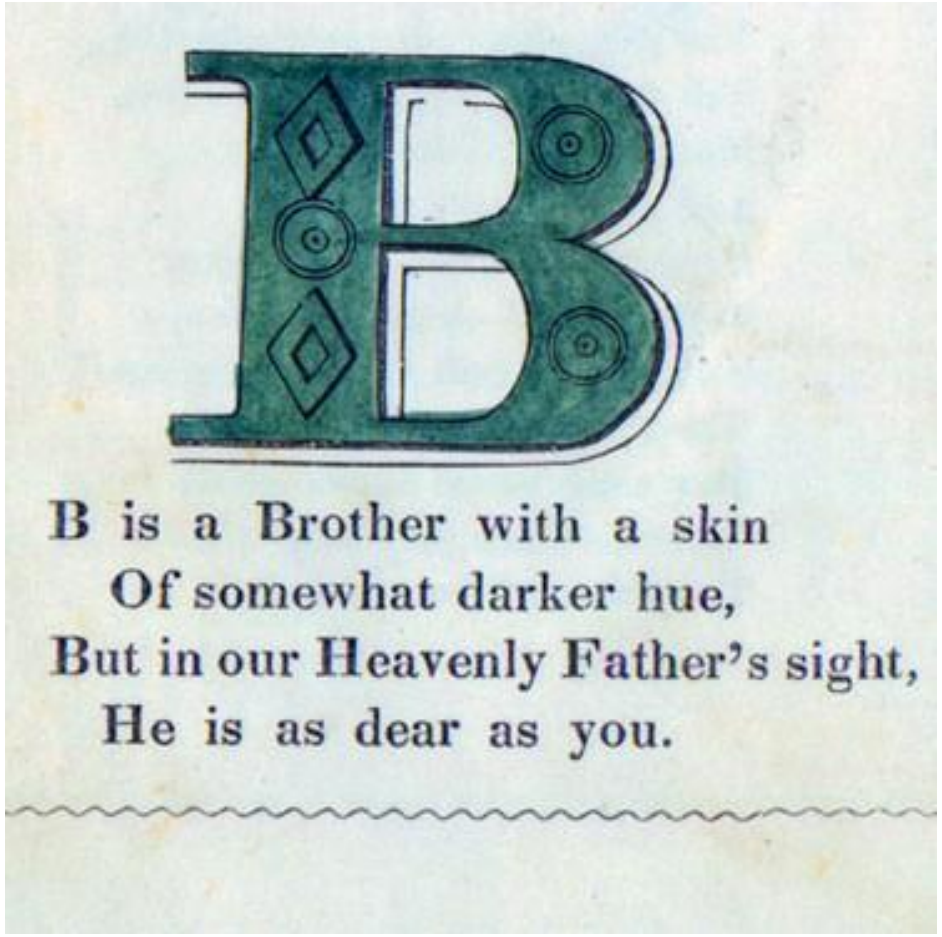
The course pursued by the Evangelical Alliance, in relation to American Slavery, with other interesting subjects, will be brought before the meeting.

Admission by Tickets, 3d each, to be had at the door.

(812)

Why had abolitionism declined during 1850s?

- Increasing political divisions in Ireland.
- Increasing sectarian conflict
- Rise of new social issues that occupied charitable action (temperance, anti-poverty and other causes).
- Belfast grown from 53k in 1841 to 97k in 1851.
- Catholic population from around 24% to 33%.



Situation in the campaign in 1859

Mary Ann McCraken complained in 1859, to the historian R.R. Madden that she was "both ashamed and sorry" to report that Belfast "once so celebrated for its love of liberty", had "so sunk in the love of filthy lucre that there are but 16 or 17 female anti-slavery advocates".

She regretted that apart herself, "an old woman within 17 days of 89,"there were none to hand out abolitionist tracts to emigrants bound for the United States where the issue of slavery was still to be decided.”



Issues during the Edwardian era



Home Rule

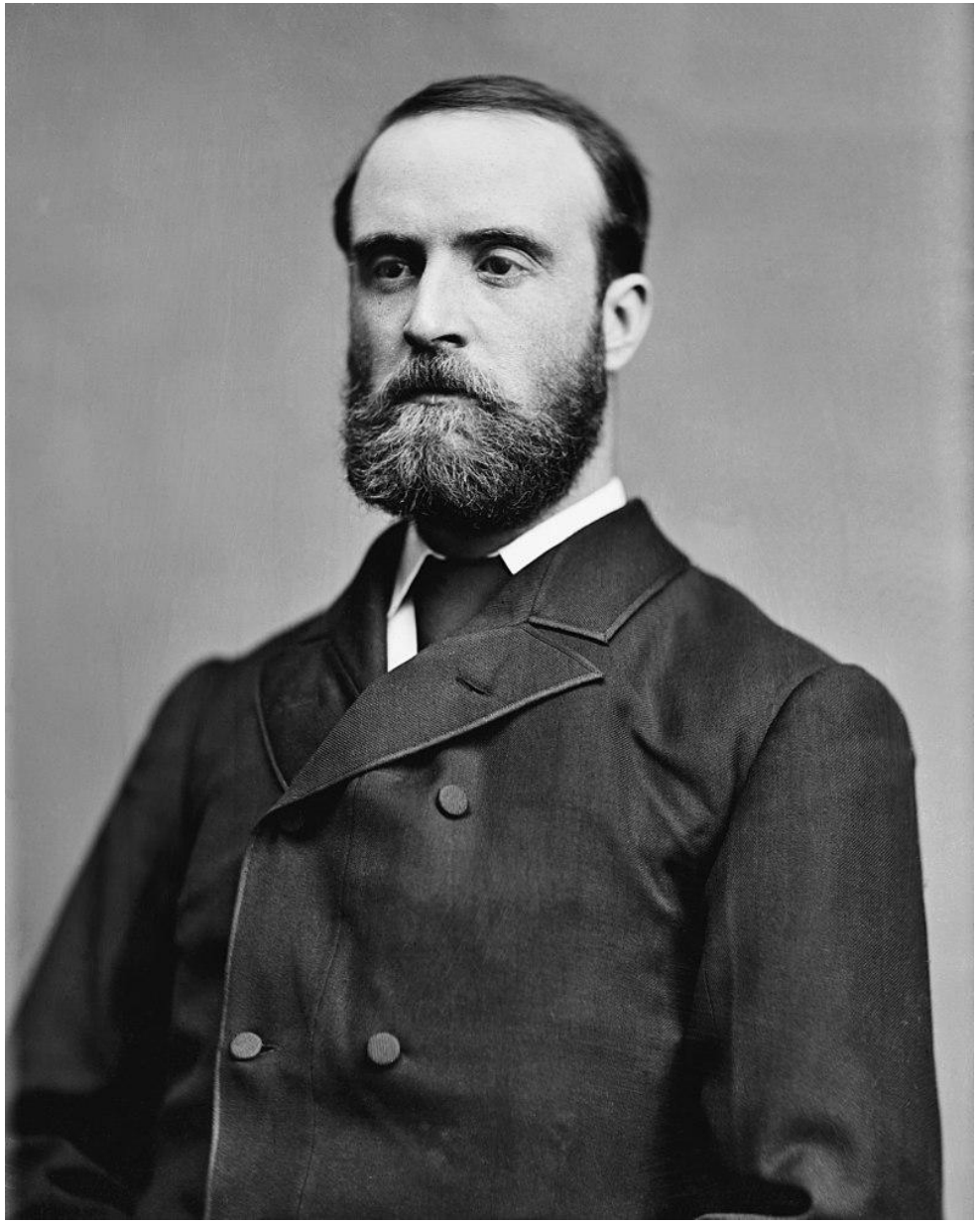

WHO SAYS WE'RE TO HAVE HOME RULE?
COME TO BELFAST, AND WE'LL SHEW 'EM'
BELFAST


The Great IRISH VENTRILOQUIST
WITH HIS PERFORMING
HOME RULE FOR EVER!
PARLIAMENTARY MANIKIN.


Greeting the Dawn
HOME RULE

Background

- 1885 Election, Liberals largest party in Westminster.
- Gladstone's Liberals formed a pact with Charles Stewart Parnell's Irish Parliamentary Party of votes for Home Rule.
- Gladstone dependent on an electoral pact for a majority.
- After 1885 Election, Gladstone introduces the Home Rule Bill.
- Legislation voted down in House of Commons; Liberal Party split; general election called.



Hon. Chas. Parnell of Dublin, Ireland

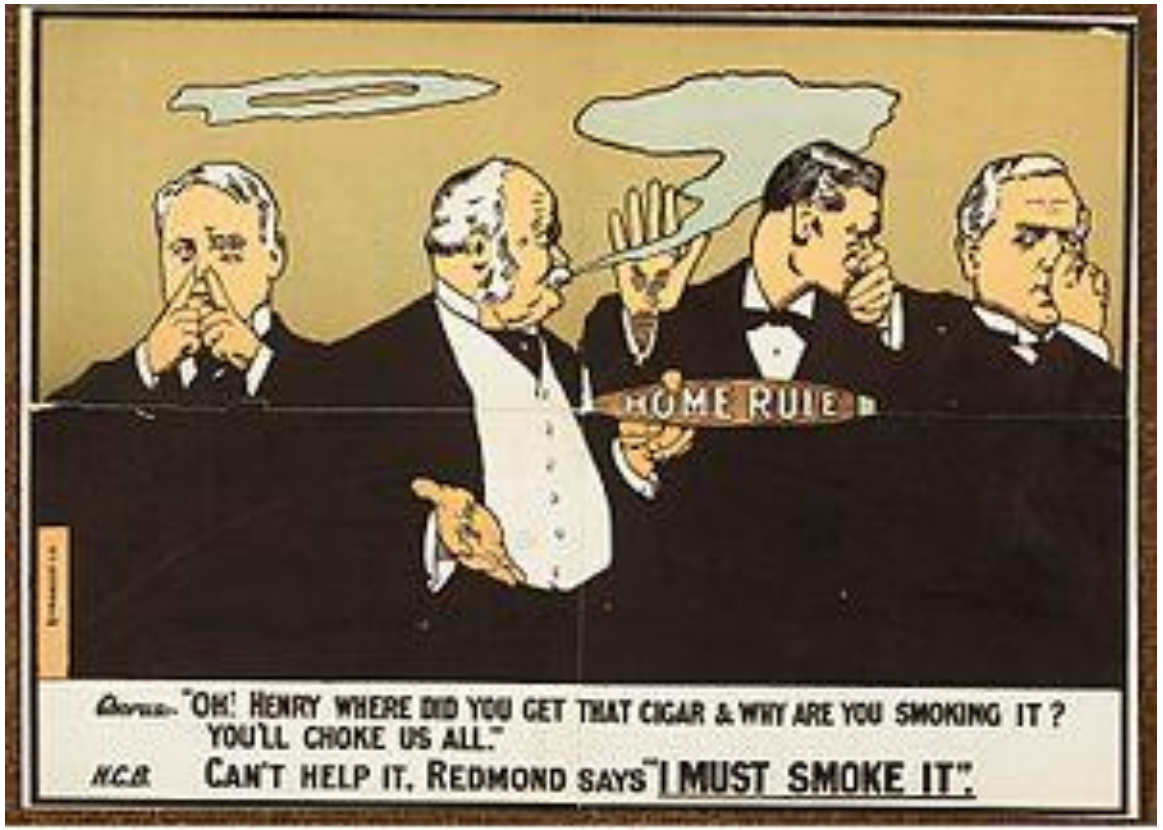
Source of tension on the streets

- May 1880: James McCall was summoned for being disorderly on the public street and using insulting language toward the Rev. Isaac Nelson. As the Rev. was passing up the Shankhill Road the prisoner shouted ‘home rule’ at him. He was fined 20 shillings.
- February 1881: An old woman, Sarah Crawford, was arrested for being drunk and disorderly. She claimed herself a home ruler and spat in the arresting officers face. She had forty-three previous convictions, six for assaulting the police. On one occasion she had broken a policeman’s leg causing him to retire from the force. She was gaoled for four months.



Second Home Rule Bill, 1893

- 1891: Gladstone had declared his radical Newcastle Programme that included Home Rule
- 1892: won the election with Irish MPs support
- 1892: Draft Home Rule bill introduced
- 1893: Bill was passed by the Commons but vetoed by the House of Lords.



Opposition in Ulster

- June 1892, 12,000 delegates (elected by Unionist associations across the country) met in Botanic Gardens in Belfast to show their opposition to Home Rule.
- They solemnly swear that "We will not have Home Rule".



Medal issued





Other social impacts

- April 1893: There have been disturbances in Belfast in connection with the Home Rule Bill, which included the wrecking of a public house and the refusal of workers to work alongside Catholics in Harland & Wolff.

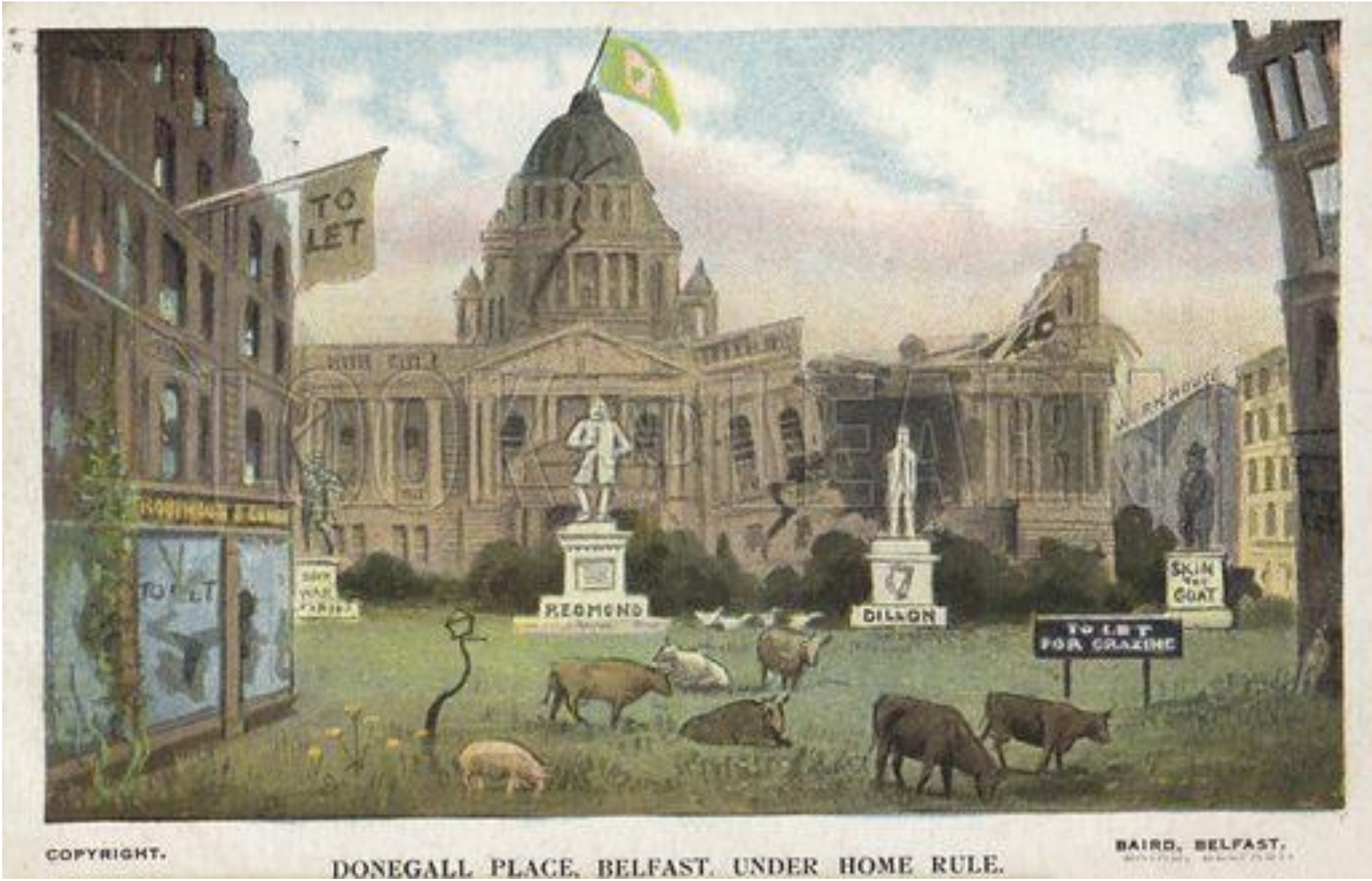


Third Home Rule Bill

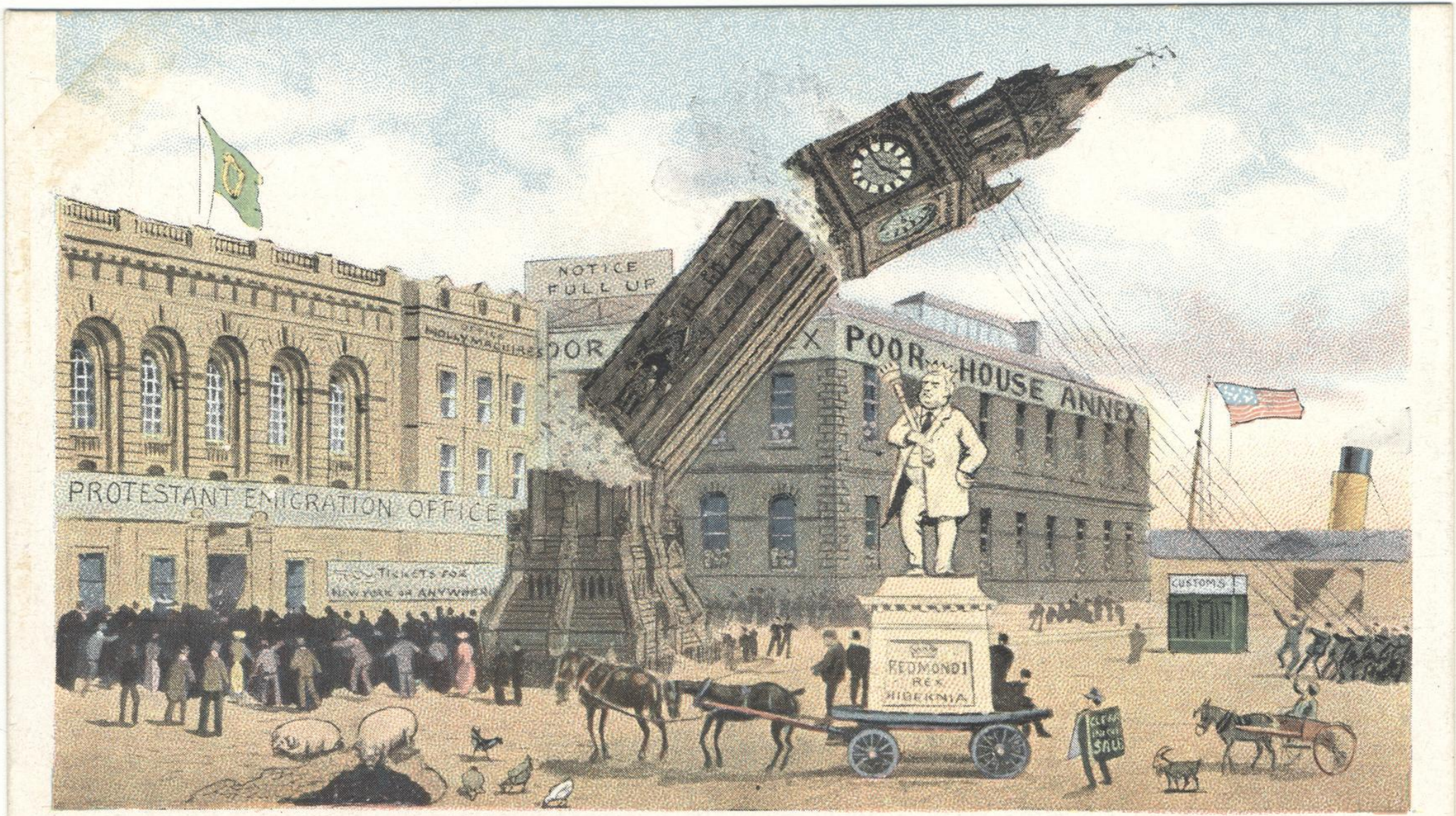
- 1906: Liberals achieved a landslide, no need to depend on IPP for majority.
- Dec 1910; Liberals have need IPP to achieve a majority.
- In April 1912, the Prime Minister introduced the Third Home Rule Bill.
- Prompted wide spread political engagement on both sides for and against the Bill.



Anti Home Campaign



DONEGALL PLACE, BELFAST, UNDER HOME RULE.



BELFAST UNDER HOME RULE. Making a Site for the Statue of King John the First of Ireland.

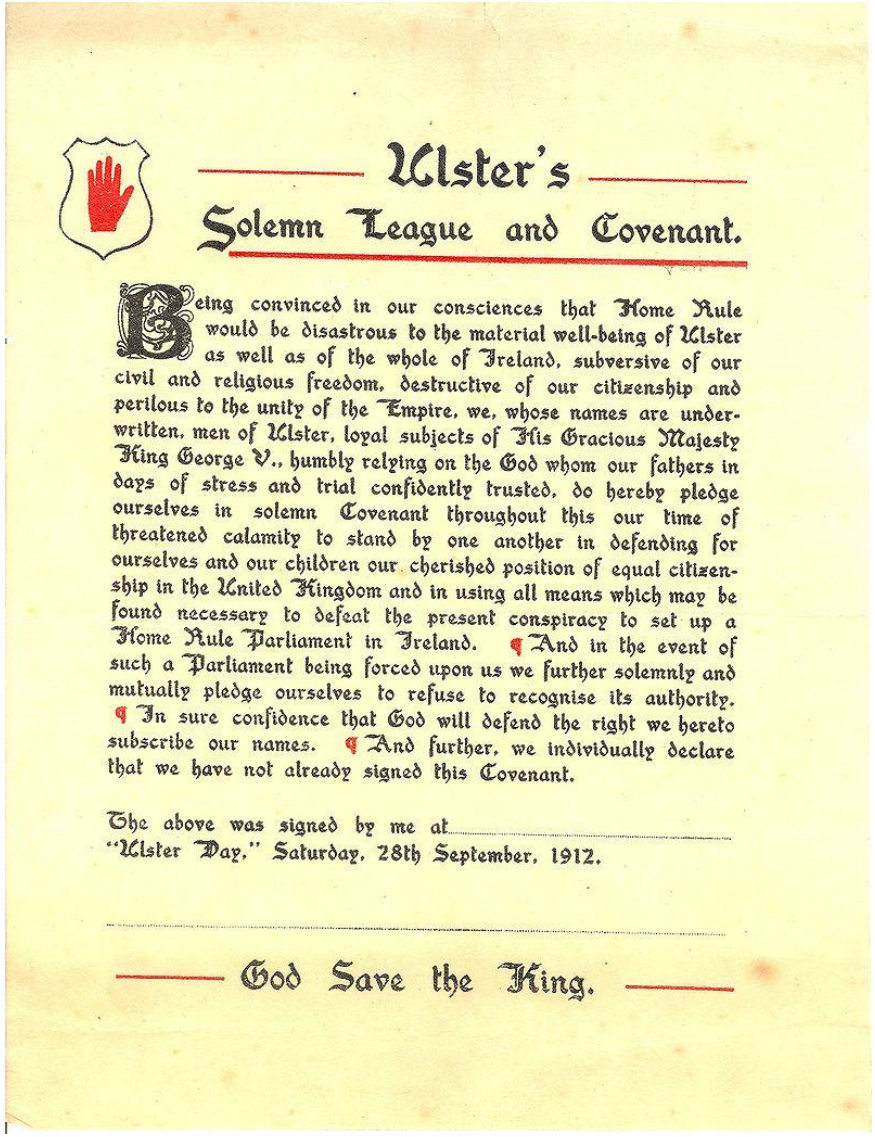
Unionist concerns

- Trade. Belfast was an industrial hub that traded within the British Empire, a Dublin-based parliament elected by a largely rural country would have different economic priorities to those of Belfast and its industrial hinterland. Many believed this would result in economic decline.
- Home Rule is Rome Rule. Ireland under Home Rule would be 75% Catholic, Protestants feared for religious liberty.
- Threat to cultural identity. Unionists saw themselves as British and Home Rule could threaten this.



Ulster Covenant

- Signed on Ulster Day, 28.9.1912
- The Covenant had two basic parts:
- the Covenant itself, which was signed by men,
- and the Declaration, which was signed by women.
- In total, the Covenant was signed by 237,368 men; the Declaration, by 234,046 women.
- Total number: 474,414



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.

Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant

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 recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right, we hereto subscribe our names.

- Date: Ulster, 28th September, 1912.

Popular support for the Covenant

Ulster Demographics:

- 1.581m population
- 710k men
- 810k women
- 1.123m people 15+
- 837k Protestants

Signed the Covenant for each demographic:

29% all people signed Covenant/Declaration

33% of all men signed Covenant

28% of women signed Declaration

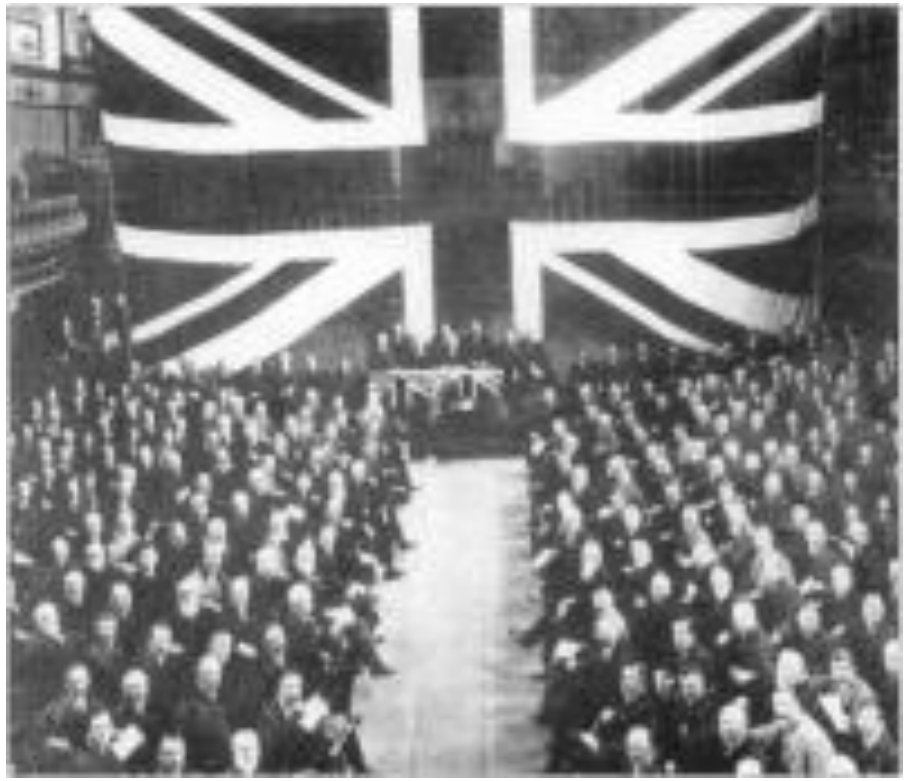
41% of all adults signed Declaration/Covenant

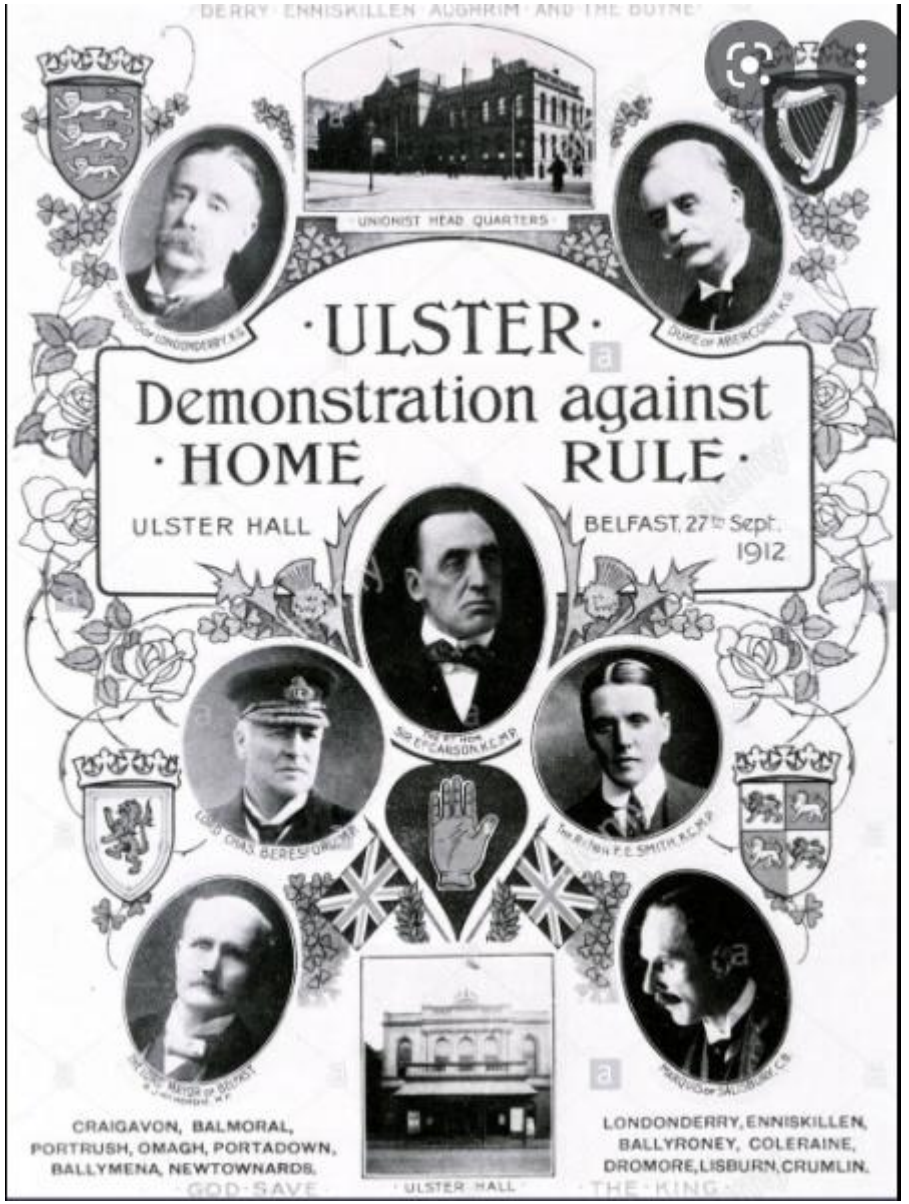
56% of all adult (15+) Protestants signed

For context:

691k Roman Catholics

Public meetings





Public meeting in Ulster Hall, 1912



Workers from Workman & Clark going to hear Conservative leader Bonar Law



Anti Home Rule Protests, 1912



Orange Arch – Brown Street, 1912



Orange Arch, Crimea St, Shankill, 1912



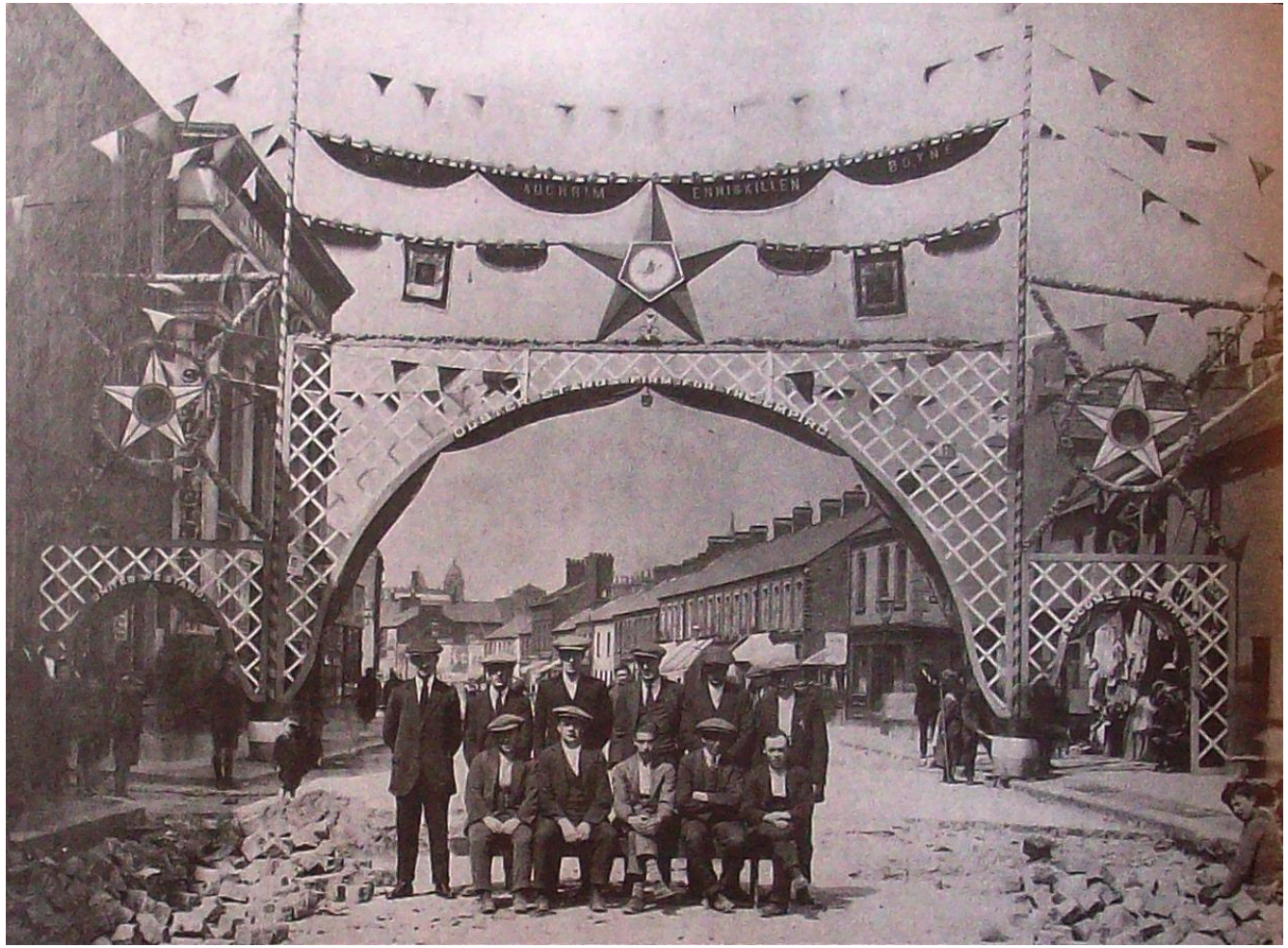
Orange celebrations



Donegall Rd, Shaftsbury Sq, July 1913



Orange Arch, Sandy Row, 1920s

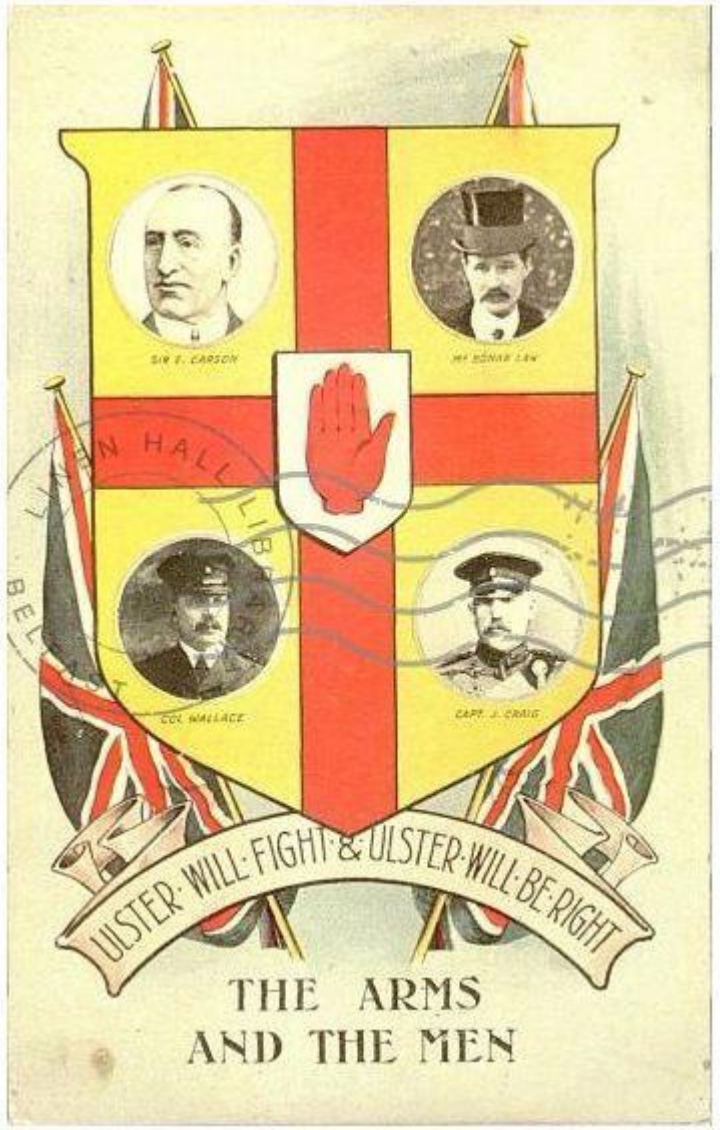




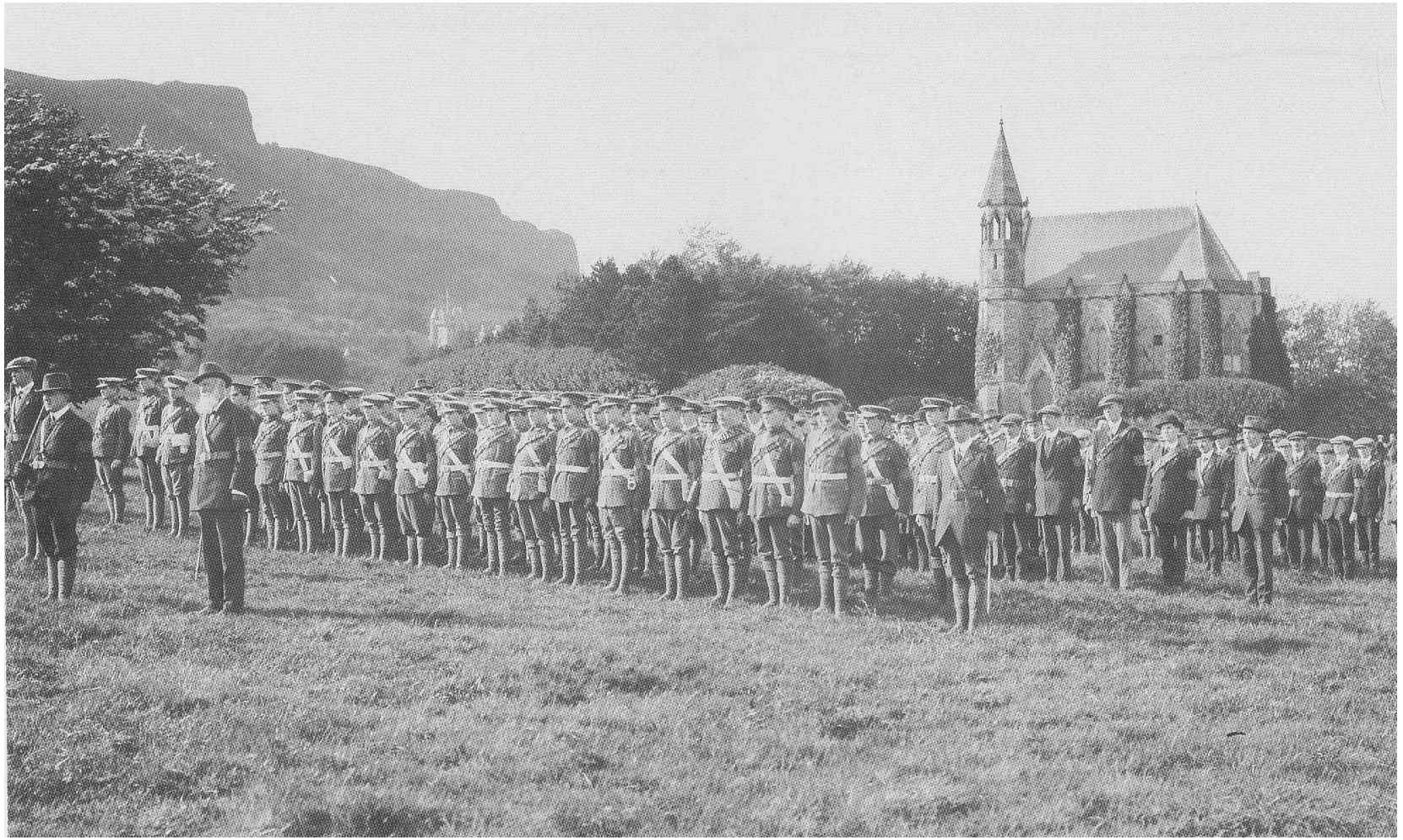
Queen Street Orange Arch in 1900

Ulster Volunteer Force

- UVF established in January 1913.
- Loyalist militia that aimed to recruit 100k men aged 17 to 65.
- 3/18 regiments based in Belfast.
- Difficult to estimate popularity of UVF



UVF, 3rd Belfast Batt, 1913 (Belfast Castle)



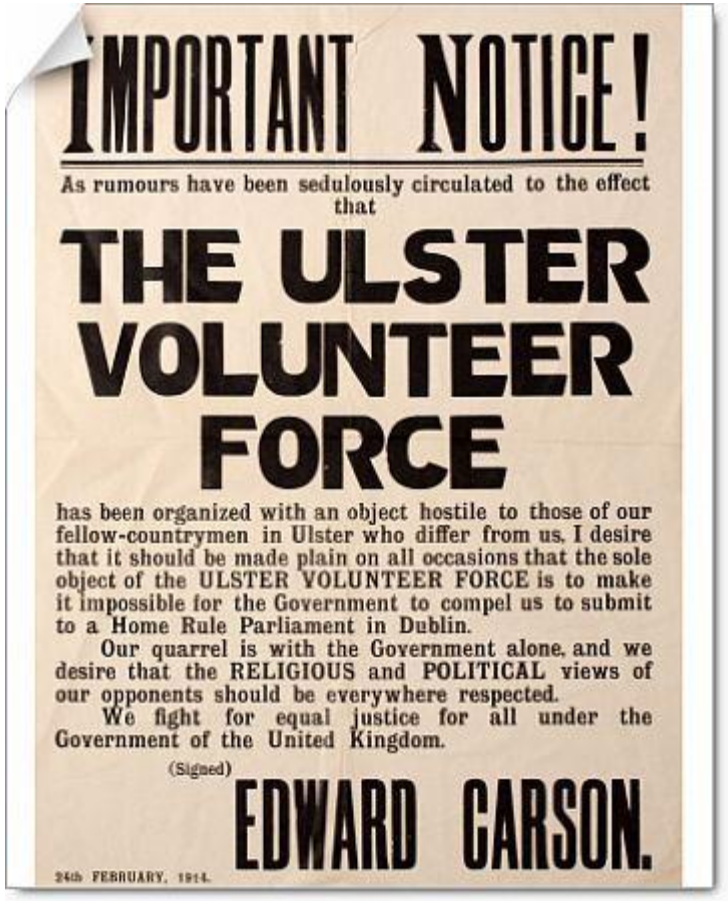
East Belfast Units

- East Belfast Volunteers of the UVF had 6 battalions
- Recruitment by Sept 1913 at 8,599. Army intelligence estimated 2,500.
- This number is estimated at 10k in 1914.
- Each Regiment had companies that had their own training and meeting centres.



Why join?

- Community, peer and parental pressure and encouragement
- Edwardian fad with uniforms, marching and militarism
- Social activity that could be fun, entertaining and exciting.
- Belief in Anti-Home Rule message.



IMPORTANT NOTICE!

As rumours have been sedulously circulated to the effect that

THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE

has been organized with an object hostile to those of our fellow-countrymen in Ulster who differ from us. I desire that it should be made plain on all occasions that the sole object of the ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE is to make it impossible for the Government to compel us to submit to a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin.

Our quarrel is with the Government alone, and we desire that the RELIGIOUS and POLITICAL views of our opponents should be everywhere respected.

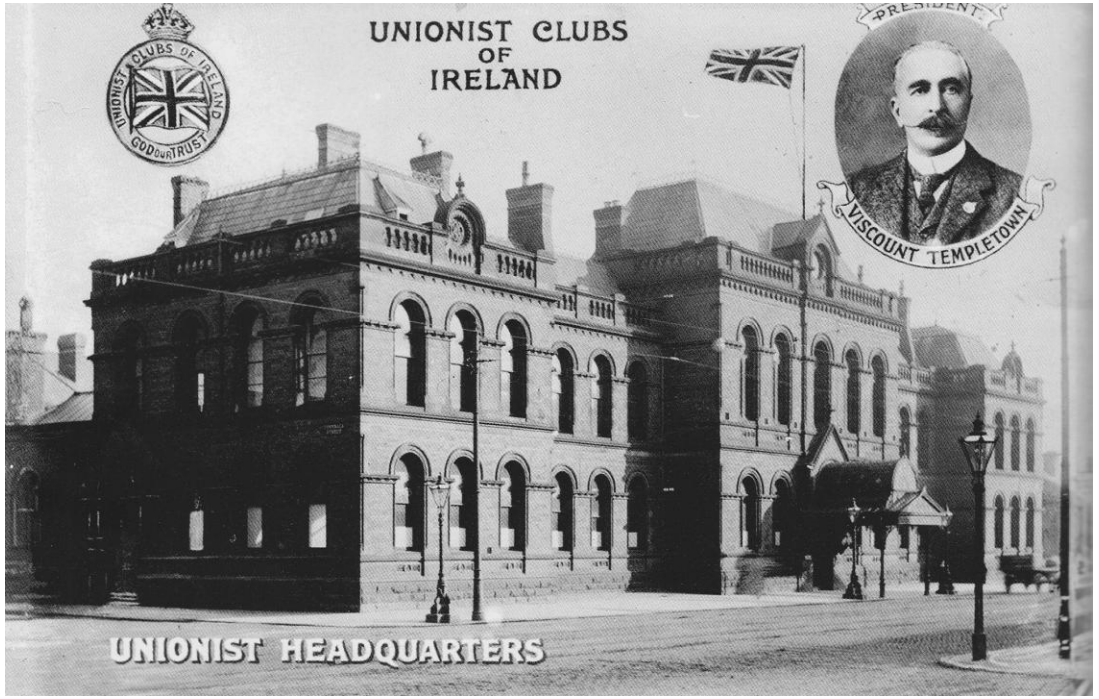
We fight for equal justice for all under the Government of the United Kingdom.

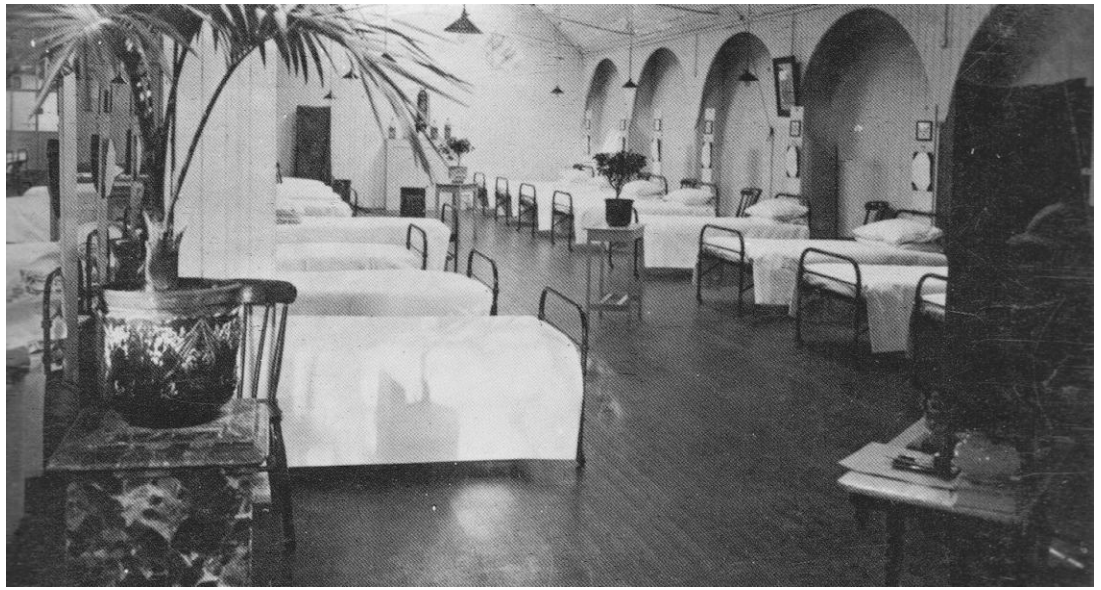
(Signed)

EDWARD CARSON.

24th FEBRUARY, 1914.

Preparations for conflict

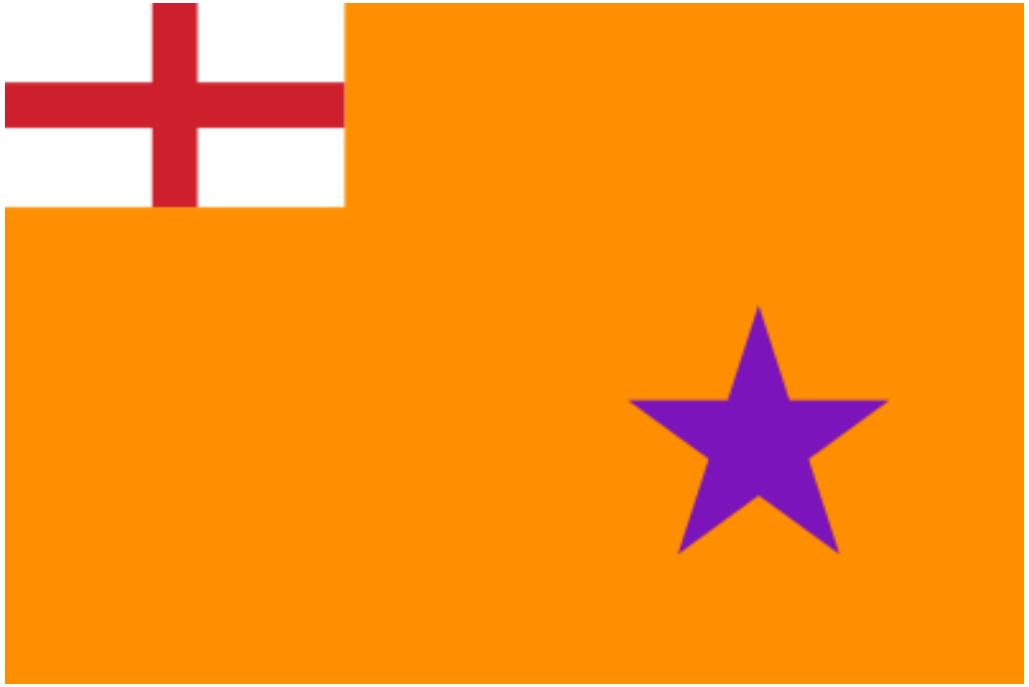




UVF hospital

Orange Order

- Loyal Orange Institution, commonly known as the Orange Order.
- Founded by Ulster Protestants in County Armagh in 1795.
- It is ‘membership organisation comprised of Protestants who are committed to the protection of the principles of the Protestant Reformation and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 which enshrined civil and religious liberty for all’ [website]



Revival

- 1872 repeal of the Party Processions Act 1850 lifted the restrictions on the activities of Orange lodges/Order
- Revival of activities



Clifton Street Orange Hall

- Opened in January 1885 on land donated by the Belfast Charitable Society
- The figure of King William on his horse was added to the top of the building in 1889. From the tip of King Billy's sword to the ground the statue is around 5m.



Interior



Original design



A surprise….


RHONEHILL TEMPERANCE L.O.L. No 1902
CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
NO SURRENDER
WILLIAM III. 1690.
IN GLORIOUS MEMORY.


LONDONDERRY
BELFAST
DUBLIN
CORK
LUKE 19.13
OCCUPY TILL I COME

Sandy Row Orange Lodge

- Foundation stone laid by William Johnston MP in June 1868
- Opened September 1869.
- Rev Henderson, speaking at the opening said the Orange Halls were for the ‘mental and moral improvement of the members of your loyal institution…’
- Rebuilt in 1910 (current structure).



Participation in Orange lodges

- An analysis of Royal Irish Constabulary records from 1912 reveals just how prevalent Orange drilling actually was. Between January and April 1912, the total number of Orange lodges in Ulster in which military drilling was reported to have taken place was 119, totaling over 12,200 participants in demonstrations of military force.
- Membership peaked in in 1965, at around 70,000, which meant that roughly 1 in 5 adult Protestant males were members.
- 1400 lodges today.



Ulster Women's Unionist Council

- Founded in January 1911.
- By 1913, with over 100,000 members, it had become the largest female political group in Ireland (up to that point in time).
- Membership in UWUC was a first taste of political involvement for many women.
- Their activities included fundraising, electioneering, and distributing propaganda in Ireland, England and Scotland, as anti-Home Rule 'missionaries'.



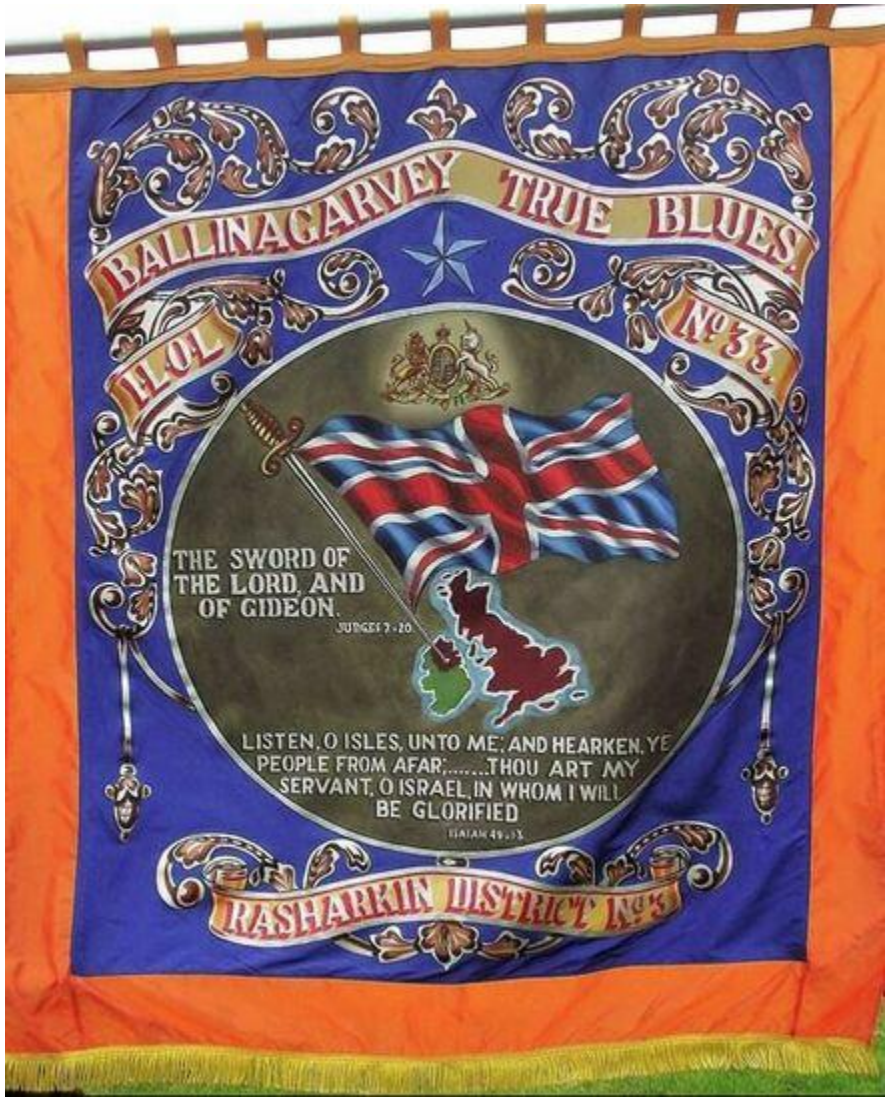
Female participation at the local level

- Women's Orange Lodge in Ireland established in 1912, Ladies Loyal Lodge No.1
- Membership of 50.



Independent Orange Order

- Set up by Thomas Sloane in in 1902 after Sloane was suspended from the Order for running against a Unionist candidate.
- Initially pro-labour and supportive tenant rights and land reform.
- By early 1904 it claimed nine lodges in Ballymoney alone. The organisation peaked at 44 lodges in 1907



Home Rule campaign

- Arguments:
  - Democratic mandate
  - Righting a historic wrong
  - Devolved government meets Irish needs
  - Dominion status granted to Canada/Australia
- February 1911: Winston Churchill made a visit to Belfast amidst elaborate security. He was greeted by great crowds and stopped off at the Grand Central Hotel before making his way to Celtic Park where speeches were made relating to the Home Rule Bill.



Mr Churchill arrives Celtic Park, 1912

- Churchill part of the Liberal Party that is pursing Home Rule
- The same venue where, in 1886, his father Randolph had made his notorious comment that ‘Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right’
- 7,000 attended included John Redmond & Joe Devlin



Pro-Home Rule protests




WELCOMES
SIR EDWARD CARSON

Irish Volunteers

- Established in 1913 in response to UVF.
- Its declared primary aim was "to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to the whole people of Ireland".
- April 1914 numbers at 27k, by June, 180k.



THE IRISH VOLUNTEER

Oglác na h-Eireann

Vol. 1. No. 1. Saturday, February, 7th, 1914. Price,

Should the Recruit be Sworn?

In this question of taking in recruits there is some difference of opinion as to the best method of procedure to be adopted. It has been customary to ask each on't when joining to make a declaration, but in some districts this is not regarded as quite satisfactory. It is said that each member should be made to kiss a rifle or sword, in the presence of the corps, when making his declaration, and that that would tend to impress him more with the sacredness of his obligations towards the movement. It would, no doubt, add solemnity and have a fine spectacular effect, but at the same time very few will join the movement except with a clear conception of what is expected of them, and their declaration is sufficient

peared on the market, and the difficulty in getting them will be no greater than was the difficulty of getting the Mauser or Lee Enfield up to a couple of months ago. At the same time there must be quite enough rifles for drill purposes, and small, batches of Volunteers could be drilled in the various halls with borrowed rifles. But for the present everything should be subordinated to building up the movement itself, getting the men into it, seeing that they are properly disciplined and drilled, and then when they are ready and when the need arises, procuring rifles will not present so much difficulty.

"The Irish Volunteer."

We owe an apology to our readers for our tardy appearance, but the difficulties

IRELAN

(To the air of

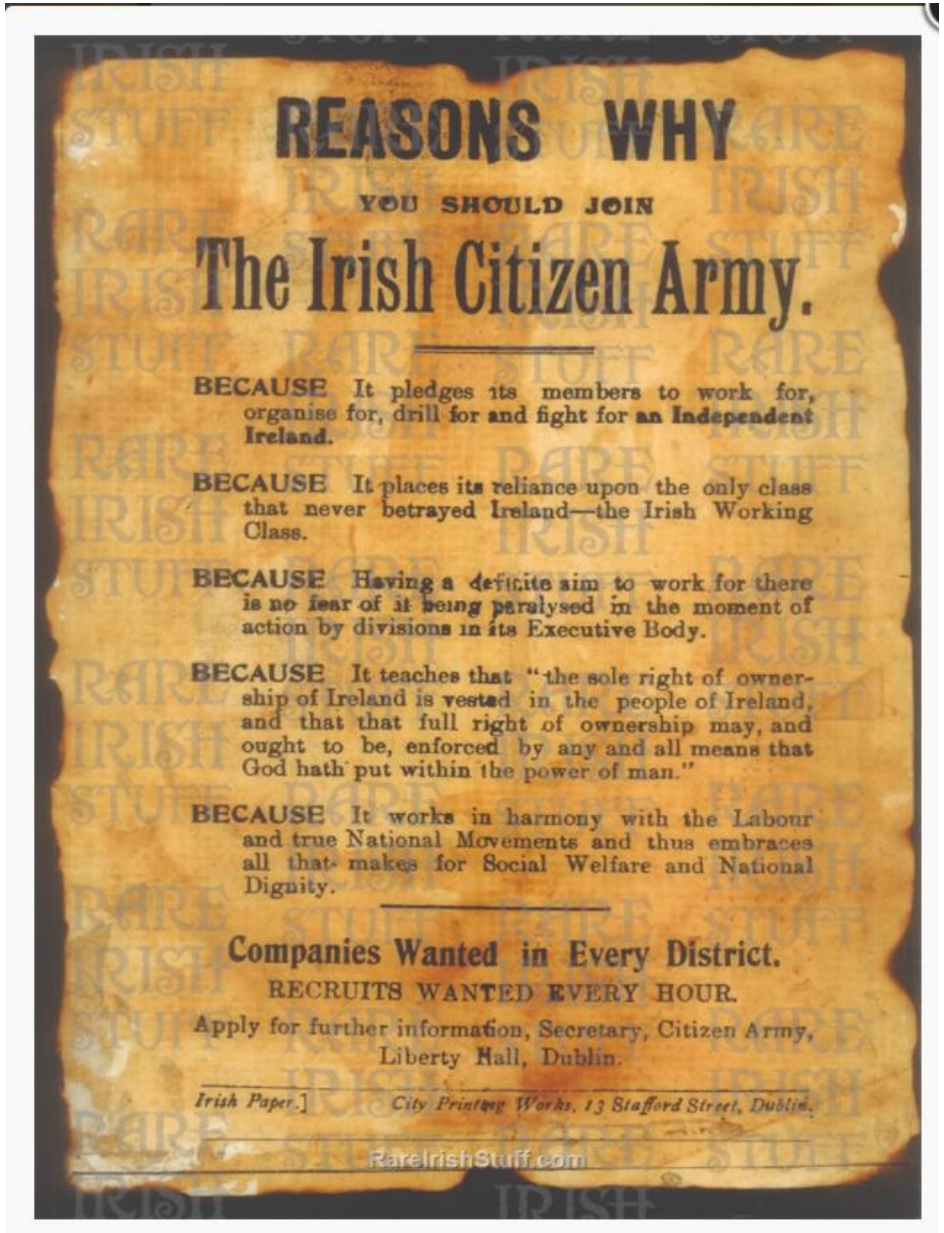
By Padr

The four seas of Ei challenge,
This moment is li and flood;
The sods that we t to bear us,
The winds blow—t waken our

O Banba, proud

Why did they join?

- Men joined from sports clubs e.g. GAA, rugby, football.
- Many sports clubs and other organisations supported men joining.
- Peer pressure, duty, expectations.
- Many supported constitutional nationalism
- Incidents in 1914: Curragh incident.



REASONS WHY

YOU SHOULD JOIN

The Irish Citizen Army.

BECAUSE It pledges its members to work for, organise for, drill for and fight for **an Independent Ireland.**

BECAUSE It places its reliance upon the only class that never betrayed Ireland—the Irish Working Class.

BECAUSE Having a definite aim to work for there is no fear of it being paralysed in the moment of action by divisions in its Executive Body.

BECAUSE It teaches that "the sole right of ownership of Ireland is vested in the people of Ireland, and that that full right of ownership may, and ought to be, enforced by any and all means that God hath put within the power of man."

BECAUSE It works in harmony with the Labour and true National Movements and thus embraces all that makes for Social Welfare and National Dignity.

Companies Wanted in Every District.

RECRUITS WANTED EVERY HOUR.

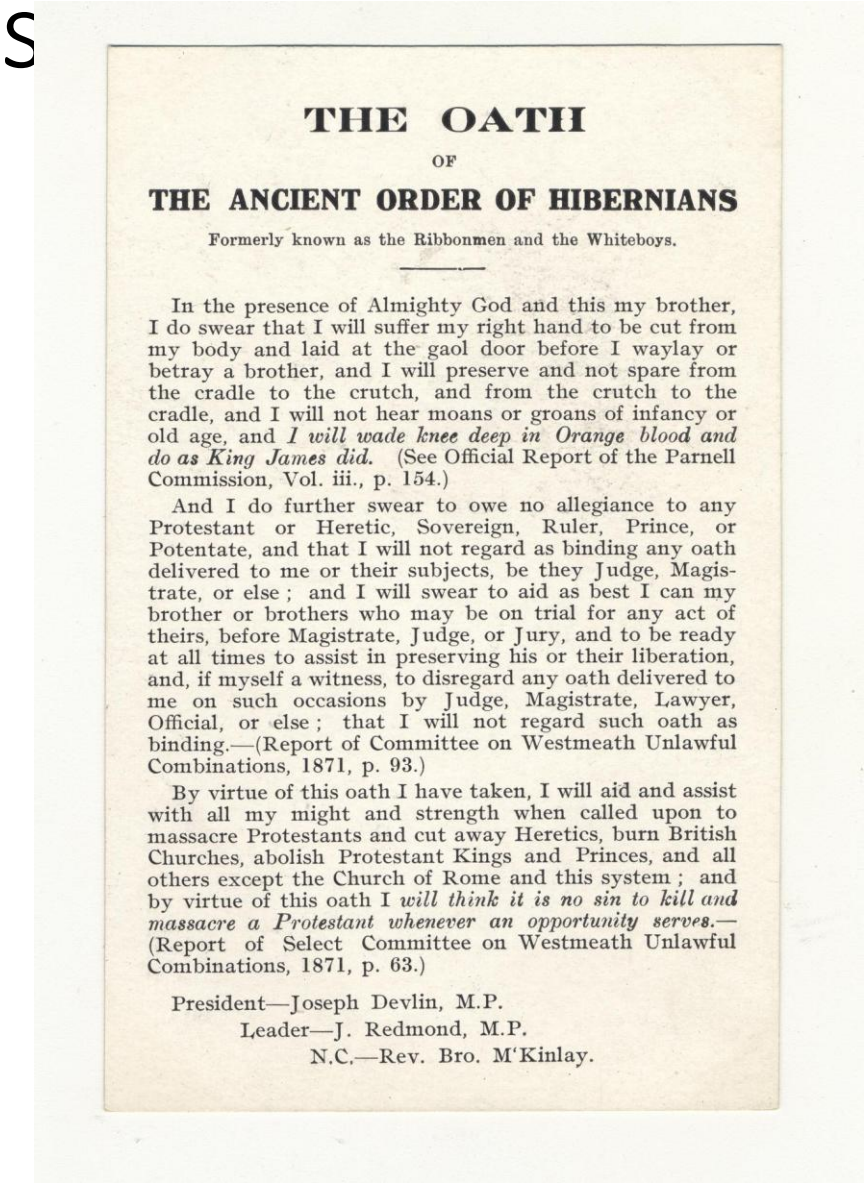
Apply for further information, Secretary, Citizen Army, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Irish Paper.] *City Printing Works, 13 Stafford Street, Dublin.*

RareIrishStuff.com

Ancient Order of Hibernians

- Established in USA in 1836.
- Joe Devlin organised AOH members in Ulster.
- 5k in 1900, 64,000 by 1909.
- AOH supported the activities of Devlin and the IPP



THE OATH

OF

THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS

Formerly known as the Ribbonmen and the Whiteboys.

In the presence of Almighty God and this my brother, I do swear that I will suffer my right hand to be cut from my body and laid at the gaol door before I waylay or betray a brother, and I will preserve and not spare from the cradle to the crutch, and from the crutch to the cradle, and I will not hear moans or groans of infancy or old age, and *I will wade knee deep in Orange blood and do as King James did.* (See Official Report of the Parnell Commission, Vol. iii., p. 154.)

And I do further swear to owe no allegiance to any Protestant or Heretic, Sovereign, Ruler, Prince, or Potentate, and that I will not regard as binding any oath delivered to me or their subjects, be they Judge, Magistrate, or else ; and I will swear to aid as best I can my brother or brothers who may be on trial for any act of theirs, before Magistrate, Judge, or Jury, and to be ready at all times to assist in preserving his or their liberation, and, if myself a witness, to disregard any oath delivered to me on such occasions by Judge, Magistrate, Lawyer, Official, or else ; that I will not regard such oath as binding.—(Report of Committee on Westmeath Unlawful Combinations, 1871, p. 93.)

By virtue of this oath I have taken, I will aid and assist with all my might and strength when called upon to massacre Protestants and cut away Heretics, burn British Churches, abolish Protestant Kings and Princes, and all others except the Church of Rome and this system ; and by virtue of this oath I *will think it is no sin to kill and massacre a Protestant whenever an opportunity serves.*—(Report of Select Committee on Westmeath Unlawful Combinations, 1871, p. 63.)

President—Joseph Devlin, M.P.

Leader—J. Redmond, M.P.

N.C.—Rev. Bro. M'Kinlay.

Ancient Order of Hibernians, Cloughcorr, 1912



The Hibernian Rifles

- Hibernian Rifles formed as a military auxiliary to the Irish American Alliance' (I.A.A.).
- IAA split from the AOH in 1907 and the HR established in 1912/3.
- By late 1913 the Hibernian Rifles had established units in Armagh, Belfast, Castlebar, Cork, Dingle and Dundalk. No branch ever had a greater membership than 35.
- Source: https://www.theirishstory.com/2013/03/31/a-short-history-of-the-hibernian-rifles-1912-1916/#.YW_ugxrMJ5s



A granite plaque on the wall of the Fransiscan's Foreign Mission Office in Dublin marking the site of a hall where The Hibernian Rifles, Na Fianna Éireann and other republican groups used to hold meetings.

Tensions in society

- Violence increased during the period 1912 to 1913.
- 2,000 Catholic workers ejected from the Belfast shipyards by Protestant unionists.
- Less well-remembered is that 500 Protestant home rulers were likewise driven from the yards.
- August 1912: Henry and Patrick Donnelly were fined 40s each for riotous behaviour in Hardinge Street. Daniel Logan and William Thompson were fined 40s each for shouting “God Save Ireland”



Votes for Women



A women's position…

In 1870s in Ireland, women laboured under a variety of legal, economic and cultural constraints. Women:

- could not vote in local or parliamentary elections;
- could not be members of public boards or local authorities;
- were not expected or encouraged to earn their own living;
- were not deemed worth of education as it was considered unnecessary and undesirable;
- On marriage, a woman's property became that of her husband;
- had legal custody of their children only to seven years of age.



Times were a changing…

- The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and the Royal University Act of 1879 provided for second- and third-level education.
- The Married Women's Property Act of 1882 gave married women, for the first time, a separate legal existence to that of their husbands.
- The Infant Custody Act of 1873 allowed mothers to petition for custody or access to children below the age of 16.
- The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1878 allowed women to obtain a protection order from a magistrates' court against violent husbands.
- The Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869, which allowed any woman suspected of being a prostitute to be arrested and forced to undergo medical examination by the police for venereal disease, were successfully repealed in 1886.
- University Act 1908 gives women the right to full attendance at university.



However, many men leaders were opposed in the early 20th century to female suffrage…

- Irish Parliamentary Party and its leader John Redmond
- British prime minister, Herbert Asquith
- Conservative party and many Liberals
- Sir Edward Carson
- Church of Ireland
- Catholic Church



No. 5.

LORD CURZON'S
FIFTEEN GOOD REASONS AGAINST THE GRANT OF FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON has said that there are **fifteen sound, valid, and incontrovertible arguments against the Grant of Female Suffrage.** He summarises them as follows :—

(1) Political activity will tend to take away woman from her proper sphere and highest duty, which is maternity.

(2) It will tend by the divisions which it will introduce to break up the harmony of the home.

(3) The grant of votes to women cannot possibly stop short at a restricted franchise on the basis of a property or other qualification. Married women being the women, if any, best qualified to exercise the vote, the suffrage could not be denied to them. Its extension to them would pave the way to Adult Suffrage. There is no permanent or practicable halting-stage before.

(4) Women have not, as a sex, or a class, the calmness of temperament or the balance of mind, nor have they the training, necessary to qualify them to exercise a weighty judgment in political affairs.

(5) The vote is not desired, so far as can be ascertained, by the large majority of women.

(6) Neither is the proposed change approved, so far as can be ascertained, by the large majority of men.

(7) If the vote were granted, it is probable that a very large number of women would not use it at all. But in emergencies or on occasions of emotional excitement, a large, and in the last resort, owing to the numerical majority of women, a preponderant force might suddenly be mobilised, the political effect of which would be wholly uncertain.

(8) The presence of a large female factor in the Constituencies returning a British Government to power would tend to weaken Great Britain in the estimation of foreign Powers.

(9) It would be gravely misunderstood and would become a source of weakness in India.

(10) The vote once given, it would be impossible to stop at this. Women would then demand the right of becoming M.P.'s, Cabinet Ministers, Judges, &c. Nor could the demand be logically refused.

(11) Woman, if placed by the vote on an absolute equality with man, would forfeit much of that respect which the chivalry of man has voluntarily conceded to her, and which has hitherto been her chief protection.

(12) The vote is not required for the removal of hardships or disabilities from which woman is now known to suffer. Where any such exist, they can equally well be removed or alleviated by a legislature elected by men.

(13) Those persons ought not to make laws who cannot join in enforcing them. Women cannot become soldiers, sailors, or policemen, or take an active part in the maintenance of law and order. They are incapacitated from discharging the ultimate obligations of citizenship.

(14) The intellectual emancipation of women is proceeding, and will continue to do so, without the enjoyment of the political franchise. There is no necessary connection between the two.

(15) No precedent exists for giving women as a class an active share in the Government of a great Country or Empire, and it is not for Great Britain, whose stake is the greatest, and in whose case the results of failure would be the most tremendous, to make the experiment. It would not, indeed, be an experiment, since if the suffrage were once granted, it could never be cancelled or withdrawn.

Printed by the National Press Agency Limited, Whitefriars House Carmelite Street; and Published by the NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. Price 3s 0d. per 1,000.

Lord Curzon (1859-1925) was a leading Conservative politician who had served as Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. He became President of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage in 1912. His 'Fifteen Good Reasons Against the Grant of Female Suffrage' were first mentioned in a speech in 1909. He made similar arguments when he addressed the Scottish National Anti-Suffrage League in Glasgow in 1912. This leaflet is undated but was published between 1910 and 1914.

Arguments in favour

"The Law . . . says a woman is quite competent to perform a surgical operation, yet not tell the difference between Joe Devlin and Sir Edward Carson . . . if it were women's work to fit the children to go into the world, it was equally important to see that the world was a fit place for their children."

Mrs Chambers, addressing an open-air meeting at Belfast's Ormeau Park in 1913



Cross societal support



North of Ireland Society for Women's Suffrage

- Established by Isabella Tod in Belfast in 1871.
- In 1872, Tod organised a suffrage tour of Ulster, attracting audiences of up to 500 at meetings.
- She said: You know how deep is the conviction of the best women in Ulster....this claim has reached all parts of the province, all grades of society, all creeds and classes, that the possession of the franchise...is an absolute necessity....it is impossible for women to do their duty, and to protect their interests and dignity, without the same weapon men find essential for the same purposes.
- 1909: became known as the Irish Women's Suffrage Society
- Based in Belfast; branches around Ulster.



Irish Women's Suffrage Federation (IWSF)

- Established in 1911.
- The federation grew from an initial membership of four societies to twenty organisations, 70% of which were Ulster based by 1913.



Isabella Maria Susan Tod (1836–1896)

- Tod was born in Edinburgh and was educated at home by her mother.
- In the 1850s she moved with her mother to Belfast.
- She contributed to several newspapers, including the Northern Whig and the Dublin University Magazine.
- In 1872 Tod moved the foundation the North of Ireland Women's Suffrage Society
- In 1874, with Margaret Byers (the founder of Victoria College) Tod formed the Belfast Women's Temperance Association.
- Tod died at 71 Botanic Avenue, Belfast on 8 December 1896 from pulmonary tuberculosis. She is buried in Balmoral Cemetery in South Belfast.



Men's Political Union

- A branch established in Belfast in January 1914
- The only all-male suffrage society ever operative in Ireland.
- Affiliated to the London headquarters of this organisation, which was established by Victor Duval in 1910.
- It was an auxiliary of the Women's Social and Political Unition until 1913.



Victor Duval c1910 (Image: LSE Library)

How big was the movement?

- By 1914 there were 20 suffrage associations with a collective membership of 1,000, ranging from the militant Belfast-based Irish Women's Suffrage Society (IWSS) to constitutional bodies such as the Church League for Women's Suffrage.
- June 1912. An open-air demonstration was held in the Ormeau Park under the auspices of the Irish Woman's Suffrage Society. Around 300 attended the proceedings.
- Caused significant property damage in 1912-1914.



Home rule and women’s suffrage

- An issue that had long divided Suffragettes. Isabella Tod, after the Liberal Party split over the issue became an organiser of the Liberal Women's Unionist Association in Belfast.
- Irish Women's Franchise League kept a neutral stance on Home Rule. They declared in 1913:
- ‘Of all shades of political opinion, we have nationalists and unionists, orange and green, extremist and moderate. These women agreeing in nothing else agree on this one point... no one else has ever done this; the IWSF is the only political organisation which has ever held the north and south together...’
- Irish Women’s Suffrage Federation around 1912 remarked: “In Belfast, nothing will be entertained but home rule struggling with unionism.”



THE ANGEL OF FREEDOM.

(Votes for Women, 1913)



No, 9 Hurst & Co., Belfast.

Audience at Women's Anti-Home Rule Demonstration in Ulster Hall, 30th September, 1912.

Questions?